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Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament. Translation Theory and Practice in Fifteenth-Century Italy

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GIANNOZZO MANETTI'S NEW TESTAMENT

Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament – Translation Theory and Practice
in Fifteenth-Century Italy

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Translation Theory and Practice in Fifteenth-Century Italy

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Working in between disciplines, I have benefited from the environment at the faculty of philosophy, but also from that of the Dutch research school for classics, OIKOS. From the philosophers I have certainly learned a great deal – especially about sound reasoning – but I have to admit that I was often relieved to be among classicists again, because then I could at least understand what people were talking about.

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Soli Deo gloria

Groningen, 20 November 2014

*Giannozzo Manetti's
New Testament*

PART I

Translation Theory and Practice
in Fifteenth-Century Italy

Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---------------------------|
| ESV | English Standard Version |
| KJB | King James Bible |
| NIV | New International Version |
| NKJV | New King James Version |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca |
| PL | Patrologia Latina |

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Introduction

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) authored a new Latin translation of the New Testament. The translation was written at the Vatican court, and encouraged and facilitated by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455). It was never published and survives in only two manuscripts, Pal.lat.45 and Urb.lat.6, which are both kept in the Vatican Library today. Manetti's version is the first Latin translation of the New Testament since Jerome produced the Vulgate around 400, and it predates Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* by half a century.¹

It was discussed in passing in several studies on humanist Biblical scholarship, including Charles Trinkaus's *In our Image and Likeness* and Jerry Bentley's *Humanists and Holy Writ*.² Yet it has not received the attention it deserves, partly because of the lack of a critical edition. There are two other reasons: unlike other works on the Bible produced by humanists, such as Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes* and Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, Manetti's translation did not influence later generations of Bible scholars. In addition, evaluating Manetti's version on its own merits is complicated by the fact that the author, unlike Valla and Erasmus, left no notes to explain his deliberations.

Yet Manetti's translation project is too important to be overlooked, and a thorough study on the subject is long overdue. The central role of its author in the humanist movement alone would be reason enough. Manetti is less well-known today than contemporaries such as Leonardo Bruni and Lorenzo Valla, but he was considered as one of the most prominent intellectuals of his time. Over the past decades, his works have received increasing scholarly attention. Editions of his works began

¹ I use the name 'Vulgate' for the Latin translation of the Old and New Testament predominant in the West since the late Middle Ages, traditionally ascribed to Jerome. In the fifteenth century, this name was not yet in use; it was adopted only in the sixteenth. See: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "The Latin Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to 600*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 510–511.

² Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (London: Constable, 1970); Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

appearing in the 1970s, and most of his oeuvre is now available in print.³ Recently, an academic conference was organized around Manetti's life and works.⁴ Manetti's translations in particular were discussed in Paul Botley's work on Renaissance translation, which also dedicates several pages to the New Testament.⁵ This growing interest in Manetti makes a comprehensive study of his New Testament version worthwhile: much more is now known about the context in which it was produced, and conversely, the translation is a relevant source of information for students of Manetti's life and works. Especially the connection between Manetti's translation and Valla's *Annotationes*, written in the same environment, is worth exploring. The first purpose of my dissertation is to make Manetti's translation accessible to Renaissance scholars. It provides a critical edition of Manetti's translation, allowing future generations of scholars to study the text for themselves. In addition, it explores connections with other authors and works, especially Valla's *Annotationes*.

However, Manetti's translation is not only important because of the status of its author, but also for our understanding of the history of Biblical scholarship. Admittedly, Manetti's work played only a modest role compared to Valla's *Annotationes*: discovered and published by Erasmus, Valla's work profoundly influenced sixteenth-century Biblical scholarship.⁶ Manetti's version never circulated. Yet, his translation project is a unique example of humanist ideals of language and translation applied to the sacred text. As such, it contributes significantly to our understanding of early humanist Biblical scholarship.

³ Giannozzo Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, ed. Elisabeth Riley Leonard (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1975); Giannozzo Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, ed. Alfonso De Petris (Florence: Olschki, 1979); Giannozzo Manetti, *Apologeticus*, ed. Alfonso De Petris (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981); Giannozzo Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*, ed. Alfonso De Petris (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983). Most of Manetti's diplomatic speeches are available in Heinz W. Wittschier, *Giannozzo Manetti: Das Korpus der Orationes* (Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1968).

⁴ For the proceedings, see: Baldassarri, Stefano U., ed., *Dignitas et excellentia hominis: Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi su Giannozzo Manetti*, Georgetown University, Kent State University (Fiesole-Firenze, 18-20 Giugno 2007) (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008).

⁵ Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁶ Garin wrote about Valla: 'si colloca al centro, se vogliamo servirci del termine, dei movimenti preriformatori, tramite ideale fra l'inquietudine dei Concilii e la rivolta cinquecentesca'. Quoted from: Salvatore Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1972), 403. See also: *ibid.*, 277–278.

In the literature, the study of the Bible in the fifteenth century is discussed in roughly two ways. Most commonly, it is presented as a radical breach with medieval practice and as a prelude to sixteenth-century Biblical scholarship. The emergence of humanism in the late fourteenth-century, with its alleged historicism, secularism and critical spirit, is believed to have contributed to a new turn in Scriptural studies. Jerry Bentley, in his study on humanist Biblical criticism, gave ample attention to the fifteenth century. He described the new approach to Scripture taken by the humanists in terms of a ‘scientific revolution’, referring to Thomas Kuhn.⁷ Charles Trinkaus discussed Manetti’s and Valla’s work in a chapter on the humanists’ approach to the Bible, emphasizing ‘the importance of Italian humanism for the historical emergence of modern Biblical studies.’⁸

On the other hand, some scholars have argued that the practice of medieval and humanist students of the Bible did not fundamentally differ, and that late medieval scholarship should be given more credit for its contribution to a development that eventually led up to modern Bible criticism.⁹ That this continuity is often underestimated, these scholars argue, is because the humanists defined their own practice by contrasting it to that of their medieval predecessors.¹⁰ Furthermore, our thinking

⁷ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 6–7.

⁸ Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2 (London: Constable, 1970), 563. See also: Alastair Hamilton, “Humanists and the Bible,” in *Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 103. Studies on Biblical humanism often focus on the sixteenth century: Josef Eskhult, “Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical Contexts, Philological Justification, and the Impact of Classical Rhetoric on the Conception of Translation Methods,” in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 167–185; Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994); Philip A. Noss, *A History of Bible Translation* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007); Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹ This position was defended for the first time in Smalley’s influential study: Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame (IN): Notre Dame University Press, 1964). More recently: William J. Courtenay, “The Bible in Medieval Universities,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 555–578; Frans Van Liere, “Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Thomas J. Herrernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 75.

¹⁰ E.g. Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity*, 18.

about the Bible in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance is informed by the so-called ‘Protestant Paradigm’, the common belief that before Luther, the ordinary man and woman could access the sacred text only through the mediation of the Church, which repressed lay book possession and did everything in its power to control religious culture. All this changed only with the Reformation, when the Bible was given back to the lay believer, who could now read and interpret the text for himself. This view was actively promoted by the Protestants themselves, and it is now deeply rooted in the collective memory of the Western world. In a recent study on the Bible in late-medieval England, Andrew Gow challenges the Protestant Paradigm. Gow complains of ‘whiggish’ historiography, arguing that the Church indeed imposed restrictions on lay Bible possession, but that there was hardly any (effective) repression, and that the average lay-reader had not more, but less freedom after Luther.¹¹ Similar studies for other regions and languages have appeared since.¹²

Although Gow’s study mainly concerns vernacular Bibles, his conclusions are relevant for Manetti’s project as well. The new, critical approach of the humanists is often associated with the birth of the Reformation: for the first time in history, the Bible was read as a historical or literary text, subject to philological inquiry. This allegedly undermined the authority of the Church.¹³ Manetti produced his translation at the Vatican court – that is, at the center of ecclesiastical power – but he clearly sympathized with the new humanistic views on language and translation. This apparent paradox makes his translation project a promising test case for existing views of pre-Reformation Biblical scholarship. My second purpose is therefore to look into the nature of Manetti’s Biblical scholarship, by investigating the translational

¹¹ Andrew Gow, “Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages,” in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 161–191.

¹² Sabrina Corbellini et al., “Challenging the Paradigms: Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013): 171–188; Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, eds., *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

¹³ Cf. e.g. this remark in Robert Coogan’s study on Lee and Erasmus, two sixteenth-century humanists: “[...] Lee defends this medieval tradition that binds the authority of Scripture to the authority of the Church and its dogmas. Because of the exalted role Erasmus gives the philologist, his *Novum Instrumentum* is the epoch-marking departure from the medieval tradition.” Robert Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: The Shaking of the Foundations* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1992), 16–17.

norms behind his version of the New Testament. For this purpose, I combine various approaches.

In Chapter One, I give an overview of Manetti's life and works, placing his translation of the New Testament in its historical and intellectual context. After this introductory chapter, I turn to Manetti's translation project itself. In Chapter Two, I analyse the writing process of the text, in order to determine the chronology of Manetti's decisions and to investigate his debt to Valla. Although Manetti left no notes to explain his decisions, but corrections and alterations in his own copy of the translation allow me to reconstruct the writing process of the text. Textual genetics is not often practiced by students of translations, but my results show that it is a fruitful approach, especially when enough material survives – as is the case here.¹⁴ Chapter Three discusses Manetti's method of textual criticism, that is, his use of the Greek and Latin textual traditions, in comparison with Valla's.

Chapters Four and Five are dedicated to translation theory. Manetti authored a treatise on translation, *Apologeticus* (1458), in which he describes what he believes a correct translation looks like, which requirements a translator should meet, and which method they ought to apply according to various genres. I include *Apologeticus* in my study on Manetti's New Testament because it is as important a source for his translational norms as his practice. In Chapter Four, I give an historical overview of translation theory, focusing especially on the changing meaning of terminology and the way seemingly identical arguments are used in different ways over time. Several scholars have pointed out the close relations between historical translation theory and the tradition of the language arts, grammar and rhetoric. I use these insights for my discussion of Manetti and his predecessors.¹⁵

¹⁴ Tracing the emergence of a translation is looked upon as 'essentially new' as an approach in Translation Studies: Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and beyond*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, Philadelphia (PA): John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 218. For a recent genetic study, see e.g. Jeremy Munday, "The Role of Archival and Manuscript Research in the Investigation of Translator Decision-Making," *Target* 25, no. 1 (2013): 125–139.

¹⁵ Frederick M Renner, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989); Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Eric Jacobsen, *Translation: A Traditional Craft* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1958).

I then zoom in on *Apologeticus* itself in Chapter Five, focusing on what it says about Bible translation in particular. Over the centuries, various approaches to the sacred text and its translations have existed, often side by side. Depending on the translation's historical and cultural context, Bible translation may require a different method than other translations, and the meaning of the text may be determined by other factors than language alone, such as accepted theological notions. Especially when an authoritative translation of the sacred text already exists, a new version may encounter fierce opposition. Once a translation has gained the approval of the community or of a religious authority, it may function as a full replacement of the original text and become considered to be inspired in its turn. The various approaches to the sacred text that have existed over time were discussed recently by Anthony Pym in a study on historical Bible translation theory.¹⁶ I reconstruct Manetti's approach to Scripture by means of a detailed analysis of *Apologeticus*, using Pym's framework.

Finally, in Chapter Six I combine the insights gained in the earlier Chapters. I compare Manetti's translation theory with his practice, focusing on a feature that Manetti singled out himself in *Apologeticus*: literalness. In addition, I investigate if theology played a role in Manetti's translation practice. My method of analysis in Chapter Six is informed by debates in Septuagint Studies. Scholars in this field encounter problems that are relevant for my study on Manetti's translation, even though our research topics are more than one thousand years apart in time: they have learned how to distinguish a translator's method from other factors that influence his version, such as his theological convictions, his source text and his linguistic skills. I argue that Manetti's translation practice corresponds to his theory. The edition of Manetti's text follows in Part Two.

¹⁶ Anthony Pym, "On the Historical Epistemologies of Bible Translating," in *A History of Bible Translation*, ed. Philip A. Noss (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007), 195–215.

1 Manetti's life and works

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of Manetti's life and works, and of the sources concerning his translation project. Manetti's career can be subdivided into roughly three periods: his Florentine years, before 1454; his stay at the Vatican from 1454 to 1455; and his final years in Naples, from 1455 to his death in 1459.

Manetti's Florentine career has been studied extensively some decades ago by Lauro Martines.¹⁷ Most of his public speeches were edited by Heinz Wittschier, and several other writings were published by Alfonso De Petris in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁸ Recently, new studies have appeared on his life and works. A conference was organized around Manetti's person in 2008, resulting in a volume of papers.¹⁹ As for his later years in Rome and Naples – when the New Testament translation was produced – these were discussed thoroughly in Paul Botley's recent study.²⁰ In this chapter, I build on these works, focusing on Manetti's later years.

The most comprehensive contemporary source for Manetti's life was written by one of his friends, the Florentine book-seller Vespasiano da Bisticci. Among Vespasiano's extensive biographical writings are two sections that are dedicated to Manetti: the shortest one, the *Vita di messer Giannozzo Manetti, Fiorentino* (shortly: *Vita*) was expanded as the *Comentario della vita di messer Giannozzo Manetti composta da Vespasiano e mandata a Bernardo del Nero* (shortly: *Comentario*) which is significantly longer.²¹

Next to Vespasiano's biographies, there is a Latin biography, written by Naldo Naldi, and an anonymous metrical biography in Italian, the *Vita in*

¹⁷ Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

¹⁸ Wittschier, *Giannozzo Manetti*; Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*; Manetti, *Apologeticus*; Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*.

¹⁹ Baldassarri; Stefano U., *Dignitas et excellentia hominis*.

²⁰ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*. David Marsh is working on a biography of Manetti.

²¹ Vespasiano's biographical writings were published by Aulo Greco: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco (Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1970-1976).

terza rima.²² This text, as well as several legal documents from the Florentine and Neapolitan archives, was recently published by Stefano Baldassarri and Bruno Figliuolo.²³ Some of Manetti's letters were edited by Giuseppe Cagni, who also made a reconstruction of the Manetti family library.²⁴ I base my overview mainly on Vespasiano's biographies, since the other ones do not offer any new information concerning the translation project.

Two other biographies are worth mentioning: the first is Vespasiano's *Vita di Nicolao P.P.V.*, the life of Pope Nicholas V, and the second is a biography of the same Nicholas V written by Manetti himself.²⁵ The translation of the New Testament is mentioned in both works. Manetti's biography of the Pope is especially interesting, because it is one of the few places where he reflects on his own activities at the Vatican court.

1.2 FLORENCE (1396-1454)

Giannozzo Manetti was born in Florence on 5 June 1396 as the son of Bernardo Manetti and Piera Guidacci. The Manetti family had been rather obscure in the fourteenth century, but it had begun its social climb two generations before Giannozzo's birth: his paternal grandfather, Giannozzo di Lambuccio, had been the first Manetti to become a Prior (in 1358). His son Bernardo, Giannozzo's father, was dedicated to business rather than politics, and he increased the family fortune to the point of being the tenth richest man in Florence in 1427. Giannozzo showed an aptitude for figures, and was introduced into his father's

²² Naldi's biography was published in: Naldo Naldi, *Vita Iannotii Manetti*, ed. Ludovicus Antonius Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1731).

²³ Stefano U. Baldassarri and Bruno Figliuolo, *Manettiana: La biografia anonima in terzine e altri documenti inediti su Giannozzo Manetti* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2010). More recent studies on Manetti's life and works are found in: Baldassarri; Stefano U., *Dignitas et excellentia hominis*.

²⁴ Giuseppe M. Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1969); Giuseppe M. Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," *La Bibliofilia* 62, no. 1 (1960): 1–43. See also, more recently: Bruno Figliuolo, "Corrispondenza inedita di Giannozzo Manetti," in *Roma e il papato nel Medioevo: Studi in onore di Massimo Miglio*, ed. A Modigliani (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2012), 89–109.

²⁵ Vespasiano's biography of Nicholas V is available in Vespasiano, *Le vite*. Manetti's biography has recently appeared in a new edition: Giannozzo Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti Summi Pontificis*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005).

company when only a young boy. But his other talents soon led him to abandon business and study literature. At the age of twenty-five, he began to study Latin, thereby disappointing his father's wishes, as Vespasiano remarks.²⁶

In 1427, Manetti married Alessandra di Tommaso di Giacomino Tebalducci.²⁷ They would have seven children, three sons and four daughters. Agnolo Manetti (15 December 1432-d.1479) was the only one to follow in his father's footsteps as a man of letters, whereas Bernardo (19 June 1430-d. 1497) became his father's partner in business.²⁸ Antonino (18 January 1434-1 April 1438), the second son, died prematurely. After Antonino's death, Manetti wrote a philosophical treatise on the legitimacy of mourning a child, entitled *Dialogus de Antonini filii sui morte consolatorius*, one of his first literary works.²⁹

From 1421 onwards, Manetti dedicated himself to the *studium humanitatis*. He visited the convents of Santa Maria degli Angeli and Santo Spirito almost daily for several years. At these Florentine centres of learning he associated with humanists such as Ambrogio Traversari, Fra Vangelista di Pisa, Fra Girolamo da Napoli, Giovanni dell'Abaco, and Fra Ambrogio degli Angeli. In that period, he also met Tommaso Parentucelli, the later Pope Nicholas V.³⁰

²⁶ Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," in *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, vol. 2 (Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1976), 519. For the social status of Manetti and his family, see: Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460*, 131-138.

²⁷ Raffaella Maria Zaccaria, "Documenti su Giannozzo Manetti," in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis*, ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008), 333-345.

²⁸ The other children were Piera, born in 1438, Costanza, born in 1440, Ginevra, born in 1441, and Giovanni (8 December 1445-25 February 1499). The names of Manetti's children, and of his daughters' husbands, are mentioned in the biography by Naldo Naldi, in Naldi, *Vita Iannotii Manetti*, vol. 20, 536-537.

²⁹ This text was published by Alfonso De Petris: Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*. See also: Francesco Bausi, "Le due redazioni del 'Dialogus consolatorius' di Giannozzo Manetti: Appunti sul testo e sulle fonti," in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis*, ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008), 77-104; Francesco Bausi, "Il testo del 'Dialogus consolatorius' di Giannozzo Manetti, I: La redazione latina," *Interpres* 26 (2007); Alfonso De Petris, "Il Dialogus consolatorius di G. Manetti e le sue fonti," *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana* 154, no. 485 (1977): 76-205; Maria Langdale, "A Bilingual Work of the Fifteenth Century: Giannozzo Manetti's 'Dialogus Consolatorius,'" *Italian Studies* 31 (1976): 1-16.

³⁰ Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Vita di Nicolao P.P.V.," in *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, vol. 1 (Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1970), 42-43. For Manetti's connections with other humanists, see: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 64-65.

Manetti did not begin his career as a professional humanist, that is, as a tutor or secretary at a court; nor was he a member of the clergy. For years, he combined a successful career in politics and diplomacy with literary studies in his spare time.³¹ His public activities in Florence are well documented and have been studied thoroughly in the past. In 1963, Martines published a study of Manetti’s political career, in which he combined Vespasiano’s biographical writings with legal documents found in the Florentine archives. Similar archival research was carried out more recently by Zaccaria.³²

A brief overview of his most important offices will suffice here. Manetti started his political career in 1425 with a membership in the guild of the silk merchants. Five years later, he was for the first time elected as one of the *Dodici Buonomini*. From the early 1430s onward he appeared more and more frequently on the public scene. He served multiple times as University Trustee, *Gonfaloniere* (Standard-Bearer), and Sea Consul. He was elected one of the *Dodici Buonomini* three more times. Furthermore, he was twice elected a member of the *Otto di Guardia e Balìa* (Eight on Security), and of the *Ufficiali delle Vendite*. In the early 1450s, his position in Florence became more and more precarious, eventually leading to his departure in 1453. In the midst of these political difficulties, he held his last office in Florence as one of the Ten of War in 1453.

Manetti was not only a skilful politician, he was also a diplomat. In the 1430s and 1440s, he went on diplomatic missions to Genoa, Naples, the Vatican, Siena and Venice. On his missions, he established ties of friendship with, among others, Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples and Sicily.³³

When Nicholas V, whom Manetti had already befriended in the 1420s, succeeded Eugenius IV in the spring of 1447, Manetti led a delegation of prominent Florentines to convey the city’s felicitations to the new Pope. Nicholas honoured the embassy in an unexpected way by granting them a public audience, for which occasion Manetti hastily rewrote his speech

³¹ On the (artificial) distinction between professional and amateur humanists, see recently: Brian Jeffrey Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 4-12.

³² Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460*; Zaccaria, “Documenti su Giannozzo Manetti.”

³³ Most of Manetti’s diplomatic speeches were studied and edited by Wittschier: Wittschier, *Giannozzo Manetti*.

and memorised it overnight.³⁴ When he visited the Vatican again in 1451, Nicholas V appointed him Papal Secretary.³⁵

Another connection formed in Manetti's Florentine years was that with Leonardo Bruni. It seems that the two were on good terms. Manetti delivered a funeral speech for Bruni, in which he mentioned his translations.³⁶ Vespasiano mentions that Bruni nominated Manetti as ambassador to Genoa in the city council.³⁷ He also recalls an interesting anecdote in which Bruni and Manetti have an argument about a subject not further specified. In the heat of the argument, Bruni makes a belittling remark about Manetti's inexperience in matters of scholarship, and takes his leave. He comes to Manetti's door early the following morning to beg his pardon. Manetti expresses his filial admiration for Bruni, and the two are reconciled.³⁸ Manetti was born too late to be among the students of Chrysoloras, who taught in Florence between 1397 and 1401. Vespasiano informs us that Manetti read the *Cyropaedia* with Traversari.³⁹

According to Vespasiano, by 1430 Manetti had made enough progress in his studies to lecture on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* himself.⁴⁰ Vespasiano summarizes Manetti's literary interests as follows:

Usava dire avere tre libri a mente, per lungo abito, l'uno era l'Epistole di sancto Pagolo, l'altro era Agostino, De civitate Dei, et de' gentili l'Etica d'Aristotele. (Vespasiano, *Vita*)⁴¹

[[He]would say that he knew three books by heart, the epistles of St. Paul, *De civitate Dei* by Augustine, and from the pagans the *Ethics* of Aristotle.]⁴²

³⁴ For this anecdote, see Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Comentario de la Vita del Signore Federico, Duca d'Urbino," in *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, vol. 1 (Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1970), 550–555.

³⁵ Vespasiano, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 576–577.

³⁶ Paolo Viti, "Giannozzo Manetti e l'orazione funebre per Leonardo Bruni," in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis*, ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008), 323–325.

³⁷ Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Vita di Giannozzo Manetti," in *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, vol. 1 (Florence: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1970), 490.

³⁸ Vespasiano, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 522–523. Botley suggested that the conflict concerned Bruni's new translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 75.

³⁹ Vespasiano, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 522.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 525–526.

⁴¹ Vespasiano, "Vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 485–486; Vespasiano, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 521.

Manetti practiced the Greek language with a native speaker, a certain Demetrios, who lived in his house as a servant.⁴³ Vespasiano also informs us that Manetti could read Greek with remarkable speed:

Faceva pigliare l’Etica d’Aristotile in latino, et egli pigliava la greca, et leggevavi suso in latino tanto velocemente che colui che l’aveva in latino non gli poteva tenere drieto. (Vespasiano. *Comentario della vita di messer Giannozzo Manetti*)⁴⁴

[He would send someone to fetch Aristotle’s Ethics in Latin and he would take a copy in Greek, and he read his text so rapidly in Latin that he who had it in Latin could not keep up with him.]

It is likely that Vespasiano exaggerated Manetti’s proficiency in Greek. According to Bausi, who studied intertextual references in Manetti’s *Dialogus consolatorius*, Manetti could still not read a Greek text in the original by 1439.⁴⁵

Manetti did not only study the Greek and Latin classics; he also mastered the Hebrew language. When exactly he started his studies is hard to tell. According to Vespasiano, by the mid-1450s he had studied Hebrew ‘for twenty-two years or more’ (‘anni ventidua o più’).⁴⁶ This means he would have started them in the early 1430’s. The study of Hebrew was not common among humanists. Bruni openly rejected it as superfluous. After all, the Old Testament, the only Hebrew text of any importance in Bruni’s view, had already been translated into Greek. There was no need to consult the original anymore.⁴⁷ Manetti was the first humanist who studied Hebrew seriously, which is why Trinkaus considered him as ‘without any question a pioneer in the history of European culture’.⁴⁸ But this is too strong: knowledge of Hebrew had by no means been exceptional in the late middle Ages. Nicholas of Lyra had mastered the language, as well as Cistercian and Franciscan scholars before him.

⁴² Translation by George and Waters: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, ed. William George and Emily Waters (London: Routledge, 1926), 372. From this point, all translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

⁴³ Vespasiano, “Comentario de la vita del Signore Federico, Duca d’Urbino,” 525.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 522.

⁴⁵ Bausi, “Le due redazioni del ‘Dialogus consolatorius’ di Giannozzo Manetti: Appunti sul testo e sulle fonti,” 94.

⁴⁶ Vespasiano, “Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti,” 605.

⁴⁷ Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 578–581.

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, 578.

Manetti made his literary debut in March 1436, when he witnessed the consecration of the Santa Maria Novella. He wrote an account of the event and dedicated it to his brother in law, Agnolo Acciaiuoli.⁴⁹

He authored several biographies of famous figures from antiquity and recent Florentine history in 1439 and 1440.⁵⁰ In 1452, he completed his most famous treatise, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, and dedicated it to Alfonso of Aragon.⁵¹ Manetti's ability to combine politics with his literary ambitions would become exemplary for a generation of Florentines.⁵²

The works Manetti wrote in his Florentine period all circulated in his lifetime, and enjoyed a certain measure of popularity; unlike, as we shall see, the literary projects he took up after moving to Rome.

1.3 ROME AND NAPLES (1454-1459)

In spite of the prominent position Manetti held in Florence, he would not remain in his native city forever. He left the republic in 1453 (or early in 1454), and moved to the court of Pope Nicholas V. Vespasiano's explanation for Manetti's decision to leave Florence is that a circle of political enemies, connected to Cosimo de' Medici, plotted against the humanist, imposing excessively high taxes on him. Heavy tax burdens were an effective means for the city government to get rid of its opponents, since citizens with outstanding debts to the community were not eligible for public office. Manetti refused to pay, and left for Pope Nicholas's court in Rome, probably with no intention to return to Florence soon.

The Florentine authorities did not appreciate this move and demanded his immediate return on pain of exile. Manetti reached Florence just before their ultimatum expired. Nicholas V had appointed him Papal

⁴⁹ For this text, see: Caroline Van Eck, "Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: The 'Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione Basilicae Florentinae' of 1436," *Renaissance Studies: Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 4 (1998): 449–475.

⁵⁰ See Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*; Giannozzo Manetti, *Biographical Writings*, ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri and Rolf Bagemihl (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁵¹ Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*. The dedication to Alfonso was used against Manetti by his political enemies, Alfonso being an enemy of the Florentine Republic. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 66–67.

⁵² For Manetti as a role model, see Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton, 1988), 64–65.

secretary to provide him with diplomatic immunity, should he need it. Manetti chose not to use Nicholas’s letters, but to defend himself as a private citizen before the *Signoria*. He won over two thirds of the assembly, was released from custody and apparently rehabilitated immediately, given his election as one of the Ten of War that spring. Nevertheless, he left Florence for good late in 1453 or early in 1454.⁵³

Vespasiano’s account is supported by archival sources.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, opinions are divided as to Manetti’s motives for moving to Rome. His departure from Florence may have been a calculated step, either for commercial reasons – the Manetti family had taken steps for transferring their business south as early as 1451 – or because of his ties with Nicholas V and Alfonso of Aragon.⁵⁵

What interests us here is if Manetti was encouraged to come to Rome by Nicholas V: this would be an indication that the translations he produced at the Vatican court were made at the initiative of the Pope.⁵⁶ Vespasiano seems to suggest something of the sort in his biography of Nicholas V:

Avendo condotto a Roma, come inanzi s’è detto, molti uomini dotti con grandissimi salari, iscrisse a Firenze a meser Gianozzo Maneti, che venissi a Roma per tradurre et comporre. Et partitosi da Firenze et giunto a Roma, fu ricevuto dal pontefice, secondo la sua consuetudine, onoratamente, et assegnogli, oltre all’ufficio suo del segretario ducati secento, confortandolo alla traducione di più libri della Bibia et Aristotile, et a finire il libro dallui cominciato, *Contra Judaeos et gentes*, opera mirabile s’ella se fussi finita, che finì insino a’ libri dieci, et tradussi il Testamento Nuovo, et il Saltero de Hebraica veritate, con cinque libri apologetichi in difesa di questo Saltero, mostrando che nella Scrittura Sancta non è una silaba alcuna senza grandissimo mistero. (Vespasiano, *Vita di Nicolao P.P.V.*)⁵⁷

[After he had induced a great company of learned men to repair to Rome on liberal payment, he wrote to Messer Giannozzo Manetti at Florence to come also to practise as a writer and translator. Manetti left Florence for Rome, where he was received by the Pope with the highest honour.

⁵³ Vespasiano, “Vita di Giannozzo Manetti,” 525–531; Vespasiano, “Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti,” 586–602.

⁵⁴ For the dates and documents concerning the case against Manetti and his tax assessment, see recently Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 64–68.

⁵⁵ For the political circumstances of Manetti’s exile from Florence, see especially: Mario Martelli, “L’Esilio di Giannozzo Manetti,” in *Écrire a la fin du Moyen-Age: Le pouvoir et l’écriture en Espagne et en Italie (1450-1530)*, ed. Université du Provence, Etudes Hispano-Italiennes (Aix-en-Provence: Université du Provence, 1990), 169–183.

⁵⁶ For Manetti’s activities at Nicholas’s court, see also: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 82–98.

⁵⁷ Pp. 64–64 in Greco’s edition.

Nicholas granted to him, besides the office of secretary, six hundred ducats, exhorting him to undertake the translation of the books of the Bible and Aristotle, and to finish the books himself he had already begun, *Contra Iudaeos et gentes*, a wonderful work indeed, had it ever been finished; but no more than ten books were written. He translated the New Testament and the Psalter, *De Hebraica veritate*, with five books of apologetics in defence of the Psalter aforementioned, showing that in all the Scripture there is not a syllable without a hidden meaning.]⁵⁸

In this passage, Vespasiano mentions three projects that Manetti took up after his departure from Florence: (1) a translation of the Scriptures, of which only the Psalter and the New Testament were brought to completion; (2) an ambitious, comprehensive encyclopaedic work on Christianity, entitled *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*, and (3) a translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Nicholas V 'exhorted' Manetti ('confortandolo') to undertake these works. Vespasiano also mentions that Nicholas invited many prominent humanists to his court, and that he commissioned new translations and commentaries from them.

Manetti commented on the literary activities at the Vatican court in his *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, written shortly after the Pope's decease in March 1455:

Quid de traductionibus ac diversis novorum operum compilatoribus dicemus? Que quidem, traductoribus ac propriorum operum scriptoribus quasi certatim agentibus, cum suis salariis quisque pro virili parte ad operandum alliceretur, usque adeo creverunt, ut quinque ultimis fausti ac felicitis pontificatus sui annis longe plura (ad hec presertim humanitatis studia, quorum amantissimus erat, pertinentia), quam quinque seculis antea totis centum predecessorum suorum temporibus composita ac traducta fuisse videantur. (Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*, II 22)⁵⁹

[What shall I say about the translation and the authors of various new works? Since translators and authors of their own works more or less competed with one another, because each one was enticed by their salaries to work to the best of their ability, these works multiplied to the point that in the five final years of his [Nicholas's] auspicious and fruitful pontificate, far more seems to have been composed and translated - especially works in the field of the humanities, which he loved very much - than in all the five centuries before, in the times of one hundred predecessors.]

Manetti then lists the translations promoted by Nicholas V, among which the verse translation of the Iliad by Carlo Marsuppini and Orazio

⁵⁸ Translation by George and Waters.

⁵⁹ I refer to this work in the recent edition by Anna Modigliani: Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti Summi Pontificis*.

Romano, Valla’s versions of Herodotus and Thucydides, the translation of Xenophon’s *Cyropedia* by Poggio, Perotti’s version of Polybius, translations of Plato and Aristotle by George of Trebizond and Giovanni Tortelli, and Traversari’s version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.⁶⁰ He does not mention any of the original compositions dedicated to the Pope.⁶¹

Nicholas delighted in the new, humanistic approach to translation, which aimed at clarity and elegance, without troubling the reader with too much information in the form of notes and commentary:

Udii da papa Nicola che questa traducione era così degna che la s’intendevano gli altri con infiniti comentì v’erano [...]

[I heard Pope Nicholas say that this translation [i.e. Traversari’s version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite] was excellent, and that he understood it better in this simple text than in the others with the numberless comments and notes they contained.]⁶²

This then is the cultural climate in which Manetti’s translation of the New Testament was produced. Manetti presented his own project as part of Nicholas’s cultural and literary programme in his biography of the Pope:

Nova [...] quedam utriusque et veteris et novi testamenti, partim ex hebreo, partim ex greco idiomate, ut ab origine a propriis scriptoribus suis litteris mandata fuisse constabat, in latinam linguam traductio non iniuria mentem irrepererat. (Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti* II, 25)

[I had made up my mind – and with good reason – to produce a new Latin translation of both the Old and the New Testament, partly from the Hebrew, partly from the Greek tongue, as they were originally put into writing by their own authors.]

That Manetti was working on the translation in 1454 is confirmed by letter to Vespasiano da Bisticci, in which he referred to Biblical manuscripts. The letter is dated 23 November 1454. Although Manetti did not mention his translation in it, we may assume that it was on his mind when he made his request to the book-seller.⁶³

⁶⁰ Manetti, *Life of Nicholas V*, II, 22-24.

⁶¹ As Modigliani pointed out: *ibid.*, 57–58, n. 37.

⁶² Translation by George and Waters.

⁶³ This letter was published in Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario*, 131–133. It will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two; see p. 35-42.

The translation was not brought to completion in Rome. Manetti wrote in his biography of Nicholas V that he had to give up the project after the Pope's death:

Et nisi importuna ac maligna [...] eius mors prevenisset, preveniensque assiduum operationis nostre cursum non modo non impedisset retardassetque, sed omnino etiam abstulisset, forsitan divina ope adiuti [...] utrumque opus omnibus animi et corporis viribus, quemadmodum institueramus, prosecuti, non multo post ad finem usque perduxissemus. Quod si hic importunus dicendi locus non videretur, nimirum causas, quibus et ad traducendum et ad scribendum impellebamur, paulisper commemorassemus: quod in prefationibus predictorum operum, si Deus – ut speramus – adiutor noster erit, absque iusta reprehensione non iniuria efficere posse uidebimur. (Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti* II, 25)

[Had his cruel and unkind death [...] not intervened (and his death not only hindered and delayed the untiring progress of our labour, but stopped it altogether), then perhaps, with God's help [...] and pursuing each task which we had undertaken with all our strength of mind and body, we would have brought it to a conclusion not long afterwards. And if this were not an inappropriate occasion to do so, I would certainly have briefly recounted the reasons which drove me to translating and to writing. And if God help me, as I hope, I shall do so fairly and without any just censure in the prefaces of these works.]⁶⁴

According to this passage, *Adversus Iudaeos* and the translation of the Scriptures were already far advanced when Nicholas died: Manetti would have completed both works 'not long afterwards' ('non multo post'), had not the circumstances forced him to interrupt or even give up the work. We know that only the Psalter and the New Testament were eventually completed, as well as ten out of the twenty books of *Adversus Iudaeos*. But at this point, Manetti was still optimistic about completing both projects.⁶⁵

Nicholas's successor, Pope Calixtus III, confirmed Manetti's appointment as papal secretary, but he was a less generous patron than Nicholas V had been. Manetti decided to move to Naples in the course of 1455.⁶⁶ His experience and talents as a business man would have

⁶⁴ The translation is Botley's: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 86.

⁶⁵ In his *Vita* as well as in the *Commentario*, Vespasiano confirms that *Adversus Iudaeos* was never brought to completion: Vespasiano, "Vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 486; Vespasiano, "Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti," 623.

⁶⁶ For Manetti's move to Naples, see: Paul Botley, "Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon, and Pompey the Great: A Crusading Document Of 1455," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004): 129–156.

served him well in this new position, but Alfonso did not expect him to spend much time administering the royal finances.⁶⁷ He was therefore at liberty to take up writing again. During his stay at Alfonso’s court he continued to work on *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes* and the translations of Aristotle’s moral works.⁶⁸

He also took up his translation of the Bible again: the dedication copy of the Psalter, Pal.lat.41, was written in 1458 and addressed to King Alfonso of Naples.⁶⁹ In the preface, addressed to the King, Manetti once more mentioned his intention to eventually translate the entire Bible. But he had become less confident of its completion by this time: he remarks upon the difficulty of the task and invokes God’s help.⁷⁰ It is possible that the New Testament was next in line to be dedicated to Alfonso, as some scholars have suggested.⁷¹ There is, however, no proof that it ever was.

In the opening lines of the preface, Manetti remarked that a year had elapsed since the translation of the Psalter was finished. This means that the Psalter must have circulated from at least 1457 onwards. Apparently the new version was criticized: Manetti authored a treatise in its defence, *Apologeticus*, which was also included in the dedication copy for Alfonso.

When Alfonso died in the June of 1458, his son Ferdinand succeeded him as King of Naples. He confirmed Manetti’s position at the court in August. Manetti set out to write a biography of Alfonso, which he would never complete.⁷² That same month, Pope Calixtus III died in Rome.

⁶⁷ Vespasiano, “Commentario della vita di Giannozzo Manetti,” 605.

⁶⁸ Book VI of *Adversus Iudaeos* was edited by Stefano Baldassarri: Stefano U. Baldassarri, “Giannozzo Manetti, *Adversus Iudaeos et Gentes* VI,” *Letteratura Italiana Antica* 7 (2006): 25–75. Parts of that book had appeared before, in: Manetti, *Biographical Writings*. As for the versions of Aristotle, Manetti’s translations of the *Ethica Nicomachea*, the *Ethica Eudemia* and the *Magna Moralia* (in the fifteenth century still ascribed to Aristotle) survive in four manuscripts: Manetti’s own copy, Pal.lat.1021, transcribed by Agnolo; the copy for the library of Urbino, Urb.lat.223; Bibl.Laur., Magliab. VIII 1439; and Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, VIII G 13.

⁶⁹ The Psalter survives in eight manuscripts: Brussels, BRB cod. 10745; Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, ms. 2948, Miscellanea Tioli, v. 17; Florence, Bibl. Marucelliana, cod. C 336 (Psalms 1–36); Pal.lat.40, 41, 42, 43; Urb.lat.5. The last five manuscripts, which contain *Apologeticus*, were described by Alfonso de Petris. Manetti, *Apologeticus*, XLIII–LXV. For the manuscript tradition of Manetti’s New Testament, see Chapter Two.

⁷⁰ The preface to the Psalter was published in: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 178–181.

⁷¹ Salvatore Garofalo, “Gli umanisti italiani del secolo XV e la Bibbia,” *Biblica* 27 (1946): 359; Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 100–101.

⁷² See Botley, “Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon, and Pompey the Great,” 143.

Manetti was by that time already suffering from scabies, and would not long outlive his two benefactors. He died on October 27th in Naples. A memorial service was held in the Santo Spirito in Rome.

1.4 BESSARION AND VALLA

Produced (mainly) in Rome in the 1450s, Manetti's version of the New Testament was influenced by the intellectual climate at the court of Nicholas's V. I mention two prominent intellectuals of the time whose works may have impacted on Manetti's translation. The first is the Byzantine cardinal Bessarion, who contributed importantly to Nicholas' translation programme, especially with regard to the translation of philosophical works. Bessarion himself translated Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, a version admired by Manetti.⁷³ But he was also interested in Biblical scholarship. He suggested retranslating the Old Testament from the Hebrew.⁷⁴ Furthermore, he discussed possible corruptions in the Vulgate text with other humanists at the Vatican court. These discussions resulted in a treatise from Bessarion's hand, originally composed in Greek. Bessarion later wrote a Latin version of this text, entitled *In illud: sic eum volo manere*. It was not intended for publication and it probably circulated only among friends.⁷⁵

The second scholar who may have influenced Manetti's translation project is Lorenzo Valla. Valla's series of notes on the New Testament, known as the *Collatio* or *Annotationes Novi Testamenti*, was doubtlessly the most important contribution to Biblical scholarship in this period. Valla wrote several versions of this work in the 1440s and 1450s. He wrote a first version of the notes at the Neapolitan court in the 1440s. The project was mentioned for the first time in Valla's *Annotationes* against Antonio da Rho, composed between 1442 and 1443.⁷⁶ Valla lost his copy

⁷³ *Apologeticus* V, 42. This 'new' translation is a revision of Moerbeke's version: Nigel Guy Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 57–58.

⁷⁴ Mario Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente* (Rome: Libreria editrice dell'Università Gregoriana, 1969), 419.

⁷⁵ Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist, und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen* (Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1967), vol. 1, p. 334. The Latin text of Bessarion's treatise is available in PG 161, 623–640.

⁷⁶ Lorenzo Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. Alessandro Perosa (Florence: Sansoni, 1970), xlv. On the dating and the (limited) circulation of the *Collatio*, see: Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 353–363.

of the notes in 1446. It seems unlikely that Manetti knew of Valla’s annotations in these early years, let alone read them.⁷⁷ The text of Valla’s notes published by Alessandro Perosa in 1970 was probably based on this early Neapolitan redaction.⁷⁸ Perosa’s edition is based on two manuscripts that were produced in Naples in the 1470s.⁷⁹

Valla moved to Rome in the spring of 1447, where he took up the project again. He intended to dedicate the work to Nicholas V and wrote a preface for it.⁸⁰ Nicholas had a copy in 1449, which was subsequently passed to Nicholas of Cusa in 1450 and Marcello Capodiferro in 1453. This version was in all likelihood different from the one published by Perosa: in Rome, Valla had access to more Biblical manuscripts, and he associated with Bessarion and Nicholas of Cusa, who were also interested in Biblical scholarship.⁸¹ The copy was no longer in Rome by the time Manetti arrived there, but Manetti may have consulted a similar version.⁸²

It is not clear how widely Valla’s work circulated in this period, but we do know that it somehow passed into the hands of Poggio Bracciolini. In the early 1450s, Valla was involved in a controversy with Poggio.⁸³ This conflict was sparked off by a series of critical remarks on a collection of Poggio’s letters, written in the margin by one of Valla’s students. Poggio, on seeing the comments, was convinced that Valla was their true author, and took much offense.⁸⁴ He wrote a series of invectives (*Orationes* or *Invective*) against Valla in 1452 in which he addresses Valla’s Biblical scholarship, among other things.⁸⁵ The polemical writings of Poggio and

⁷⁷ For the dating of the redactions and the chronology Manetti’s movements, see: Botley, “Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon, and Pompey the Great,” 87–89.

⁷⁸ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*.

⁷⁹ Ibid., I–lvii.

⁸⁰ Ibid., xlix. For Valla’s *Preface*, which survives in two versions, see: Christopher S. Celenza, “Lorenzo Valla’s Radical Philology: The ‘Preface’ to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42, no. 2 (2012): 365–394.

⁸¹ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 89; Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, xlix–l; Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 418–419.

⁸² Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 89.

⁸³ For a chronological reconstruction of the controversy, see Lorenzo Valla, *Antidotum primum: La prima apologia contro Poggio Bracciolini*, ed. Ari Wesseling (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978), 34–36.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 25–27. On the long-standing conflict between Poggio and Valla, see: ibid., 25–39.

⁸⁵ The Latin text of Poggio’s three *Orationes*, also known as *Invectivae*, was published by Fubini (reprint of the 1808 Basel edition): Poggio Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, ed. Riccardo Fubini, vol. 1 (Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1964), 188–251. For their circulation, see:

Valla are relevant for Manetti's translation project in two ways. In the first place, some remarks made by Poggio and Valla indicate that Valla's notes did not circulate widely. In his first *Invectiva*, completed in December 1451, Poggio wrote that he had not seen the *Collatio* himself, but he supposed that Valla slighted Jerome in the work. Valla's responded to Poggio's *Invectiva* in an *Antidotum* in three books, written in the summer of 1452.⁸⁶ In this text, he denied Poggio's charges of disrespect to Jerome, adding that he had not published anything like the work Poggio referred to. He had, he admitted, written a work on the New Testament, but this was not generally available. Valla's response irritated Poggio. In a second *Invective*, he urged Valla to publish his work on the New Testament so that readers could judge it for themselves.⁸⁷ If Manetti had access to Valla's notes in this period, he must have been closer to Valla than many others – at least closer than Poggio.⁸⁸

Valla's controversy with Poggio is relevant for yet another reason: Manetti is mentioned several times by both authors. Valla used him as a mouthpiece in the *Antidotum primum*:

Nonne si Iannotium Manettum, ut eum potissimum nominem, consulisset, uirum litteratissimum eundemque prudentissimum, huiuscemodi consilium accepisset? (Valla, *Antidotum primum* I, 16, 1452)⁸⁹

[Surely if he had consulted Giannozzo Manetti, to mention him especially, a very learned and also very wise man, he would have accepted such advice?]

In the second *Invectiva*, Poggio gives his reaction to this literary trick:

Sed ut ad Iannotii uitia a te conficta reuertar, cur uirum prudentissimum facis impudentem? Cur ueridicum effingis mendacissimum? Cur prudentem stultum? (Poggio, *Invectiva* II, 1452)⁹⁰

Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 397–403. The first two are the most relevant; the Poggio's third, fourth and fifth *Invective* are largely repetitious, as is his *Oratio* V. Valla, *Antidotum primum*, 31–32.

⁸⁶ The text of Valla's *Antidotum Primum* is available in Valla, *Antidotum primum*. Its first book is concerned with Jerome and the Vulgate. Valla would have shown this book to Manetti, when the latter visited Rome in early 1452. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 376–378.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 353.

⁸⁸ A *Secundum Antidotum* was written in the spring of 1453: Valla, *Antidotum primum*, 32–34. This text was published as *Antidotum* IV in Garin's edition of Valla's works: Lorenzo Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962), 325–366.

⁸⁹ References are to the text in Wesseling's edition.

⁹⁰ Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, 216. See also: Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 336.

[But to come back to Giannozzo’s errors – made up by you – why do you make this wise man so shameless? Why do you portray this truthful man as a liar? Why make a wise man a fool?]

Manetti, Poggio continues, would rather recommend Valla to hold his tongue, and side with Poggio. The way Poggio uses Valla’s dealings with the Inquisition to attack his Biblical scholarship could throw light on Nicholas’s choice of Manetti as the translator of a new Latin Bible. If Valla’s suspicious past made his work on the New Testament controversial, Nicholas would have done wisely to select another humanist to carry out this project. Manetti, who had a good reputation as an orthodox and tactful man, would be an ideal candidate.

The controversy between Poggio and Valla was discussed in relation to Manetti’s translation project by Botley.⁹¹ Botley suggested that Valla’s use of Manetti in the *Antidotum Primum* ‘had an additional point’ if it was known that Nicholas V had commissioned a new translation of the Scriptures from him.⁹² But the *Antidotum Primum* was written as early as July 1452, well before Manetti’s move to the Vatican. I think it unlikely that Manetti was already engaged in the project at this point.⁹³

In spite of Poggio’s criticism, Valla continued to work on his notes to the New Testament. He wrote another version between 1453 and 1457, the year of his death – contemporarily with Manetti’s translation of the New Testament. This later redaction of Valla’s annotations was discovered by Erasmus in 1504 in the library of Parc, and published in 1505.⁹⁴ The text published by Erasmus, written at the Vatican in the 1450s, is now commonly known as the *Annotationes*, and the earlier version published by Perosa as the *Collatio*. I will adopt this practice here, although Valla did not distinguish between the two in his writings, and probably would have considered them as two stages in an ongoing writing process.⁹⁵ The *Annotationes* is not a finished product any more than the *Collatio*.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 89–94.

⁹² Ibid., 90–91.

⁹³ And so does Botley himself, who had written earlier: ‘I believe that he had no thoughts of making his own translation until after his move to Rome in 1453.’ Ibid., 88.

⁹⁴ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 803–895. This is a reprint of Erasmus’ edition.

⁹⁵ For the development and sources of Valla’s work, see: Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 34–36.

⁹⁶ Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 414–418; Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 288.

Apart from the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*, there may have been other versions of Valla's work. A manuscript of the annotations to the Gospels and Acts was discovered by Riccardo Fubini in the 1980s in the private archives of the Bichi Ruspoli family. Fubini believed that this manuscript, written in the 1470s, was copied from an intermediate version of Valla's work.⁹⁷ However, Sara Donegà has argued recently that this manuscript is an excerpt from the version published by Erasmus. It does not contain any new material with respect to the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*.⁹⁸

The *Collatio* and *Annotationes* differ slightly in nature. The *Annotationes*, the later redaction, is more comprehensive: it includes Philemon and Revelation. Furthermore, whereas the *Collatio* was mainly a stylistic revision of the Vulgate, the *Annotationes* is more concerned with text-critical problems, and moves in the direction of a new translation. He occasionally changed his mind about the translation of particular passages or about text-critical problems.⁹⁹

In addition, the tone of the *Collatio* is more aggressive than that of the *Annotationes*. Bentley suggested that Valla, by the time he wrote the *Annotationes*, had become more cautious as a result of Poggio's criticism and the Pope's disapproval.¹⁰⁰ If this is true, Manetti's project may also have been affected by the opposition to Valla's notes.¹⁰¹

It is, however, not clear how controversial Valla's project was at the time. In the *Secundum Antidotum*, he referred to letters by Nicholas of Cusa, who allegedly approved of the work.¹⁰² He explicitly mentioned

⁹⁷ Riccardo Fubini, "Una sconosciuta testimonianza Manoscritta delle Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum del Valla," in *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici (Parma, 18-19 Ottobre 1984)*, ed. Ottavio Besomi and Mariangela Regoliosi (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1986), 179–196. This paper reappeared, in slightly altered form, as Riccardo Fubini, "Leonardo Bruni e la discussa recezione dell'opera: Giannozzo Manetti e il Dialogus di Benedetto Accolti," in *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), 169–183.

⁹⁸ Sara Donegà, "Per l'edizione critica delle Adnotaciones in Novum Testamentum," in *Pubblicare il Valla*, ed. Mariangela Regoliosi (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008), 243–261.

⁹⁹ Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 319; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 36.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 48. Fubini and Botley made similar remarks: Fubini, "Una sconosciuta testimonianza Manoscritta delle Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum del Valla," 195; Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 92.

¹⁰¹ As Botley suggested: *ibid.*, 92–93.

¹⁰² Valla, *Opera omnia*, 340. For this passage in the *Secundum Antidotum*, see: Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 359–361. For Cusa's letters, see: *ibid.*, 365–369.

humanists of good reputation who had assisted him in writing his notes: Giovanni da Tivoli, Rinuccio Aretino, Theodor Gaza, George of Trebizond and Cardinal Bessarion.¹⁰³ Bessarion wrote to Valla in October 1453 to congratulate him on the first and second *Antidotum* and to praise the *Collatio*. He pleaded with the Pope on Valla’s behalf.¹⁰⁴ All this name-dropping may have been a reaction to Poggio’s opposition. Poggio was a powerful enemy: he had succeeded in arranging the imprisonment of George of Trebizond.¹⁰⁵ This alone would make Valla feel the need of finding himself some influential protectors.

In his study on Valla’s religious thought, Mario Fois placed the *Collatio/Annotationes* in the context of Nicholas V’s ecclesiastical reform. According to Fois, the Pope invited Nicholas of Cusa, Giovanni da Tivoli and probably others to the Vatican court to practice Biblical criticism. If it was the Pope’s purpose to initiate a new form of Biblical scholarship and to revise the sacred text, Valla’s *Collatio* was not controversial. After the Council of Trente (8 April 1546), when restrictions were put to Biblical scholarship, Valla’s reputation of heterodoxy was projected back on him.¹⁰⁶

As for Manetti’s project, there is even less evidence of controversy in his case. Admittedly, Manetti refers to some opposition to his version of the Psalter in the opening lines of *Apologeticus*. But he openly wrote about his new translation of the Bible, even after the death of his patron and protector, Nicholas V. Furthermore, there is no hint of controversy in Vespasiano’s biographies. The book-seller mentions Manetti’s work on the Bible as a great achievement, highly in the humanist’s favour. I see therefore no reason to believe that Manetti had to face direct opposition when translating the Bible.

1.5 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, Manetti’s translation project has been introduced in broad lines. We have seen that Manetti embarked on several new projects after his move to Rome. Next to his Bible translations, he also authored a work on the Christian religion, *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*, and a

¹⁰³ Ibid., 363.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 389–390.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 332–333.

¹⁰⁶ Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 419–422. See also: Giovanni di Napoli, *Lorenzo Valla: Filosofia e religione nell’umanesimo italiano* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1971), 136.

treatise on translation theory, *Apologeticus*. The connections between these works and his New Testament will be further explored in Chapters Two and Five respectively.

We have also seen that Manetti associated with prominent humanists in Florence, among whom Leonardo Bruni, and that translated the New Testament at the Vatican court, where Nicholas V promoted translation activities and Lorenzo Valla worked on his notes to the New Testament. Manetti's work was encouraged by the Pope, and he openly mentioned it in his biography of Nicholas V – as did Vespasiano in his biographies of Nicholas and Manetti. Yet, Manetti apparently felt the need to defend his work in *Apologeticus*. His strategies for legitimizing his translation project will be discussed in Chapter Five. In that chapter, we will also see that Manetti was influenced by Bruni's translation theory, and that he based his *Apologeticus* partly on Bruni's *De optimo genere interpretandi*.

In the next chapter, the dating and chronology of the project will be further investigated, as well as the influence of Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*.

2 Writing process

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the writing process of Manetti's translation of the New Testament: the chronology and different phases of the process, the sources Manetti used, his debt to Valla, and the developments within his translation method. Tracing the emergence of a translation is looked upon as 'essentially new' as an approach in Translation Studies.¹⁰⁷ In fifteenth-century scholarship, however, it is quite common. The writing process of humanist translations can often be reconstructed successfully, because so much relevant material has been preserved: since translators kept reworking their versions, the manuscripts in their libraries are often working copies, containing annotations in the margins and corrections and alterations in the text.¹⁰⁸ Manetti's translation project is no exception to this: the relevant manuscripts in his library are still available today, including his own copy of the translation with corrections and alterations in his handwriting.

Understanding the writing process of Manetti's version is relevant for two reasons. First, the chronology of the different stages in the process throws new light on the dating of his New Testament and its connections with other works. We have seen in the previous chapter that Manetti produced his translation at the time when Valla wrote the second redaction of his notes to the New Testament, the *Annotationes*. This is also the period when Manetti authored another work, *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*. In this chapter, the connections between Manetti's translation and these works will be further explored. Second, this chapter prepares the ground for an investigation of Manetti's textual criticism and translation method, which will be covered in Chapters Three and Six.

¹⁰⁷ Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and beyond*, 218. Toury wrote a chapter about studying interim solutions: *ibid.*, 181–192.

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g.: Stefano Pagliaroli, *L'Erodoto del Valla* (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2006); Marianne Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," *Classica et Mediaevalia* XXXVI (1985): 275–301; James Hankins, "Notes on Leonardo Bruni's Translation of the Nichomachean Ethics and Its Reception in the Fifteenth Century," in *Les traducteurs au travail: Leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 427–447.

This chapter is structured as follows. In sections one and two, I give an overview of the relevant manuscripts in Manetti's library. I then turn to the translation itself: Manetti's own manuscript of his New Testament version, its different redactions and the development of his method are discussed in sections three to six. The influence of Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes* will be investigated in section seven. In section eight, I draw some tentative conclusions concerning the dating of *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*, a work related to the Bible translation project. Finally, in section nine I discuss a later copy of Manetti's New Testament, produced for the library of Urbino after the author's death.

2.2 MANETTI'S LIBRARY

The writing process of Manetti's translation of the New Testament can be reconstructed quite successfully, because the author's collection of manuscripts has been preserved almost intact among the Palatines in the Vatican library. At Manetti's death in Naples in 1459, his books passed to his son Agnolo. Agnolo stayed in Naples for some time after his father's death, and it was probably from there that he sold several books to Vespasiano in 1462 for the Badia Fiesolana library in Florence. A year later, he left Naples to return to Florence, the town of his childhood. He brought his father's collection with him, kept it in his house, and continued to annotate the manuscripts and add new books.¹⁰⁹

When Agnolo died in 1479, the collection remained in the family. Agnolo left it to his younger brother Giovanni, who left it to his son Giannozzo, and he to his son Giovanni. This Giovanni, a great-grandson of our Giannozzo, made notes in a handful of manuscripts (all of them containing Hebrew texts) at Florence in 1529, so at least a part of the collection had remained in the family until that date.¹¹⁰ In the course of

¹⁰⁹ Agnolo refused to sell the whole collection to Vespasiano for the Badia Fiesolana library. He was reluctant to make his father's manuscripts available to third parties: he guarded the library with jealousy, ignoring his father's wish to leave it to the convent of Santo Spirito. Giuseppe M. Cagni, "Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* no. 14 (1971): 299–305. See also Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario*, 60–63; Annarosa Garzelli and Albinia Catherine De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525: Un primo censimento* (Scandicci, Florence: Giunta regionale toscana: La Nuova Italia, 1985), 422.

¹¹⁰ Umberto Cassuto, *I manoscritti palatini ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro storia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 79. Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," 2–3.

the sixteenth century the library was sold to the German collector Ulrich Fugger. His librarian, Martin Gerstmann, drew up inventory lists of the collection in the 1550s and 1560s, in which he specified the provenance of the manuscripts.¹¹¹ About two hundred of the manuscripts listed bear the signature ‘mane’ for ‘Manetti.’¹¹² Fugger’s collection was eventually added to the Palatine library of Heidelberg, and from there transported to the Vatican in the seventeenth century.

The Latin manuscripts in Manetti’s library were studied by Giuseppe Cagni, who listed 171 books. He based his study on the inventory lists of Fugger’s library.¹¹³ Manetti owned works by humanists such as Petrarch, Bruni, Biondo and George of Trebizond. He also collected numerous works by classical authors, especially Cicero and Seneca. There are several translations and commentaries of Aristotle in his collection. Of the Church Fathers, he owned translations of Eusebius and Chrysostom, as well as works by Jerome and Augustine. Furthermore, Manetti owned copies of most of his own works. Some codices carry a note of possession by Agnolo, which means they may have been acquired after Giannozzo’s death. This is the case for George of Trebizond’s *Rhetorica* as well as for Valla’s *Elegantie*.¹¹⁴

As for the Greek works in Manetti’s library, the catalogue of the Palatini Graeci lists 46 manuscripts that were in Manetti’s possession.¹¹⁵ Most of them were copied by Scutariota, who was employed by Manetti in Florence.¹¹⁶ In his recent book on Greek studies in this period, Botley gave an overview of Greek titles that appear frequently on inventory lists

¹¹¹ Inventory lists of Fugger’s library were published in: Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960).

¹¹² The original collection may well have been much more voluminous, judging from the number of books collected by other humanists, as Willy Wittschier observed: Wittschier, *Giannozzo Manetti*, 27, n. 116.

¹¹³ Cagni, “I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti.”

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30–42.

¹¹⁵ Jean Baptiste Pitra and Henricus Stevenson sr., *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Ex typographeo Vaticano, 1885), 302. For the Hebrew manuscripts in Manetti’s collection, see: Cassuto, *I manoscritti palatini ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro storia*.

¹¹⁶ For Scutariota and the manuscripts he copied, see: Marie Vogel and Viktor Emil Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1966), 197–199; A. Biedl, “Der Handschriftenschreiber Joannes Skutariotes,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38, no. 1 (1938): 96–98. Other manuscripts copied by Scutariota for the Manetti library are: Pal.gr.83, 159–167, 171, 172, 175, 177, 180–182, 187, 190, 194, 323 and Vat.gr.378 and 380. See: Cagni, “Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci,” 295, n. 7.

of humanist collections.¹¹⁷ Of the seventeen authors of 'study-texts' that Botley mentions, thirteen are represented in Manetti's library. Aristophanes, Euripides, and Sophocles are missing, and so is Quintus of Smyrna.¹¹⁸ Next to the popular authors listed by Botley, Manetti owned copies of Diogenes Laertius, Philo Iudaeus and Hippocrates.¹¹⁹

Manetti's collection also contained several grammars and Greek-Latin lexicons. Pal.gr.194 is a copy of a Greek-Latin lexicon that was probably compiled around 1440.¹²⁰ Both Botley and Stevenson believed that the Greek part of the lexicon was copied by Scutariota, whereas Cagni suggested that the lexicon was written and compiled by Manetti himself.¹²¹ If it is a copy of an existing work, it is curious that there are so many blanks where the Latin translations should be.

Pal.gr.195 contains a Latin-Greek lexicon, as well as the Apostle's Creed, the Hail Mary, the first chapter of the Gospel of John, Aesop's fables, and St. Cyril's lexicon.¹²² It was written in 1431 by a scribe called Michael ('a Michaële notario').¹²³ The date would coincide with the period when Manetti began his literary studies.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396-1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2010).

¹¹⁸ Botley mentions Homer (Pal.gr.180, 181), Xenophon (Pal.gr.184), Theocritus (Pal.gr.179, 190), Pindar (Pal.gr.190), Apollonius of Rhodes (Pal.gr. 186), Pseudo-Orpheus (Pal.gr.179). Not identified by Botley: Aesop (Pal.gr.195), Lucian (Pal.gr.174), Demosthenes (Pal.gr.172, 193), Isocrates (Pal.gr.187), Plutarch (Pal.gr.166-169, 178), Plato (Pal.gr. 173, 175, 177) and Hesiod (Pal.gr.190).

¹¹⁹ Pal.gr.182, Pal.gr.183 and Pal.gr.192.

¹²⁰ Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe*, 64. Botley refers to Peter Thiermann, who attributed the lexicon to Guarino Veronese: Peter Thiermann, "I dizionari greco-latini fra medioevo e umanesimo," in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international organisé par le 'Ettore Majorana Centre for Scientific Culture' (Erice, 23-30 Septembre 1994)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 1996), 662–663.

¹²¹ Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe*, 64; Pitra and Stevenson sr., *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 97; Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," 6–7.

¹²² According to Stevenson, there are also excerpts from Numbers, but I have not found these. Pitra and Stevenson sr., *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 98.

¹²³ Pitra and Stevenson sr., *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*; Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. 2, 79, 85; Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), nr. 474.

¹²⁴ See above, p. 9.

As for grammars, one of Manetti's Greek manuscripts, Pal.gr.197 is referred to in the inventory of Fugger's collection as *Grammaticae interrogationes*.¹²⁵ It is a grammar book with paradigms of the conjugations, but it is not written in question form. Finally, Pal.lat.1772, a copy of Tortelli's *De orthografia*, may have belonged to Giannozzo. However, since it bears Agnolo's mark of possession, it was probably acquired after 1459.¹²⁶

That a book is not on the inventory lists of Fugger's collection does of course not mean that it was never read by, or in the possession of, Manetti. There is no copy of Jerome's *De optimo genere interpretandi* on the list, but Manetti quoted extensively from this work in *Apologeticus*. Likewise, Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes* is missing. Even so, we will see that Manetti consulted this work while translating the New Testament.

2.3 SOURCES (VORLAGE)

Even more relevant than the dictionaries and grammars in Manetti's collection are the sources that his translation was based on. According to the inventory of Fugger's collection, Manetti owned the following Biblical manuscripts:

1. Pal.lat.17 (13th century); the Vulgate Old Testament with Jerome's prologues
2. Pal.lat.18 (14th century); the Vulgate Old and New Testament with Jerome's prologues and marginal notes
3. Pal.gr.171 (15th century); the Greek New Testament
4. Pal.gr.189 (11th century); the Greek Gospels
5. Pal.gr.229 (14th century); the Greek Gospels

Number (1) is not relevant for Manetti's translation of the New Testament, but all the other manuscripts were consulted in the translation process.

¹²⁵ Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, vol. 2, 90.

¹²⁶ Wolfgang Metzger and Veit Probst, *Die humanistischen, Triviums- und Reformationshandschriften der codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1461-1914)* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2002), 124–125. See also: Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," 20. For Tortelli's grammar, see: Mariarosa Cortesi, "Il 'Vocabularium' greco di Giovanni Tortelli," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979): 449–484.

2.3.1 The Latin Text

As for Pal.lat.18, Manetti's copy of the Vulgate, there are three indications that Manetti based his translation of the New Testament partly on this manuscript. In the first place, Pal.lat.18 contains signs of intensive study. In Genesis and the Psalms, Manetti wrote Hebrew passages in the margin, probably when he took his first lessons of Hebrew.¹²⁷ At Matthew 1, he wrote the genealogy of Christ in the margin.¹²⁸ The manuscript contains a flyleaf with Jerome's preface to the Hebrew Psalter, copied by Manetti's son Agnolo, and a table of contents, written by Giannozzo himself.

There are several indications that Manetti was interested in the similarities and differences between the four Gospels. On page 392r, in the back, Manetti compiled an outline of the Gospels, and he copied a citation from Jerome about the chronology of John as opposed to the synoptic Gospels. The citation is from chapter IX of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, of which Manetti owned a copy.¹²⁹ In addition, there are marginal notes that indicate that he collated the Gospels. Mark 6, for example, narrates how Jesus, returning to Nazareth, is recognized by the local people, who do not accept his authority. In the Vulgate, Verse 3 reads as follows:

'Nonne hic est faber, filius Marie, frater Iacobi et Ioseph et Iude et Simonis? Nonne et sorores eius hic nobiscum sunt?' Et scandalizabantur in illo. (Vulgate, Mark 6: 3)¹³⁰

[‘Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joseph, and of Juda, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?’ And they were offended at him. (KJB)]¹³¹

Manetti wrote in Pal.lat.18: *faber alibi f. fabri* [‘the carpenter’, elsewhere ‘the son of the carpenter’]. In all likelihood, Manetti compared this passage with its equivalent in the Gospel of Matthew.¹³² Likewise, he compared Mark 6:4 with Matthew 13: 57 and Mark 14: 30 with Matthew

¹²⁷ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 99.

¹²⁸ Pal.lat.18, fol. 320r.

¹²⁹ Pal.lat.818. See: Cagni, “I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti,” 31, nr. 85.

¹³⁰ Pal.lat.18, fol. 331r-v.

¹³¹ Translations of Bible passages are based on existing English versions. Most of them are slightly modified in order to correspond to a particular Greek or Latin reading.

¹³² Matthew 13: 55.

26: 34, as appears from marginal notes in these places.¹³³ All these notes, lists and catch-words indicate that Manetti used Pal.lat.18 as a reference text for all his work on the Bible.

In the second place, the text of Manetti's translation contains numerous readings that correspond to Pal.lat.18, including a blatant writing error. At Revelation 11: 5, the Vulgate reads:

Et si quis eos uoluerit nocere, ignis exiet de ore illorum et deuorabit inimicos eorum; et si quis uoluerit eos ledere sic oportet eum occidi.
(Vulgate, Revelation 11: 5)

[And if anyone tries to harm them, fire will go out from their mouths and consumes their enemies. This is how anyone who tries to harm them must die. (NIV)]

In his new translation, Manetti left out most of the verse. His version reads:

Et si quis ipsos ledere uoluerit, sic eum occidi oportet. (Manetti's New Testament, Revelation 11: 5)¹³⁴

[And if anyone tries to harm them this is how he must die.]

The omission originated in Pal.lat.18, which reads:

Et si quis uoluerit eos nocere / ledere, sic oportet eum occidi. (Pal.lat.18, Revelation 11: 5)¹³⁵

The copyist of Pal.lat.18, when moving to the next line, picked up the sentence at the wrong place. Manetti copied the error, apparently without noticing the omission.

Pal.lat.18 also contains marginal notes that directly concern the translation of individual passages. At Mark 5: 41, for example, he changed the rendering of Jesus' Aramaic, spoken to Jairus daughter when she was raised from the dead. These words are usually transliterated as *thabita cumi* ['girl, rise'], but Manetti, assuming Jesus had spoken Hebrew instead of Aramaic, translated the words back as *Iaalda cumi*. In the margin of Pal.lat.18 he wrote: '*non thabita cumi sed Jaalda cumi est puella surgas in hebreo*' ['not tabitha cumi but Jaalda cumi is 'girl, rise' in Hebrew']. This is also what we find in his translation.¹³⁶

¹³³ Pal.lat.18, fols. 331v and 334v.

¹³⁴ Pal.lat.45, fol. 160r.

¹³⁵ Pal.lat.18, fol. 388v.

¹³⁶ Pal.lat.18, fol. 331r. Manetti quoted his own 'Hebrew' version of Jesus' words also in *Apologeticus*, as part of a quotation from Jerome. *Apologeticus* V, 62.

The marginal notes in Pal.lat.18 are relevant for Manetti's textual criticism as well as his translation method. Some of them concern rare words, such as Greek or Aramaic borrowings in the Latin text, or variant readings in the manuscripts. One note in Pal.lat.18 was taken from Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*.¹³⁷

2.3.2 The Greek Text

It is clear then that Pal.lat.18 was an important, and probably the main, Latin source for Manetti's translation of the New Testament. The case of his Greek source is more complicated. Manetti owned three Greek Bible manuscripts: Pal.gr.171, 189 and 229. They all belong to the Byzantine text-type.¹³⁸ Manetti's principle Greek source, Pal.gr.171, was copied in the 1440s by John Scutariota, like most of Manetti's Greek books. It contains a table of contents in Manetti's handwriting and the page numbers were written by either Giannozzo or Agnolo Manetti, but there are no annotations in the margins or other indications that Manetti used this manuscript for study purposes. There are, however, three indications that he used Pal.gr.171 for his translation of the New Testament.

Firstly, Pal.gr.171 has some rare variant readings that are not found in other manuscripts of the Byzantine text-type.¹³⁹ These variants appear in Manetti's translation. For example, Manetti's translation has a divergent word order in the opening lines of the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25. In the Vulgate, Matthew 25: 2 reads:

quinque autem ex eis erant fatue et quinque prudentes¹⁴⁰

[Five of them were foolish and five wise]

Manetti's translation corresponds to the reading of Pal.gr.171:

Quinque autem ex eis erant prudentes et quinque fatue (Manetti's New Testament, Matthew 25: 2)

Pal.gr.171, Manetti's Greek source, has a rare variant reading here:

¹³⁷ See below, p. 49f.

¹³⁸ These appear on Kurt Aland's *Liste*, a list of all available witnesses of the New Testament, as minuscule 149, 150 and 153 respectively: <http://ntvnr.uni-muenster.de/liste>. For the Byzantine text-type, see: Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 279–280.

¹³⁹ I consulted the critical edition by Nestle and Aland: Eberhard Nestle and Kurt Aland, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

¹⁴⁰ Pal.lat.18, fol. 327v.

πέντε δὲ ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν φρόνιμοι καὶ πέντε μωραί.¹⁴¹

[Five of them were wise and five foolish]

Other rare variants in Pal.gr.171 that appear in Manetti's translation are found at Matthew 26: 9, Mark 13: 14, 1 Corinthians 15: 10, 1 Thessalonians 1: 9, Acts 12: 20, Acts 13: 17, 1 Peter 4: 11, 3 John 12, and 2 Peter 2: 13.

Secondly, it is very likely that an omission in Manetti's translation was based on the line-division in Pal.gr.171. At Matthew 27: 59-60, Manetti's translation lacks a sentence that is generally present in both the Greek and the Latin tradition, leaving a gap in the narrative:

Et accepto corpore, Ioseph inuoluit ipsum in sindone munda et aduoluit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti et abiit. (Manetti's New Testament, Matthew 27: 59-60)

[Joseph took the body, wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and rolled a big stone in front of the entrance to the tomb and went away.]

In this translation, Joseph of Arimathea does not actually place Jesus' body in the grave. All Latin and Greek manuscripts – including Manetti's copies – have an additional clause:

καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήλθεν. (Matthew 27: 59-60)

Et accepto corpore, Ioseph inuoluit illud in sindone munda *et posuit illud in monumento suo nouo, quod exciderat in petra*, et aduoluit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti et abiit. (Vulgate, Matthew 27: 59-60)

[Joseph took the body, wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, *and placed it in his own new tomb that he had cut out of the rock*. He rolled a big stone in front of the entrance to the tomb and went away. (NIV)]

When we turn to this passage in Pal.gr.171, the omission is easy to explain: the missing words comprise exactly one line in that manuscript. In all likelihood, Manetti accidentally skipped the sentence when translating the passage.¹⁴²

The third indication that Manetti based his translation on Pal.gr.171 is his rendering of Luke 8: 15, where he expanded the text with an additional clause:

Quod autem in bonam terram: hi sunt, qui cum in corde bono et probò audierint uerbum retinent et fructificant in patientia. *Hec dicens clamabat:*

¹⁴¹ Pal.gr.171, fol. 19v.

¹⁴² Pal.gr.171, fol. 23v.

'Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.' (Manetti's New Testament, Luke 8: 5).

[But the seed on good soil stands for those with a noble and good heart, who hear the word, retain it, and by persevering produce a crop. *When he said this, he called out, 'Whoever has ears to hear, let them hear.'*]

The words *Hec dicens clamabat: 'Qui habet aures ad audiendum audiat'* are not found anywhere in the Greek or the Latin tradition at this point. In Pal.gr.171, these words were written in the margin next to Luke 8: 15.¹⁴³

All this indicates that Pal.gr.171 was an important Greek source for Manetti's translation. But it was not the only one: he also consulted Pal.gr.189 and 229, his Gospel manuscripts, as appears from variant readings in his translation that are supported by Pal.gr.189 and 229, and not by Pal.gr.171 and Pal.lat.18. For example, at Mark 12: 2-4, the parable of the farmers in the vineyard, Manetti's translation contains a lengthy dittography:

[2] Et misit ad agricolas in tempore seruum, ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu uinee; [3] ipsi autem apprehensum eum uerberauere et dimiserunt eum uacuum. [4] Et iterum misit ad eos alium seruum [2'] ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu uinee; [3'] ipsi autem eum apprehensum uerberauerunt et uacuum dimiserunt. [4'] Et rursus misit ad eum alium seruum (Manetti's New Testament, Mark 12: 2-4)

[At harvest time he sent a servant to the tenants to collect from them some of the fruit of the vineyard. But they seized him, beat him and sent him away empty-handed. Then he sent another servant to them *to collect from them some of the fruit of the vineyard. But they seized him, beat him and sent him away empty-handed. Then he sent another servant to them.*]

Manetti's translation of this passage is based on the Greek text of Pal.gr.189, which contains the same writing error.¹⁴⁴ Other readings based on Pal.gr.189 and 229 are found at Matthew 8: 13, Matthew 9: 35, Matthew 10: 12, Luke 21: 4 and John 5: 4.

2.3.3 Manetti's request for Biblical manuscripts

The identification of Manetti's source texts – Pal.lat.18, Pal.gr.171, 189 and 229 – is not only helpful for a better understanding of his textual criticism and translation method, which will be covered in Chapters

¹⁴³ ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει· ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω. Pal.gr.171, fol. 47r. These words were probably taken from Luke 8:8.

¹⁴⁴ Pal.gr.189, fol. 140r.

Three and Six, it also throws new light on the dating of his translation project, since it appears that the Bible manuscripts he based his version on probably passed into his hands at different moments in time.

On 23 November 1454, Manetti sent a letter from Rome to Vespasiano da Bisticci.¹⁴⁵ In it, he accepted Vespasiano's offer of some books of the Bible and a copy of *Vita Patrum*, apparently made in a letter written shortly before. It is clear from Manetti's letter that the books were not yet in his possession at the time of writing. Giuseppe Cagni suggested that Manetti referred to Pal.lat.18, his copy of the Vulgate.¹⁴⁶ This is problematic though: as we have seen, Manetti probably used Pal.lat.18 for his first lessons of Hebrew, begun in the 1440s.¹⁴⁷ If Pal.lat.18 was already in Manetti's possession in Florence, it is not very likely that he would refer to this manuscript in his letter to Vespasiano. The same holds true for Pal.gr.171, his main Greek source, which was copied for him in the 1440s.¹⁴⁸

Manetti may have referred to one of his Old Testament manuscripts in his letter to Vespasiano, but I think it more likely that he had his Greek Gospel texts in mind. A reading in his translation indicates that he got hold of these after he had acquired Pal.lat.18 and Pal.gr.171. This reading is part of the episode of the woman caught in adultery (John 7: 53-John 8: 10), which is absent from Pal.gr.171, and from the Byzantine text in general.¹⁴⁹ Manetti noticed this absence, as appears from a marginal note in Pal.lat.18.¹⁵⁰ But he included the passage in his translation all the same. At John 8: 10, he even included an expansion of the text that is not found in his copy of the Vulgate:

neminem conspicatus preter mulierem

[and saw none but the woman]

Since these words appear neither in Pal.gr.171 or in Pal.lat.18, Manetti must have based his translation on another source. His Gospel manuscripts, Pal.gr.189 and 229, both have the adultery episode. What is more, they both have the additional clause:

¹⁴⁵ The letter was published in Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario*, 131–133.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 132, n. 1. Cagni's suggestion was adopted by Botley. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 31, note 127.

¹⁴⁸ See above, p. 33.

¹⁴⁹ Pal.gr.171, fol. 69v.

¹⁵⁰ Pal.lat.18, fol. 347r.

καὶ μηδὲνα θεασαμένος πλὴν τῆς γυναικός¹⁵¹

It appears then that Manetti based his translation of the adultery episode on the Gospel manuscripts. But he had clearly not yet consulted these when he wrote in the margin of Pal.lat.18 that this passage was missing in the Greek text. If Pal.gr.189 and 229 are the books offered by Vespasiano, that would explain why Manetti first observed that John 7:53-8:10 was not in the Greek and then included and expanded the passage all the same.

2.4 REVISING THE VULGATE

Manetti's version is heavily dependent of the Vulgate. In many places, the changes he made are hardly significant – if he made any at all. This can be illustrated by a fragment from the first chapter of Luke, which shows some translation choices typical for Manetti:

Et tu, puer, propheta altissimi uocaberis: preibis enim ante faciem domini *ut pares* uias *ei*, ad dandam *cognitionem* salutis *populo suo* in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per uiscera misericordie Dei nostri, in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto, *ad illuminandum* his qui in tenebris et *umbra* mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in uiam pacis.' Puer autem crescebat et confortabatur spiritu et erat in *desertis* usque ad diem ostensionis *sue ad* Israel. (Manetti's New Testament, Luke 1: 76-80)

[‘And you, my child, will be called a prophet of the Most High; for you will go on before the Lord to prepare the way for him, to give his people the knowledge of salvation through the forgiveness of their sins, because of the tender mercy of our God, by which the rising sun will come to us from heaven to shine on those living in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the path of peace.’ And the child grew and became strong in spirit; and he lived in the wilderness until he appeared publicly to Israel. (NIV)]

The changes Manetti made in this passage are emphasized; everything else is identical with the Vulgate.¹⁵² We see here that he replaced two words with synonyms (*cognitionem*, *populo*), two final infinitives with other constructions (*ut pares*, *ad illuminandum*), and that he replaced *eius* with a form of *suus* twice. These are all changes that Manetti made very frequently throughout the New Testament. But apart from these alterations, the basic structure of the Vulgate translation has been

¹⁵¹ Pal.gr.189, fol. 270v; Pal.gr.229, fol. 219r.

¹⁵² Where Manetti changed the text, the Vulgate has: *parare*, *eius*, *scientiam*, *plebi eius*, *illuminare*, *in umbra*, *deserto*, *eius*, *in*.

maintained. Manetti preserved the Vulgate's word order, which is basically the word order of the Greek original. Other passages in Manetti's New Testament are almost exact copies of the translation of the Vulgate, for example Romans 3: 10-15, in which only one conjunction (*quia*) is left out. No other changes were made in this passage. Such cases are not exceptional.

2.5 MANETTI'S WORKING COPY: PAL.LAT.45

Now that the sources Manetti's New Testament was based on have been identified, we can turn to the writing process of the translation itself. The earliest extant copy of Manetti's translation, Pal.lat.45, was preserved among the manuscripts of Manetti's own collection. It is a fine copy, written by a professional scribe. The first capital of each book is decorated and the headings are written in red and blue ink. Pal.lat.45 may have been copied from an earlier draft, or dictated directly.¹⁵³ There are several writing errors in Manetti's New Testament that seem to result from dictation, such as *solum nominatorem* for *solum dominatorem* at Jude 4 and *et dixi* for *et ipsi* at Revelation 6: 11.

The anonymous copyist of Pal.lat.45 has not been identified. His corrections consist mainly of additions between the lines, *inter scribendum* corrections, and overwritten erasures. Almost all of them are corrections of writing errors and inaccuracies. In the Gospel of Matthew, the number of corrections is almost twice as high as in all the other books together. This is the only place in the New Testament where the copyist did not only correct writing errors, but made changes to the translation itself as well. Some words and constructions were consistently replaced with new translations, and occasionally the word order was changed, or a word ejected.¹⁵⁴ Manetti often dictated alterations to the scribes who copied his works, as appears from the manuscripts of some of his other

¹⁵³ The translation of *Dialogus consolatorius*, for example, was dictated directly to Manetti's secretary, Tommaso Tani. Manetti describes the writing process of that translation in the preface to Mariotto Bianchi: 'E però, chiamato il nostro Tommaso perché, mentre ch'io lo trasferissi, come tu sai, la sera a veggghia di sua mano lo trascrivesse, in piccol tempo lo compiamo.' Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*, 306. Bruni likewise dictated some of his translations to a scribe: Hankins, "Notes on Leonardo Bruni's Translation of the Nichomachean Ethics and Its Reception in the Fifteenth Century," 428.

¹⁵⁴ The copyist replaced *uniuersus* replaced with *totus* and *nouissimus* with *ultimus*.

writings.¹⁵⁵ The transcription of Pal.lat.45, together with the corrections made by the copyist, are the second step of the writing process:

1. First draft, possibly dictated
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist

After the anonymous copyist had transcribed the translation, Manetti personally revised the text of Pal.lat.45.¹⁵⁶ This is not exceptional: other manuscripts of his works bear traces of later revision as well. Sometimes the corrections he made in one copy of one of his works were transcribed into another manuscript in his collection. In other cases, alterations were copied only partly, or copies were corrected independently from one another.¹⁵⁷

Humanist translators often left behind traces of the writing process in their texts. For example, an intermediate version of Ciriaco's translation of Pseudo-Aristotle's *De virtutibus* survives, written in the translator's hand.¹⁵⁸ Valla, when translating Thucydides, wrote some of his deliberations down in the margins of the text.¹⁵⁹ Bruni, who dictated his translations to an amanuensis, often made slight alterations to his work – especially with regard to spelling. He also occasionally wrote variant translations in the margin.¹⁶⁰ Pier Candido Decembrio used his father's manuscript with corrections and alterations for his revision of Plato's

¹⁵⁵ This happened in Pal.lat.40 and Pal.lat.41, two of Manetti's copies of the Psalter and *Apologeticus*: Manetti, *Apologeticus*, XLVII–XLVIII. Similar corrections are found on Pal.lat.1603 and 1605, copies of the *Laudationes Ianuensium*: Giannozzo Manetti, *Elogi dei Genovesi*, ed. Giovanna Petti-Balbi (Milan: Marzorati Editore, 1974), 44.

¹⁵⁶ That the annotations are in Giannozzo's hand was already pointed out by Cagni and Kristeller. Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," 35, n. 3; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Vol. 2, Italy, Orvieto to Volterra, Vatican City* (London, Leiden: The Warburg Institute, Brill, 1967), 390.

¹⁵⁷ For other examples of traces of the writing process in copies of Manetti's works, see: Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti Summi Pontificis*, LXII–XCH; Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*, LXIX–XCI; Manetti, *Apologeticus*, XLIII–LXV.

¹⁵⁸ Mariarosa Cortesi, "Ciriaco traduttore dal greco," in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanesimo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio (Ancona, 6-9 Febbraio 1992)*, ed. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998), 206–207.

¹⁵⁹ Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," 289.

¹⁶⁰ Hankins, "Notes on Leonardo Bruni's Translation of the Nichomachean Ethics and Its Reception in the Fifteenth Century," 427–434.

Republic. This text had remained in the family library after Uberto's death.¹⁶¹

Manetti was often assisted by his son Agnolo, who drew up tables of content, wrote page numbers, filled out blanks in his father's texts, made annotations in the margins, and produced new copies. He helped his father correct copies of the translation of the Psalter and *Apologeticus*, *Dialogus consolatorius*, the *Laudationes Ianuensium*, and probably *De dignitate*. The second redaction of the *Lives of Socrates and Seneca* and the *Life of Nicholas V* were copied by Agnolo and subsequently corrected by him.¹⁶²

Manetti's close collaboration with his son poses a problem: some of the corrections in the New Testament that I take to be Manetti's could in fact be Agnolo's, since their handwriting looks very much alike.¹⁶³ But because Agnolo must have worked under his father's direct supervision, this does not really make a difference for the status of the corrections and alterations in Pal.lat.45. The same holds true for the copyist of Pal.lat.45, who also corrected the text according to Manetti's directions. I do therefore not distinguish between the copyist, Giannozzo and Agnolo Manetti in my below discussion of the corrections and alterations in Pal.lat.45, the third step in the writing process:

1. First draft, possibly dictated
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti

¹⁶¹ Diego Bottoni, "I Decembrio e la traduzione della Repubblica di Platone: Dalle correzioni dell'autografo di Uberto alle integrazioni Greche di Pier Candido," in *Vestigia: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. Rino Avesani et al. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984), 79.

¹⁶² Cagni, "Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci," 299; Manetti, *Apologeticus*, XLVIII; Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti Summi Pontificis*, LXII; Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*, LXIX–LXXI; Giannozzo Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, ed. Alfonso De Petris (Florence: Olschki, 1979), 13–14; Giannozzo Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, ed. Elisabeth Riley Leonard (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1975), XVI.

¹⁶³ Garofalo even identified the annotations in Pal.lat.45 as 'correzioni di Agnolo'. Garofalo, "Gli umanisti italiani del secolo XV e la Bibbia," 364. Albinia de la Mare wrote on Giannozzo's and Agnolo's handwriting: "The humanistic handwriting of Giannozzo (...) and Agnolo (...) Manetti has not yet been the subject of a published study. I have been investigating it myself and hope to publish my conclusions in the next volume of *Handwriting*." Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 445, n. 181. The only volume of *Handwriting* since 1973 that I know of appeared in 2009 and is dedicated exclusively to Bartolomeo Sanvito. I conclude therefore that de la Mare's research was never published.

Humanist translators often based their new versions on earlier Latin translations. These new versions are often stylistic revisions rather than genuine new translations. Bruni, for example, seems to have used all medieval versions available to him as a starting-point for his versions of Aristotle – in spite of his severe criticism of his predecessors.¹⁶⁴ They also reworked translations made by other humanists. Rinuccio Aretino reworked Bruni's version of Plato's *Crito*.¹⁶⁵ Uberto Decembrio revised Chrysoloras' version of Plato's *Republic*, which in its turn was revised by his son, Pier Candido Decembrio.¹⁶⁶ One explanation for the re-use of existing versions could be the early humanists' shaky grasp of the Greek language.¹⁶⁷

2.6 MANETTI'S CORRECTIONS

The writing habits of humanist translations often consisted of two stages: (1) a quite literal rendering of the Greek original and (2) a reworked version in more elegant Latin.¹⁶⁸ In the case of Chrysoloras' and Decembrio's version of Plato's *Republic*, for example, a literal translation was dictated by Chrysoloras first, which Decembrio afterwards revised and corrected – apparently without consulting the

¹⁶⁴ Hankins, "Notes on Leonardo Bruni's Translation of the Nichomachean Ethics and Its Reception in the Fifteenth Century," 427–434.

¹⁶⁵ Rinuccio used a different Greek source than Bruni, but he relied mostly on Bruni's version. Ernesto Berti and Antonella Carosini, *Il Critone latino di Leonardo Bruni e di Rinuccio Aretino* (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 39–61.

¹⁶⁶ For these versions, see: Bottoni, "I Decembrio e la traduzione della Repubblica di Platone"; Vittorio Zaccaria, "Pier Candido Decembrio traduttore della 'Repubblica' di Platone," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 2 (1959): 179–206; James Hankins, "A Manuscript of Plato's Republic in the Translation of Chrysoloras and Uberto Decembrio with Annotations of Guarino Veronese (Reg.lat.1131)," in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Frederick Jr. Purnell (New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1987), 149–188.

¹⁶⁷ Botley concludes from the long interval between the discovery of the *Ethica Eudemia* in Greek and the production of its first Latin translation that the first generation of humanists was not proficient enough in Greek to make a translation of an unknown text. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 74. This was not always the case though. Filelfo, for example, produced genuine new translations from the Greek: Lucia Gualdo Rosa, "Le traduzioni dal greco nella prima metà del '400: Alle radici del classicismo europeo," ed. M. Renard and P. Laurens, *Latomus* 187 (1985): 188.

¹⁶⁸ In his book on medieval and Renaissance translation, Eric Jacobsen argued that humanist translation practice was firmly embedded in the medieval tradition of the language arts. He distinguished two types of translation, a grammatical and a rhetorical type: Jacobsen, *Translation: A Traditional Craft*, 54–55 and passim.

Greek.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, Valla produced literal translations of Herodotus and Thucydides before reworking them into more elegant versions. For his Thucydides, he seems to have made an interlinear translation first, glossing over unknown Greek words and maintaining the word order of the Greek. He then added translations of variant readings and alternative Latin constructions. Apparently he meant to rework the first draft into a more fluent translation, but this was never done.¹⁷⁰ As for his Herodotus, he wrote a literal crib first, which he reworked in a more natural Latin style in a second version.¹⁷¹ Manetti's working process likewise consisted of various stages.

Manetti's corrections in Pal.lat.45 take several forms. He occasionally added words in the margins and between the lines, but in most cases he erased the original reading and overwrote it with another. He also cancelled words or word groups by underlining them or by expunction. Changes of word order are indicated by small letters above the words: at Luke 11: 46, Pal.lat.45 reads *tollerabilibus^b difficulter^a* for *difficulter tollerabilibus* ['hard to bear'] and at Revelation 17: 5, it has *abominationum^a mater^c terre^b* for *abominationum terre mater* ['mother of the abominations of the earth'].

From the nature of the additions, deletions and corrections in Manetti's handwriting, two observations can be made concerning the writing process of his translation. In the first place, rather than reading through his translation and correcting only conspicuous errors, Manetti must have collated Pal.lat.45 with another text. He occasionally added words that Pal.lat.45 originally lacked, but that are not necessary to the structure or the meaning of the sentence (*et* at the beginning of a sentence; *enim*; *ei* after verbs of speech).

Furthermore, the nature of Manetti's corrections changes over time. They show a downward tendency after the Gospel of Matthew, and whereas Matthew is full of alterations to the translation itself, most corrections in the later books concern only writing errors. In other

¹⁶⁹ Hankins, "A Manuscript of Plato's Republic in the Translation of Chrysoloras and Ubertro Decembrio with Annotations of Guarino Veronese (Reg.lat.1131)," 155. It has been argued, however, that Ubertro's revision did include corrections that concern the meaning of the Greek: Bottoni, "I Decembrio e la traduzione della Repubblica di Platone: Dalle correzioni dell'autografo di Ubertro alle integrazioni greche di Pier Candido," 83–84.

¹⁷⁰ Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," 300–301.

¹⁷¹ Pagliaroli, *L'Erodoto del Valla*, 93–99.

words, Manetti did not only make more corrections in Matthew than in the rest of the text, he also shifted his focus away from the content of the text to the accuracy of its transcription. In what follows, I leave corrections of writing errors aside and concentrate on the alterations on the level of translation. These can be subdivided into three categories: eliminations of double translations, consistent renderings of Greek words and stylistic changes.

As for the first category, it appears that Manetti had occasionally written down more than one translation option for a word or passage in his first draft. These 'double translations' were then copied into Pal.lat.45. In some of these cases, we can see how Manetti experimented with the place of a word in the sentence. At Acts 18: 5, for example, Pal.lat.45 reads:

Judeis Christum ~~testificans~~ Iesum testificans

[testifying to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ]¹⁷²

Manetti eliminated one of the options when he revised Pal.lat.45. Likewise, at Acts 20: 31, Manetti's translation reads:

Propter quod uigilate memores quod per triennium non cessavi nocte dieque ~~ut lacrimis~~ unumquemque admonens cum lacrimis. (Manetti's New Testament, Acts 20: 31)

[Therefore be alert, remembering that for three years I did not cease night or day to admonish everyone with tears. (ESV)]¹⁷³

At Luke 13: 22, the double translation was not eliminated:

... et procedebat per ciuitates et castella docens et iter faciens per castella

[And he went through the cities and villages, teaching, and journeying toward Jerusalem through the villages].¹⁷⁴

At Romans 1: 27, Manetti used two different translations of the same Greek word: he rendered τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει ['the due penalty'] by *conuenientem mercedem quam oportuit* ['the due penalty they deserved'].

Some 'double translations' are based on variant readings in Manetti's source texts. In these cases, the reading of the Vulgate was initially

¹⁷² In the Greek text: διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν.

¹⁷³ In the Greek text: διὸ γρηγορεῖτε μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον.

¹⁷⁴ In the Greek text: Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορεύειν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

preserved next to translations of a Greek variant. When Manetti revised Pal.lat.45, he eliminated the Latin readings, preserving only the Greek reading. From these eliminations in Pal.lat.45 we can conclude that Manetti must have consulted the Vulgate and at least one Greek source when revising his translation. Corrections that concern variant readings will be discussed in more detail when we come to Manetti's method of textual criticism.¹⁷⁵

2.6.1 Consistent replacements

Double translations are only a small minority among the traces of Manetti's deliberations. Most of the alterations in Pal.lat.45 concern translations of words and constructions that were changed consistently throughout the New Testament. These corrections show that Manetti changed his mind about some translations in the process. They also show when these decisions were made.

The clearest example of this is the way Manetti translated the Greek word *σῶζω* ['to save'], which occurs over fifty times in the New Testament. In the Vulgate, it is generally translated as *saluum facio* or *saluo* in the active voice, and as *saluus sum*, *saluus fio* or *saluor* in the passive voice. Manetti initially used all of these options in the Gospel of Matthew. But after that book, he limited himself to *saluo* for the active, and *saluor* for the passive voice. These translations were used almost without exception in the rest of the New Testament.¹⁷⁶ When Manetti corrected Pal.lat.45, he returned to change the alternative translations in Matthew. He cancelled forms of *saluum facio*, *saluus sum*, and *saluus fio* by erasure, and overwrote them with *saluo* or *saluor*. Because of the distribution of these corrections over the text, it is possible to determine at which point Manetti decided to use only *saluo* and *saluor*: in Matthew 28.

Not all replacements were made so early, nor were they all corrected afterwards. Manetti consistently translated the Greek *ἰδιος* ['his/her own'] as *proprius* after the Gospel of Matthew, replacing the Vulgate rendering *suus*. But he left *suus* unchanged early in Matthew. He rendered the Greek *ὅλος* ['total'] by *totus* in the later books, instead of *omnis* and *uniuersus*, the alternative translations in the Vulgate. But when he corrected Pal.lat.45, he changed only the translations in Matthew: *Omnis* and *uniuersus* still

¹⁷⁵ See below, pp. 68ff.

¹⁷⁶ He used only one alternative translation: *conualesco* in Luke 8: 63.

appear in Mark and Luke. Likewise, Manetti rendered the Greek οἰκουμένη [‘the inhabited world’] initially by *orbis*, *orbis terrarum*, *orbis terre*, or *terra*. In the later books, he wrote either *orbis terrarum* or *orbis terre*. *Orbis* and *terra* were erased and overwritten in Matthew, but not in Luke. Finally, θρόνος [‘throne’] was translated as *thronus* or *sedes* in the Vulgate. The word occurs over forty times in Revelation, against fifteen times in all the other books together. In the early books, Manetti had maintained *thronus* and *sedes*, the translations of the Vulgate. In Revelation, however, he introduced a new translation, *solium*, which he used consistently throughout that book. The other translations, *thronus* and *sedes*, were erased and overwritten with *solium* every now and then in the earlier books, but not consistently.

Manetti’s consistent alterations in Pal.lat.45 allow us to make two observations with regard to the writing process of Manetti’s translation. First, Manetti probably made up his mind about the translation of a particular word only after encountering it a number of times. This would explain why he introduced *solium*, his new translation of θρόνος, only in Revelation: it hardly occurs before that book. Second, the translation process was *linear*: Manetti worked his way from Matthew to Revelation, developing his translation method over time.

Some of Manetti’s consistent alterations were made without consulting the Greek text. The translation *foris* [‘outside’], for example, was replaced with *extrinsecus*, and *intus* [‘inside’] with *intrinsecus*. These replacements were not made consistently, and they are found mainly in the early books. That they were based on the Latin, and not on the Greek, appears from the fact that Manetti used several different translations for ἔξωθεν [‘outside’] and ἔσωθεν [‘inside’] throughout the New Testament, such as *extra*, *exterius*, and *ab intro*. These alternative translations were not erased and overwritten to match the rest of the text: the corrections are limited to the Latin words *foris* and *intus*. Other replacements based on the Latin text rather than the Greek are *sedes* for *cathedra* [‘seat’], *cognoscite* for *scitote* [‘know’, imperative plural], *sero facto* for *uespere facto* [‘when evening came’] and *falso testifcor* for *falsum testimonium dico* [‘to give false testimony’]. One of these Latin-based changes was left to the copyist of Pal.lat.45, who erased *nonissimus* nine times in Matthew, and overwrote it with *ultimus*.

2.6.2 Stylistic changes

Some of Manetti's corrections are merely stylistic changes to the Latin text: he replaced 'medieval' grammatical constructions with more 'classical' ones. For prohibitions, he preferred constructions with *ne* followed by a subjunctive or imperative to *noli(te)* with an infinitive. He changed the latter construction eight times in his first draft. Only one construction with *noli* in Matthew had been initially overlooked. This was changed afterwards when Manetti corrected the translation.¹⁷⁷ Likewise, Manetti preferred *ut* followed by a subjunctive or *ad* with a gerund to a final infinitive. Final infinitives are common in the Greek text and often rendered literally in the Vulgate. Manetti replaced these with other constructions when he revised Pal.lat.45. This was done mainly in the first books of the New Testament: he added *ut* with a subjunctive over sixty times in the Gospels, and only occasionally in the later books. *Ad* with a gerund was added fifteen times in Luke and John, against once in Revelation.¹⁷⁸

Manetti also rendered his version more elegant by other means, such as the use of more 'classical' conjunctions and adverbs. He preferred *ac* ['and'] to *et* and *non amplius* ['no longer'] to *iam non*. Replacements of *et* with *ac* occur more frequently in the later books than in the early ones: *ac* is found only ten times in the Gospels, against over one hundred times in the Pauline Epistles, and over four hundred times in the last nine books. The conjunction *idcirco* ['therefore'] occurs only once in the Vulgate, against 21 times in Manetti's translation. Manetti used it to replace other conjunctions, such as *propter quod*, *quoniam*, or *ideo*. But he did not do so right away: *idcirco* occurs only once in Manetti's version of the Gospels, and twenty times in the later books.

Similar to these changes is the replacement of *quia/quoniam* ['because'] with *quod* in Manetti's translation, especially in the later books. Manetti returned to replace *quia* and *quoniam* with *quod* when he corrected Pal.lat.45. He made 26 corrections of this kind in Matthew, against four in all the other books together.

That Manetti was uncertain about the use of some Latin words appears from his use of *an*, *aut* and *uel* ['iF', 'or'] and of *suus* and *eius* ['his/her/its']. His use of *an*, *aut* and *uel* is not consistent. As for *suus* and *eius*, Manetti

¹⁷⁷ At Matthew 5: 34.

¹⁷⁸ Valla suggested replacing *noli* with an infinitive with *ut* with a subjunctive in the *Annotationes* at Matthew 7: 6.

seems to have changed his mind about the use of these words during the writing process. Initially, he replaced *eius* (or *eorum*) with forms of *suus* countless times throughout the New Testament. To give an impression, *eius/eorum* occurs over seven hundred times in the Vulgate, against less than three hundred times in Manetti's translation. Forms of *suus* are much more frequent in Manetti's version. But when he corrected Pal.lat.45, Manetti changed *suus* back into *eius* over one hundred times, thus re-adopting the original reading of the Vulgate. He made these re-adoptions exclusively in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. One explanation for Manetti's inconsistent use of *an*, *aut* and *uel* and of *suus* and *eius* could be that there was no consensus on the correct use of these words among Latin authors in this period. The use of *an* as opposed to *aut* was discussed by Valla in the *Elegantia*. He refers to this discussion in the *Collatio*, at Matthew 20: 15.¹⁷⁹ Valla had also written a treatise on *suus*, which may have influenced Manetti's use of the word.¹⁸⁰

Finally, Manetti rendered his translation more 'classical' than the Vulgate by varying the word order. He did this mainly in the later books, where the order is often very free with regard to the Greek original.¹⁸¹

To recapitulate, we have so far seen three steps in the writing process of Manetti's translation of the New Testament:

1. First draft, possibly dictated
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti

We have also seen that Manetti's translation proceeded linearly and that his method developed over time. He aimed at rendering Greek terms consistently. Furthermore, he made more stylistic changes to the Vulgate as his translation proceeded. Finally, some of the corrections and alterations in Pal.lat.45 show that Manetti consulted a Greek source when revising his version.

It is not clear if Manetti considered his translation of the New Testament as a finished work. He never referred to it as such and he did not write a

¹⁷⁹ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 60. The passage is in *Elegantia* 2, 17: Lorenzo Valla, *De linguae latinae elegantia*, ed. Santiago López Moreda, vol. 1 (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1999), 222–226.

¹⁸⁰ Valla's *De reciprocatione 'sui' et 'suus'* was written in 1449–1450. The text is available in: Lorenzo Valla, *De reciprocatione 'sui' et 'suus'*, ed. Elisabet Sandström (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1998).

¹⁸¹ See Chapter Six below, p. 161.

preface to it. On the other hand, Pal.lat.45 is a fine copy. That Manetti continued to make alterations to the text after Pal.lat.45 had been transcribed does not signify much. He also kept revising other works in his library, even long after their publication. This was not exceptional: in the case of Uberto Decembrio's version of Plato's *Republic*, for example, a collation of Uberto's working-copy with other copies of the text shows that he continued to make alterations to it after it had been published.¹⁸²

2.7 VALLA'S ANNOTATIONS¹⁸³

Now that the writing process of Manetti's New Testament and the development of his translation method have been described, we can turn to Manetti's debt to Valla. Valla composed the second redaction of his notes to the New Testament around the time when Manetti produced his new version. The possible influence of Valla's notes on Manetti's version was investigated for the first time in 1946 by Salvatore Garofalo. He collated Valla's *Annotationes* with Manetti's translation of Romans, and noticed a number of similarities that he believed could hardly be coincidental.¹⁸⁴ More than two decades later, Charles Trinkaus made similar observations, but hesitated to conclude from them that Manetti had used Valla's notes.¹⁸⁵ Riccardo Fubini, on the other hand, was convinced that Manetti had used Valla's work, and so was John Monfasani.¹⁸⁶

2.7.1 Proving Valla's influence

Although influence of Valla's notes on Manetti's translation seems very likely, it is in fact rather difficult to prove. This is because comparing the two works raises a fundamental methodological problem: whenever Manetti's translation corresponds to Valla's notes, he may have either followed Valla's recommendation, or arrived at the same conclusion

¹⁸² Bottoni, "I Decembrio e la traduzione della Repubblica di Platone," 83.

¹⁸³ This section overlaps partly with Annet den Haan, "Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament: New Evidence on Sources, Translation Process and the Use of Valla's *Annotationes*," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 5: 731-747.

¹⁸⁴ Garofalo, "Gli umanisti italiani del secolo XV e la Bibbia," 364.

¹⁸⁵ Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 577.

¹⁸⁶ Riccardo Fubini, *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), 116; John Monfasani, "Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy," in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 32.

independently. The fact that correspondences 'can hardly be coincidental' does not automatically prove that Manetti used Valla's notes: although Valla's manuscripts have not been identified, it is clear that Valla and Manetti drew on source texts from the same textual family.¹⁸⁷ This is why Botley wrote that '[i]n these circumstances, it is hard to imagine that any reading in Manetti's New Testament translation could constitute conclusive proof that he had consulted Valla's work.'¹⁸⁸ Like Botley, Bentley left the question of Manetti's debt to Valla unsettled, although he was convinced that Manetti must have been familiar with Valla's notes.¹⁸⁹

Because of these difficulties, more specific evidence is needed to determine Valla's influence on Manetti's translation. In this section, I investigate if this influence did indeed exist. I do not yet compare the nature or quality of Manetti's scholarship with that of Valla's; this will be done in Chapters Three and Six below.

Botley suggested that Manetti's annotated Vulgate copy, Pal.lat.18, 'might throw some light on Manetti's use of Valla's work.'¹⁹⁰ This is in fact the case, but the information is not abundant: there is a marginal note in Pal.lat.18 that was in all likelihood copied from Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*. The note concerns the use of the word *diffamo* ['to spread abroad by an ill report'] as a translation of the Greek διαφημίζω ['to divulge'] in Matthew 9: 31. Valla commented in the *Collatio*:

Hoc tamen verbum, ut mea fert opinio, neutro loco convenit; nam nec in bonam partem accipitur *diffamare*, et in malam partem mallet dicere *infamatus* quam *diffamatus*. (Valla, *Collatio*, 40)¹⁹¹

[This word, in my opinion, is not fitting in either place; for *diffamare* cannot be used in a positive sense, and in a negative sense I would rather say *infamatus* than *diffamatus*.]

A similar comment is found in the *Annotationes*.¹⁹² In Pal.lat.18, Manetti wrote in the margin: *Non verbum diffamare in bonam p(a)rt(em)* ['the word

¹⁸⁷ For Valla's Greek manuscripts, see: Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*; Christopher S. Celenza, "Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the Vulgate," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994): 41, n. 27.

¹⁸⁸ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 95.

¹⁸⁹ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 58. See also: Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible," 104.

¹⁹⁰ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96, n. 154.

¹⁹¹ I refer to Valla's *Collatio* in the edition of Alessandro Perosa: Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*.

Diffamare not in a positive sense’].¹⁹³ This remark corresponds almost verbatim to Valla’s comment.

Manetti’s marginal note strongly suggests that he consulted Valla’s work, but it remains unclear to what degree he was influenced by it. In order to determine this, I have carried out a quantitative comparison of Valla’s notes with Manetti’s translation for four samples from the New Testament. There are three presuppositions behind my analysis. First, if Manetti had access to Valla’s notes, he did probably not consult either the *Collatio* or the *Annotationes*, but rather some intermediate form.¹⁹⁴ After all, the *Collatio* and *Annotationes* as we know them were not autonomous works, but rather two stages in an ongoing writing process.¹⁹⁵ In previous studies, it is not always clear which redaction of Valla’s notes was chosen for a comparison with Manetti’s translation, and why.¹⁹⁶ But since the status of Valla’s work at the time it was consulted by Manetti is unclear, this is a question that should not be overlooked. The *Collatio* and the *Annotationes* have a substantial portion of their text in common.¹⁹⁷ I assumed that those notes that are common to both redactions remained part of the work at any given point in the writing process. My comparison therefore concentrates on them.

Second, only the explicit translation suggestions among Valla’s notes were compared with Manetti’s version. Comments in which Valla did not propose a new Latin rendering have been left aside. For example, at Romans 9: 28, Valla commented on the Vulgate translation *verbum consummans et abbrevians in equitate* [‘executing his word and cutting it short in righteousness’]. With regard to these words, Valla wrote:

Plerique intelligunt *verbum* nominativi casus et *consummans* generis neutri, cum illud sit accusativi, hoc masculini. (Valla, *Collatio* at Romans 9: 28)

¹⁹² Valla, *Opera omnia*, 811.

¹⁹³ Pal.lat.18, fol. 322v.

¹⁹⁴ As Botley suggested: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 89.

¹⁹⁵ See above, pp. 19ff.

¹⁹⁶ Garofalo and Trinkaus both wrote before Perosa’s edition of the first redaction of Valla’s notes, and based their analyses on Erasmus’ edition. Bentley differentiated between the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes* in his discussion of Valla’s Biblical scholarship, but not in his comparison with Manetti’s version: Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 58–59. Botley took Valla’s translation of Mark 7: 32–37 from Perosa’s edition: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96–98. Monfasani was convinced that Manetti consulted the *Annotationes*, not the *Collatio*: Monfasani, “Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy,” 32, n. 97. Fubini refers to the *Annotationes*: Fubini, *L’Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici*, 116.

¹⁹⁷ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, XXVII.

[Most readers interpret *verbum* as a nominative and *consummans* as a neuter, whereas the first is an accusative, and the second masculine].¹⁹⁸

In this case, it is impossible to infer from Manetti's translation if he agreed with Valla's grammatical interpretation of the passage: the text itself undergoes no changes in Valla's comment. Likewise, Valla repeatedly pointed out inconsistent translations of Greek terms, without giving his preference for any of the Latin translations used.

Conversely, there are many cases where Valla suggested a translation choice that Manetti may have made independently. Valla often suggested new translations based on variant readings in the Greek. In these cases, it is not clear if Manetti took up Valla's suggestion or merely followed his Greek source text. For example, at Matthew 4: 16, the Vulgate reads: *populus qui ambulabat in tenebris* ['the people who walked in darkness']. Valla suggested rendering these words by *populus sedens in tenebris* or *populus qui sedebat in tenebris* ['the people who sat down in darkness'], based on a Greek variant reading.¹⁹⁹ Manetti changed the text of the Vulgate accordingly, either at Valla's suggestion or because he followed his Greek source, which has the same variant.²⁰⁰ In other cases, Valla rejected a Latin reading that was not in Manetti's copy of the Vulgate in the first place, for instance at Matthew 7: 24: here Valla's Vulgate read *supra firmam petram* ['on the solid rock'], which Valla changed to *supra petram* ['on the rock']. Manetti's Vulgate already had Valla's reading.²⁰¹ Those among Valla's notes that are irrelevant for proving that Manetti used the *Collatio/Annotationes* were left out of the comparison.

Third, samples from different parts of the New Testament were chosen with an eye to the writing process of Manetti's text. In order to do justice to the development of his translation method, the first chapters of Matthew have been compared with the first chapters of Mark, Romans and Acts. The samples all contain roughly 6000 words. The results of my comparison are presented in four tables (see below, pp. 52f.).²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 188.

¹⁹⁹ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 808.

²⁰⁰ Pal.lat.45 fol. 2v; Pal.gr.171 fol. 2v.

²⁰¹ Pal.lat.18, fol. 322r. For a comparison of Manetti's textual criticism with Valla's, see below, pp. 79ff.

²⁰² I have counted the translation suggestions, not lemmata, in Valla's *Collatio* and *Annotationes*, since Valla often proposes more than one change in the same lemma.

Table 1: Matthew 1-11

| | <i>Collatio and Annotationes</i> | <i>Collatio</i> | <i>Annotationes</i> | <i>Other</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Manetti changed the Vulgate according to Valla's suggestion | 29 | 8 | 10 | 0 | 47 |
| Manetti made a change similar to Valla's suggestion | 7 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 12 |
| Manetti changed the Vulgate in a different way | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Manetti preserved the text of the Vulgate | 2 | 15 | 5 | 0 | 22 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Total | 41 | 30 | 18 | 0 | 89 |

Table 2: Mark 1-9

| | <i>Collatio and Annotationes</i> | <i>Collatio</i> | <i>Annotationes</i> | <i>Other</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Manetti changed the Vulgate according to Valla's suggestion | 12 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 25 |
| Manetti made a change similar to Valla's suggestion | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 6 |
| Manetti changed the Vulgate in a different way | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Manetti preserved the text of the Vulgate | 4 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 21 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 17 | 8 | 29 | 0 | 54 |

Table 3: Romans 1-13

| | <i>Collatio and Annotations</i> | <i>Collatio</i> | <i>Annotations</i> | <i>Other</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Manetti changed the Vulgate according to Valla's suggestion | 5 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 14 |
| Manetti made a change similar to Valla's suggestion | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Manetti changed the Vulgate in a different way | 2 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 12 |
| Manetti preserved the text of the Vulgate | 12 | 17 | 33 | 1 | 63 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 19 | 21 | 53 | 1 | 94 |

Table 4: Acts 1-9

| | <i>Collatio and Annotations</i> | <i>Collatio</i> | <i>Annotations</i> | <i>Other</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Manetti changed the Vulgate according to Valla's suggestion | 2 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 11 |
| Manetti made a change similar to Valla's suggestion | 6 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 13 |
| Manetti changed the Vulgate in a different way | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Manetti preserved the text of the Vulgate | 10 | 17 | 10 | 1 | 38 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 18 | 30 | 14 | 4 | 66 |

The tables show the number of Valla's translation suggestions according to their source – the *Collatio*, the *Annotations* or both – and how many of

these were taken up in Manetti's translation. For example, in table 1, in the second column from the left, you can see that Valla made thirty translation suggestions in the *Collatio* for Matthew 1-11. Out of these thirty, eight appear in Manetti's version. In fifteen cases, Valla's suggestion was ignored and the reading of the Vulgate was preserved. The row 'Other' contains the cases that somehow do not fit into the other categories, for example a potential writing error in Manetti's translation, or incompatible suggestions in the *Collatio* and *Annotationes*.

In Matthew 1-11 (table 1), the similarities between Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes* and Manetti's version are striking: of the translation suggestions common to the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*, the greater part – 29 out of 41 – were taken up in Manetti's version, some of them in slightly altered form. Out of the eighteen notes that appear only in the *Annotationes* and not in the *Collatio*, ten were adopted in Manetti's translation as well. As for the notes that appear only in the *Collatio* and not in the *Annotationes*, these show a different pattern: less than a third of these – eight out of thirty – appear in Manetti's version. A possible explanation for this difference is that Manetti consulted an intermediate version of Valla's notes that was closer to the *Annotationes* than to the *Collatio*.

In Mark 1-9 (table 2), Valla made fewer comments than in Matthew 1-11. Furthermore, the *Collatio* and *Annotationes* have fewer translation suggestions in common. Still, Manetti adopted most of the suggestions that appear in both versions of Valla's notes – twelve out of seventeen – and a substantial part of the suggestions that appear only in the *Annotationes* – twelve out of twenty-nine. Some of these suggestions were adopted by Manetti at a later stage in the writing process: in Matthew and Mark especially, corrections *in rasura* often correspond to Valla's notes.²⁰³

In Romans 1-13 (table 3), the picture looks widely different: most suggestions made by Valla in either version of his notes were *not* taken up by Manetti. There are still some similarities between the notes and the translation – note that Garofalo concluded from this book that Manetti used Valla's work – but Valla's influence is much less visible here than in the Gospels. The same holds true for Acts 1-9.

²⁰³ E.g. at Matthew 2: 7, 7: 5, 10: 19, 11: 16, 12: 11 and at Mark 1: 10, 4: 12, 6: 39, 7: 36 and 10: 19. In the later books, corrections based on Valla's notes occur only sparingly.

That Manetti's debt to Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes* becomes less visible in the course of the New Testament can be explained by the development of his translation method. Early on, when he concentrated on the translation of individual words, he may very well have relied on Valla's notes. But his approach changed over time: it became more systematic and more concerned with stylistic and grammatical features, including word order. In other words, it evolved from a revision of the Vulgate into a new translation in its own right. Manetti may therefore have relied more and more on his own approach in the course of the writing process.

This is not to say, however, that Manetti consulted Valla's notes only when working on his first draft. Although the greater part of the suggestions taken over from Valla was already incorporated in that early stage, a handful of the alterations in Pal.lat.45 were also based on Valla, especially in Matthew and Mark. Chronologically, they fit in the writing process of Manetti's version as follows:

1. First draft, possibly dictated; influenced by Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti; influenced by Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*

2.7.2 The relevance of Valla's influence

Manetti's use of Valla's notes is relevant for understanding Manetti's translation in several ways. In the first place, readings in Manetti's version that are otherwise difficult to account for can be explained by comparing his text with Valla's work. At Acts 24: 14, Manetti's text has a very unusual reading. Paul, defending himself before Felix, claims that although the Jews accuse him of introducing a new religion, he merely follows their Scriptures, be it in a new way:

ἐμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν, οὕτως λατρεύω τῷ
πατρὶ ὡς θεῷ πιστεύων πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις
γεγραμμένοις

Confiteor autem hoc tibi quod secundum uiam, quam dicunt haeresim,
sic deservio patrio Deo credens omnibus, quae secundum Legem sunt et
in Prophetis scripta (Vulgate, Acts 24: 14)

[But this I confess to you, that according to the Way, which they call a cult, I worship the God of our fathers, believing everything laid down by the Law and written in the Prophets]

Manetti's translation of this verse is slightly different:

Confiteor quod secundum uiam quam dicunt sanctam sic Deo patri inseruio credens omnibus que in lege ac prophetis scripta sunt

[But this I confess to you, that according to the Way, which they call holy, I worship God the Father, believing everything laid down by the Law and written in the Prophets]

Manetti's translation *secundum uiam quam dicunt sanctam* ['according to the Way, which they call holy'] is puzzling: not only is it not in any Greek or Latin manuscripts, it does not make sense in the context either. Why would the Jews start a riot against Paul if they believed his way to be holy? This translation of the Greek *ἀρεσιν* can only be a writing error.

When we turn to Valla's *Collatio*, it becomes immediately clear what Manetti meant to write instead of *sanctam*. Valla comments on a slightly different reading he apparently found in his manuscripts:

Confiteor autem hoc tibi, quia secundum sectam, quam dicunt heresim, sic deseruio patri meo deo [etc.] (Valla, *Collatio* at Acts 24: 14)

[But this I confess to you, that according to the sect, which they call a cult, I worship God, my Father]

Valla first makes the point that a *secta* ['sect'] and a *heresis* ['cult'] are one and the same thing. The translator is suggesting a difference of meaning here which does not really exist. And why would Paul call his own religious beliefs a sect anyway? That would surely not help his case before Felix. In accordance with the Greek, Valla suggests replacing *sectam* with *uiam*; this is indeed what we find in modern editions of the Vulgate, and in Manetti's translation. The relative clause, *quam dicunt heresim*, can be preserved, but Valla prefers a Latin word over a Graecism and recommends *quam dicunt sectam*. If this is indeed the translation Manetti chose, the reading *sanctam* is no longer surprising; it is simply a corruption of *sectam*. By comparing Manetti's version with Valla's notes, the original reading can be reconstructed.

In the second place, Manetti's debt to Valla helps explain why Manetti made certain translation choices in some places and not in others. The Greek word *χάρισμα*, which occurs seventeen times in the New Testament, lacks a Latin equivalent. It is derived from *χάρις* ['grace'], which is commonly rendered by *gratia* in the Vulgate. This translation is also used for *χάρισμα*, but not consistently: as *χάρισμα* can also refer to a

gift resulting from grace, it is translated as *donum* ['gift'] or *donatio* ['donation'] as well. At 1 Corinthians 12: 31, *χαρίσματα* was transliterated as *charismata*. Valla commented on the inconsistency of the Vulgate translation:

...quod uerbum [i.e. *χάρισμα*] nonnunquam interpres transfert donum, ut ibi: Vnusquisque proprium *donum* habet, *χάρισμα* [1 Corinthians 7:]: quodque non semper transfert, ut illud: Aemulamini charismata meliora, *χαρίσματα* [1 Corinthians 12: 31]. (Valla, *Annotationes* at 1 Corinthians 7: 7)²⁰⁴

[... and the translator renders this word sometimes by *gift*, for example here: *but every one hath his proper gift from God*, but not always, for example: *Be zealous for the better charismata*]

In Manetti's version, *χάρισμα* refers to a gift, but the connection with *χάρις* is preserved as well. Manetti rendered the word by *gratie donum* at 1 Corinthians 1: 7 and at 1 Corinthians 7: 7. At 1 Corinthians 2: 12, he changed the Vulgate translation of the related verb *χαρίζομαι* ['to give graciously']:

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν (1 Corinthians 2: 12)

Nos autem non spiritum mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum, qui ex Deo est, ut sciamus, quae a Deo donata sunt nobis (Vulgate, 1 Corinthians 2: 12)

[Now we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God; that we may know the things that are given us from God.]

Manetti changed the last words into *que a Deo per gratiam donata sunt nobis* ['which were given to us by God through grace']. At 1 Corinthians 12: 31, he replaced the Graecism *charismata* with *dona*.

Interestingly, Manetti made these changes only in 1 Corinthians, where Valla commented on the inconsistent rendering of *χάρισμα* in the Vulgate. Although the word occurs also five times in Romans, it never caught Manetti's attention in that book. And after 1 Corinthians he apparently did not notice it either. He simply preserved the translation of the Vulgate there. It is therefore very likely that Manetti's decision to change the translation of *χάρισμα* in 1 Corinthians was influenced by Valla.

²⁰⁴ References are to Valla's *Annotationes* in the *Opera omnia* edition.

Understanding Valla's influence on Manetti is also relevant for the latter's translation method: it is significant when and why Manetti did *not* adopt Valla's suggestions and which changes he made to the Vulgate on his own account. Manetti's decisions will be compared systematically with Valla's notes in the Chapters Three and Six on Manetti's textual criticism and translation method.

2.8 THE NEW TESTAMENT AND *ADVERSUS IUDAEOS ET GENTES*

In this final section, I discuss how Manetti's translation of the New Testament is related to another project commenced around the same time: Manetti's apologetic work on Christianity, *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*. In this work, Manetti quotes at length from the New Testament. The Latin translation he uses is clearly not that of the Vulgate – nor is it, surprisingly, identical with the text of his own Latin New Testament.²⁰⁵ I think it very likely, however, that Manetti produced the translation of the quotations himself. I also believe that this happened before he translated the New Testament, for three reasons.

The first one concerns a number of particular translation choices that were made quite consistently in Manetti's version of the New Testament, such as the use of subordinate clauses instead of final infinitives, or the replacement of *quia* with *quod*.²⁰⁶ As we have seen, some of these translation choices were made consistently from the very start of the writing process, whereas others were implemented at some later point. All of them, however, are absent from the quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*. Second, Manetti's New Testament remains very close to the Greek text, and more particularly to the Byzantine text-type. We will see in Chapter Three on Manetti's textual criticism that he made numerous small changes to the text of the Vulgate in order to make it correspond to his Greek manuscripts. The quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*, by contrast, follow the Latin tradition.²⁰⁷ Third, we have seen that Manetti's translation of the New Testament was influenced by Valla's annotations,

²⁰⁵ Stefano Baldassarri is preparing an edition of (part of) *Adversus Iudaeos*. He has kindly provided me with the text of the first three books. In a recent article, Baldassarri compared the quotations from Matthew and John in *Adversus Iudaeos* with the Vulgate and with Manetti's New Testament: Stefano U. Baldassarri, "Riflessioni preliminari sulla traduzione manettiana del Nuovo Testamento" *Journal of Italian Translation* VIII, no. 1 (2013): 11–29.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 46.

²⁰⁷ The only exception to this is the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6: 13).

especially in the first books. But in the Bible quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*, which are all taken from the Gospels, no trace of Valla's translation suggestions appears.

Combined, these three observations suggest that Manetti's translation method for the quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos* differed fundamentally from that for the New Testament. One explanation for this difference could be Manetti's exposure to Valla's notes. Manetti's faithfulness to his Greek text – and indeed his decision to consult more than one Greek manuscript – may have resulted from his taking Valla as an example. Valla's notes may also have encouraged him to give more attention to the consistent translation of individual words, an issue Valla brought up repeatedly.

This hypothesis will in fact help a number of things fall into place. Manetti commenced his work on *Adversus Iudaeos* well before coming to the Vatican, as appears from a letter written in 1448.²⁰⁸ In that period, he may have translated the bulk of the Gospel quotations. Then in 1453 Manetti's position in Florence became increasingly uncomfortable – just around the time when Valla was working on the *Annotationes*. Manetti fled to Rome, or was invited there by Nicholas V, who commissioned a translation of the Bible from him. In this new environment, Manetti's method underwent several changes: after faithfully incorporating Valla's suggestions for a while, he gradually developed his own approach. With *Adversus Iudaeos*, we may add yet another step to the writing process of Manetti's translation, previous to the actual composition of the text:

0. New Testament quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*
1. First draft, possibly dictated
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti

2.9 A LATER COPY: URB.LAT.6

The fifth stage in the writing process of Manetti's translation took place after the author's death. Although Manetti never published his version, a copy of the text was made for the Urbino library in the 1470s: Urb.lat.6. In what follows, I discuss the context in which Urb.lat.6 was produced, its

²⁰⁸ Botley, "Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon, and Pompey the Great," 86.

relationship with Pal.lat.45 and the quality of its text. The chronology of the writing process of Manetti's New Testament now looks as follows:

0. New Testament quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*
1. First draft, possibly dictated
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti
4. Urb.lat.6 transcribed

2.9.1 The Urbinate manuscripts

The New Testament was only one of many works from Manetti's hand that were copied for the Urbino library in the 1470s. Most of his works – speeches, treatises and biographies – are spread over three miscellanies: Urb.lat.387, Urb.lat.448, and Urb.lat.5, which contains, among other things, the Psalter with *Apologeticus* and Manetti's most famous work, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*.²⁰⁹ All of these works had been completed and published in Manetti's lifetime. But the unpublished projects taken on by Manetti towards the end of his life were also copied for the Urbino library. *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes* survives exclusively in its Urbinate copy (Urb.lat.154).²¹⁰ Manetti's version of Aristotle's moral works was transcribed for the Urbino library as well, with a preface by Agnolo to Federico.²¹¹

In all likelihood, the dedication of Manetti's Aristotle to Federico led the way to the copying of all of Manetti's works. In the preface to Federico, Agnolo Manetti describes how he finally yielded to Vespasiano's entreaties to publish his father's translation of Aristotle:

²⁰⁹ For Urb.lat.387, see Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, 17–19; Manetti, *Elogi dei Genovesi*, 48–50. For Urb.lat.448, see: Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, 20; Marcella Peruzzi, *Cultura, potere, immagine: La biblioteca di Federico di Montefeltro* (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2004), 64; 72; Albinia Catherine De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico," in *Federico di Montefeltro: Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*, ed. G. Cerboni Baiardi, G. Chittolini, and P. Florianini, vol. 3 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986), 90. For Urb.lat.5, see: Manetti, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, 20–22; Manetti, *Dialogus consolatorius*, LV–LVI.

²¹⁰ For this manuscript, see: Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 463–464, 550–551; De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico," 89–90.

²¹¹ Urb.lat.223. For this manuscript, see: Peruzzi, *Cultura, potere, immagine*, 116. For Nicolaus (Antonii) Riccius (de Riccii) Spinosus (Riccius), see: Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 519–520; De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico," 90, 94.

Quasobres [i.e. the deaths of Alfonso and Pius II] traductiones ille, parente atque auctore suo orbe, uelut meste ac lugentes iam diu apud me in tenebris latuere; latuissentque profecto diutius, ni uir integerrimus doctorumque amantissimus Vespasianus noster sepe et multum me flagitasset, ut illas tandem aliquando ederem, atque e tenebris in lucem eruerem. (Agnolo Manetti, *Preface to Aristotle's Ethics*)²¹²

[Because of this, these translations, bereaved of their parent and author, were hidden, as it were grieving and mourning, with me for a long time; and they would surely have been hidden longer, if our Vespasiano, a most integer man, and very fond of the learned, had not frequently and strongly urged me to finally publish them and to take them from the darkness into the light.]

The Urbinate copy of Aristotle's moral works is dated 1473.²¹³ The New Testament was probably copied shortly afterwards. Its Urbinate copy, Urb.lat.6, was written and signed by Giovanfrancesco Marzi.²¹⁴ Although there is no date on the manuscript, it can be placed with certainty in the second half of the 1470s. The pontifical keys and tiara in Federico's arms, which appear on the title page, indicate that the manuscript was produced after Federico received the dignity of papal *Gonfaloniere* (Standard-Bearer) in 1464.²¹⁵ A *terminus ante quem* cannot be given with as much precision. Vespasiano da Bisticci remarks in his biography of Federico that it took fourteen years to fill the library with books, counting from its foundation in 1463. This means that most of the manuscripts were copied between 1463 and 1477. Vespasiano was responsible for the production of Federico's books, so we have these dates on good authority (although they should probably be interpreted with some flexibility). Furthermore, Agnolo Manetti died in 1479. Access to Giannozzo's manuscripts – among which the exemplar – might have become more problematic after that time. Vespasiano's circumstances

²¹² Pal.lat.1021, fol. 3v, Urb.lat.223, fol. 3v. Agnolo's dedicatory preface was published by Garin in Eugenio Garin, "Le traduzioni umanistiche di Aristotele nel secolo XV," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Fiorentina di Scienze Morali 'La Colombaria'* no. 16 (1947): 93–98.

²¹³ Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 519–520. Cagni thought it was copied in 1473, when Donato Acciaiuoli was working on a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* for the Urbino library. Cagni, "Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci," 299. The same year is in Peruzzi's list of works dedicated to Federico: Peruzzi, *Cultura, potere, immagine*, 161.

²¹⁴ Giovanfrancesco Marzi da San Gimignano transcribed five manuscripts for the Urbino library: Urb.lat.6, 199, 318, 439, and 640. He probably also copied Urb.lat.345, which contains Servius' commentary on Vergil. It was written around 1460 and, interestingly, annotated by Agnolo Manetti. De la Mare, "Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico," 81, 90, 93.

²¹⁵ Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 450.

also changed in the late 1470s: he gave up his shop in 1478. All considered it is very likely that Urb.lat.6 was written in the late 1470s and no later than 1479. Albinia de la Mare, in her handbook on Florentine scribes, dates it after 1475.²¹⁶

2.9.2 The text of Urb.lat.6

It is clear then that Urb.lat.6 was copied *after* Pal.lat.45, which was written in Manetti's lifetime. This fact in itself does not, of course, mean that Urb.lat.6 was transcribed *from* Manetti's copy, nor does it follow that Pal.lat.45 and Urb.lat.6 are the only manuscripts of Manetti's translation that were made. To settle these points, we turn to textual evidence: the errors and variant readings in the text. A considerable number of omissions in Urb.lat.6 result from the line-division in Pal.lat.45. I have counted thirteen examples of omissions or corrections where the copyist of Urb.lat.6 left out a number of words that made out exactly one or more lines in Pal.lat.45. He simply skipped those lines when transcribing Pal.lat.45. In some cases, the copyist found out his error in time to include the missing words in the margin – which means that he cannot have copied the text from an intermediary that already lacked the words. But very often, the lines are missing from Urb.lat.6 altogether.²¹⁷ These omissions indicate that Pal.lat.45 was the exemplar of Urb.lat.6.

As far as the quality of the text is concerned, Urb.lat.6 is inferior to Pal.lat.45. The number of variants in Urb.lat.6 amounts to 477, among which 127 omissions (of one or more words), and eighteen dittographies, i.e. erroneous repetitions of a word or word group.²¹⁸ Some of the variants in Urb.lat.6 are the result of 'contamination' with the Vulgate: the scribe apparently had a copy of the Vulgate at hand (or had it memorized) and confused its text with that of Manetti's translation. In some 21 cases, the copyist of Urb.lat.6 wrote the reading of the Vulgate instead of that of Pal.lat.45. He occasionally corrected it afterwards.²¹⁹

The bad quality of the transcription of the New Testament is analogous to that of the other Urbinate copies of Manetti's works.²²⁰ In his edition

²¹⁶ Garzelli and De la Mare, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 502–503.

²¹⁷ E.g. at John 9: 24 and Colossians 1: 7.

²¹⁸ The longest dittography, in Revelation 14, extends the verse by 33 words.

²¹⁹ E.g. at Mark 10: 18. *Dixit*, the reading of the Vulgate, was corrected into *ait*, the reading of Pal.lat.45.

²²⁰ The bad quality of the Urbino copies was already pointed out by Alfonso de Petris in his introduction to *Apologeticus*: '...nell'esame di varie opere manettiane, ho notato che,

of *Apologeticus*, Alfonso De Petris remarked on the numerous errors in the Urbinate copy of the Psalter.²²¹ Elizabeth Leonard, in the introduction to her edition of *De dignitate*, lists the type of errors found in the Urbinate copy, all of which appear in Urb.lat.6: words or word groups are omitted, one or more syllables are left out, the end of a word split between two lines is missing, a word is substituted with a synonym, the copyist anticipates mistakenly the end of a phrase and he makes attempts at emendation.²²²

The fact that Pal.lat.45 has a better text than Urb.lat.6 is one reason to publish an edition of Manetti's New Testament. Some scholars who discussed Manetti's translation in the past consulted only Urb.lat.6, the younger manuscript, probably because of its clear handwriting and chapter division, which make it easy to find a passage in it. But it turns out that they based their interpretations on the least reliable of the two available witnesses.²²³ Since Urb.lat.6 is hardly useful as a witness next to Pal.lat.45 because of its bad quality, it is left aside in the below chapters on Manetti's textual criticism and translation method.

That Manetti's New Testament was transcribed in another manuscript does not mean that it was finished, or that Manetti had authorized its distribution. It was not unusual for work-in-progress by a well-known author to be transcribed and distributed. Valla's unfinished version of Herodotus, for example, enjoyed a wide circulation after the author's death.²²⁴

2.10 CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this chapter, we can draw two conclusions about the writing process of Manetti's translation. First, the four steps of the writing process of Manetti's New Testament throw new light on the

nella maggior parte dei casi, gli Urbinati denunciano uno stretto rapporto di dipendenza da codici dell'attuale fondo Palatino-latino della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana contenenti la stessa opera di Manetti.' Manetti, *Apologeticus*, LIX.

²²¹ Cf. De Petris's discussion of Urb.lat.5, the Urbino copy of the Psalter: 'Il ms., scritto nella bottega di Vespasiano da Bisticci per Federico di Montefeltro, duca d'Urbino, è opera di uno scriba che conosceva il latino, ma molto distratto e frettoloso nel copiare.' Ibid., XLIX–X, n. 15, and on the text of MS C (= Urb.lat.5) ibid., LIX–LX.

²²² Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, XVII–XIX.

²²³ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 45, n. 10; Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 814, n. 20.

²²⁴ For the manuscript tradition of this work, see: Pagliaroli, *L'Erodotο del Valla*, 38–54.

dating of the project and its connections with other works. Not only may we conclude that the translation was written after *Adversus Iudaeos*, it is also clear that a significant part of the work was done after November 1454, when Manetti wrote to Vespasiano on the subject of Biblical manuscripts. The timeframe in which the translation was produced is thus narrowed down: the project was probably commenced only late in 1453 or even in 1454 and interrupted or aborted at Nicholas's death in March 1455. Manetti possibly continued to work on it in Naples. In this period, he must have had access to an intermediate version of Valla's notes to the New Testament, a version that was probably closer to the *Annotationes* than to the *Collatio*.

Second, within the writing process of Manetti's New Testament we can discern two different stages. We have seen that initially most of his changes to the Vulgate text concerned the translation of single Greek words. Later on he worked more consistently, focusing more on stylistic features. Manetti's later redaction is not a purely stylistic revision: it includes text-critical changes and new translation choices. The act of understanding and interpreting is not strictly separated from the embellishment of the text. It is not clear if the translation was finished: no preface or dedicatory letter survives, although Manetti planned to write one. Manetti kept revising the fine copy, Pal.lat.45. Manetti's writing habits are typical of the period. Like other humanists he kept revising his earlier works, collaborated with various scribes and composed and corrected his writings partly by dictation.

The insights gained in this chapter will be used to investigate Manetti's translation method in Chapter Six. But first, we turn to his textual criticism in the next chapter.

3 Textual criticism

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, Manetti's method of textual criticism will be discussed. In order to establish a reliable text to base his version on, Manetti collated the Vulgate with his Greek sources. This way, he could detect corruptions, mistranslations and writing errors in the Latin text. The divergences between his Vulgate and his Greek sources are overwhelming: whereas Manetti's Greek manuscripts all belong to the Byzantine text-type, the Vulgate was probably based on manuscripts from other families.²²⁵

Understanding Manetti's method of textual criticism is relevant for two reasons. In the first place, it contributes to our knowledge of the history of Biblical scholarship. The way Manetti used and weighed his sources throws new light on the development of new philological methods in the fifteenth-century and on the humanistic approach to the sacred text. Manetti's text-critical choices may have been influenced by other scholars he admired, notably Jerome, Bessarion and Valla. A comparison with these works will show to what degree Manetti depended on them for his decisions and where he was original.

Secondly, once Manetti's *Vorlage* is known, his translation method can be analysed more accurately; this will be done in Chapter Six. Most of the alterations he made with regard to the Vulgate are not, strictly speaking, new translation choices: they can be explained by variant readings in his source texts. The more significant changes can almost always be traced back to a variant reading in the Greek tradition. But even changes that at first sight seem to be merely stylistic often turn out to be based on a variant reading in the Greek, for instance slight changes with regard to word order or the tense of verbs, or the addition of a particle or conjunction.

Manetti's textual criticism has not yet been studied systematically, but some general remarks have been made in previous studies. In his analysis of Manetti's translations, Botley wrote that both Manetti and Valla '...seem to have had a high opinion of the readings of the Greek text, and

²²⁵ Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 105; Bogaert, "The Latin Bible," 514.

this results in a tendency to conflate the text of the New Testament at the expense of the Latin tradition.²²⁶ Monfasani, by contrast, was under the impression that Manetti ‘acted conservatively, usually preserving the reading of the Vulgate.’ He came to this conclusion after comparing a sampling of passages, among which the *comma Johanneum*.²²⁷

Bentley and Monfasani compared Manetti’s translation with Valla’s notes and with modern editions of the Greek and Latin New Testament, but not with his own Greek sources, Pal.gr.171, 189 and 229.²²⁸ Furthermore, they took no account of Manetti’s revisions in Pal.lat.45, which also occasionally concern text-critical changes. My discussion of Manetti’s method of textual criticism includes all the relevant manuscripts in his library.

Although Manetti’s textual criticism has been compared with Valla’s before, I study them together in order to evaluate the quality of their scholarship. Valla is usually given much more credit for his work on the New Testament than Manetti, but I believe that Valla is not always judged objectively. For example, Perosa decided to eliminate anomalies in the Greek of the *Collatio*. He assumed that Valla could not have made mistakes of the kind he found in the manuscripts and corrected them. He even based some of his conclusions concerning the transmission of the text on the ‘errors’ in the Greek. But Pagliarioli recently discovered similar anomalies in other notes written by Valla.²²⁹ By comparing Valla’s notes with Manetti’s translation, I hope to contribute to a fair picture of the scholarship of both.

This chapter is structured as follows. In sections one and two, I analyse Manetti’s method of textual criticism by systematically comparing his version with his copy of the Vulgate, Pal.lat.18, and with his Greek sources, Pal.gr.171, 189 and 229. This analysis allows me to determine whether Manetti relied on the Greek tradition rather than on the Latin, as Botley believed, or conservatively preserved the reading of the Vulgate, as Monfasani wrote. We will see that some of Manetti’s deliberations are visible in the marginal notes in Pal.lat.18 and in his revisions in Pal.lat.45. Once Manetti’s general approach to the New

²²⁶ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 95.

²²⁷ Monfasani, “Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy,” 33.

²²⁸ Botley mentioned a marginal note in Manetti’s copy of the Vulgate at Matthew 6: 13, but he did not compare other readings of this manuscript with Manetti’s translation. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 95.

²²⁹ Pagliarioli, *L'Erodoto del Valla*, 63, n. 3.

Testament text has become clear, I investigate to what degree he was influenced by Jerome, Bessarion and Valla in section three.

3.2 THE GREEK TRADITION

Let us begin by investigating Manetti's general approach to text-critical problems. A first comparison of his version with critical editions of the Greek and Latin New Testament shows that he mostly followed his Greek manuscripts, which all belong to the Byzantine text-type.²³⁰ He did this with great precision: he added particles and changed the word order when the Greek required it, and he was sensitive to the presence or absence of articles. It is difficult to and very time-consuming to count the variant readings in Manetti's Greek manuscripts systematically, but I have found almost two hundred cases where Manetti expanded the text of the Vulgate because of an addition in the Greek, and over one hundred cases where he replaced a Latin reading with a Greek one. In at least eighteen cases, he changed the word order of the Vulgate text to make it correspond to the Greek.²³¹ Manetti also eliminated expansions in the Latin tradition. I have found some fifty examples of Latin readings that Manetti left out of his translation because they were not in his Greek sources. It is clear then that he relied very much on the Greek text.

Manetti collated his manuscripts carefully throughout the writing process of his New Testament translation. His *modus operandi* is to some extent visible in the manuscripts he annotated. He occasionally noted variant readings in the margin of his Vulgate copy, Pal.lat.18. At Matthew 2: 18, the Vulgate reads *ploratus et ululatus* ['weeping and great mourning'], but Manetti's translation has: *planctus, ploratus et ululatus* ['lamentation, weeping and great mourning'], one word more. *Planctus* is a translation of θρήνος, which Manetti added from his Greek source text. He wrote θρήνος καὶ κλαυθμός καὶ ὄδυρμος in the margin of Pal.lat.18.²³² At Matthew 6:13, the end of the Lord's Prayer, Manetti added the doxology that is

²³⁰ Manetti's Bible manuscripts are described in Chapter Two. His main sources were Pal.lat.18 (for the Latin text) and Pal.gr.171 (for the Greek). I compared his translation also with Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* and with Bonifatius Fischer and Robert Weber, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

²³¹ E. g. at Matthew 18: 8, Luke 5: 30, 2 Corinthians 1: 7, Galatians 2: 14 and Thessalonians 3: 7.

²³² Pal.lat.18, fol. 320v.

usually left out in the Vulgate, but present in the Greek text. He wrote the Greek words in the margin and he included them in his translation.²³³ At John 8, he noted in the margin that the episode of the woman caught in adultery was not in the Greek.²³⁴ At John 21:17, he replaced *Simon Iohannis*, the reading of the Vulgate, with *Simon Iona*, based on a variant in the Byzantine text (Σίμων Ἰωνά). He wrote this reading in the margin in Pal.lat.18.²³⁵ And finally, Romans 16: 25-27 is absent from Manetti's Greek source.²³⁶ He wrote *totum hoc in greco non reperitur* ['this whole passage is not found in the Greek'] in the margin in Pal.lat.18.²³⁷ In the Byzantine text, these verses are found at the end of Romans 14, which is where Manetti included them in his translation.²³⁸

Pal.lat.45, Manetti's own copy of the translation, also contains traces of text-critical deliberations. In Manetti's version, Matthew 20: 22-23 reads as follows:

Respondens autem Iesus dixit: 'Nescitis quid petatis; potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum aut baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizari?' Dicunt ei: 'Possumus.' Et dicit ipsis: 'Calicem quidem meum bibetis et baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizabimini; sedere autem a dextris meis et a sinistris meis non est meum dare uobis, sed quibus paratum est a patre meo.' (Manetti's New Testament, Matthew 20: 22-23)

[But Jesus answered and said, 'You know not what you ask. Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' They said unto him, 'We are able.' And he said to them, 'You shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with: but to sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not my to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father.']

There are two insertions in the passage, which are not found in the Latin tradition: *aut baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizari?* and *et baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizabimini*. These words were added from the Byzantine text. In Pal.lat.45, the text is full of abbreviations and the handwriting is very close, which means that the original reading was erased and overwritten.

²³³ Pal.lat.18, fol. 321v. This was noticed by Botley: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 95. Verse 14, however, was omitted in Manetti's translation, for unclear reasons.

²³⁴ See above, p. 36.

²³⁵ Pal.lat.18, fol. 352r.

²³⁶ Pal.gr.171, fol. 126v.

²³⁷ Pal.lat.18, fol. 355v.

²³⁸ Pal.gr.171, fol. 125v.

Apparently, the additions were not copied right away, but added afterwards when Manetti revised the text.²³⁹

At Luke 7: 42, 1 Corinthians 7: 14, 1 Corinthians 15: 54-55, Philippians 1: 16 and Hebrews 12: 4, Manetti initially preserved the reading of the Vulgate next to the alternative reading of the Greek. In all these cases, the reading of the Vulgate was eventually eliminated, either by the copyist of Pal.lat.45 or by Manetti himself when he corrected the text. For example, at Philippians 1: 16-17, Pal.lat.45 reads:

Quidam ex caritate scientes quod in defensione euangelii positus sum. Qui profecto ex contentione Christum annuntiant, non sincere agunt, existimantes tribulationem inferre uinculis meis. Qui autem ex caritate scientes quod in defensione euangelii positus sum. (Manetti's New Testament, Philippians 1: 16-17)

~~[Some out of charity, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel.]~~ And some out of contention preach Christ not sincerely, supposing that they raise affliction to my bands. Some out of charity, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel.]

Manetti included the same verse twice, the first time according to the Latin text, the second time according to the Greek reading. The Vulgate reading was eliminated in a later redaction.

At 1 Corinthians 15: 51-52 both options were preserved, probably by mistake. Most Greek witnesses, including Manetti's source, read:

Πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθήσμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι²⁴⁰

[We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed – in a flash, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet (NIV)].

Some Vulgate texts, including Manetti's copy, have an alternative reading:

Non omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur, in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba²⁴¹

[We will all rise, but we will not all be changed, in a flash, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet].

²³⁹ See also Matthew 28: 8, where the translation was expanded *in rasura* with a Greek variant reading.

²⁴⁰ Pal.gr.171, fol. 134v.

²⁴¹ Pal.lat.18, fol. 359r.

This Latin variant reading is assimilated from John 5: 29. Valla commented on the contradictory textual traditions of this passage in the *Annotations*. He settled the problem by referring to Jerome:

Quod latine affirmatur hoc loco, id graece negatur rursus: quod latine negatur, hoc graece affirmatur, sed uno uerbo diuerso: dicit enim, omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur, quod etiam Hieronymus testatur, πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθήσομεθα, ἀλλὰ γησόμεθα [sic]. (Valla, *Annotations* at 1 Corinthians 15: 51)

[What the Latin asserts here is denied by the Greek; what the Latin denies is in its turn asserted by the Greek, with one word's difference. For it says: 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed', which is also confirmed by Jerome.]

In Manetti's translation of this passage, the Latin reading is preserved together with the Greek one:

Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur, in momento, in ictu oculi, in ultima tuba (Manetti's New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15: 51)

[We will all rise, but we will not all be changed. We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed in a flash, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet.]²⁴²

Manetti's rendering of this verse attracted the attention of Jerry Bentley, who rightly pointed out that both textual traditions are present here. Bentley called Manetti's rendering of the verse a 'conflated and self-contradictory version'.²⁴³ It is very likely, however, that Manetti never intended both readings to be in his translation. After all, in all other cases where two variants were initially preserved together, he eliminated the Latin readings.

It is clear then that Manetti carefully collated the Latin text with the Greek throughout the writing process of his translation. His text-critical interventions can be situated in two stages of the writing process:

0. New Testament quotations in *Adversus Iudaeos*
1. First draft, possibly dictated; collation with Greek manuscripts
2. Pal.lat.45 transcribed by an anonymous copyist
3. Pal.lat.45 corrected by Manetti; collation with Greek manuscripts
4. Urb.lat.6 transcribed by Giovanfrancesco Marzi

²⁴² Pal.lat.45, fol. 87v.

²⁴³ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 59. See also: Monfasani, "Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy," 33, n. 100.

3.3 LATIN READINGS AND WRITING ERRORS

So far, Manetti's text-critical method seems straightforward enough: he carefully compared the Latin text with the Greek tradition and when the two conflicted, he opted for the Greek reading. But there are also exceptions to this general rule.

In the first place, Manetti occasionally preserved readings from the Latin tradition. He adopted at least 130 readings that are not supported by his main Greek source, Pal.gr.171, or by the Byzantine text-type in general. Most of these readings are expansions, some are variants. One of the substantial expansions based on the Vulgate text is the *comma Johanneum*, the spurious clause at 1 John 5: 7-8 which was famously rejected by Erasmus.²⁴⁴ In the Vulgate, the passage is translated as follows:

Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant *in caelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt.* [8] *Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus et aqua et sanguis; et hi tres in unum sunt.* (Vulgate, 1 John 5: 7-8)²⁴⁵

[For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.* [8] *And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.* (KJB)]

The words in italics are not in the Greek text, which reads:

ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [8] τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν (1 John 5: 7-8)

[For there are three that testify: [8] the Spirit, the water and the blood; and the three are in agreement. (NIV)]

Since the entire Greek tradition agrees here against the Vulgate, most modern Bible scholars and translators reject the Vulgate reading as spurious and follow the Greek instead. But although Manetti's Greek source, Pal.gr.171, does not have the *comma Johanneum*, Manetti included it in his translation.²⁴⁶

When Manetti preserved readings such as the *comma Johanneum* he must have been aware they were not supported by the Greek. In several cases he adopted a reading from the Greek immediately before or after an

²⁴⁴ Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 146–148.

²⁴⁵ Pal.lat.18, fol. 385r-v.

²⁴⁶ Pal.gr.171, fol. 115v; Pal.lat.45, fol. 153r.

insertion from the Vulgate.²⁴⁷ He must therefore have read from a Greek source at these places, which means that he preserved the Latin readings deliberately. In the case of the *comma Johanneum*, one could argue that Manetti preserved the Latin reading because of its theological significance. For most of the Vulgate readings we find in Manetti's text the reason is less clear. In these cases, Manetti probably preferred to be 'on the safe side', preserving rather too much than too little.

Next to readings based on the Latin tradition, there are readings in Manetti's version that do not correspond to any manuscript of the New Testament, be it Greek or Latin. At Mark 11: 30, for instance, the Vulgate reads:

Baptismum Ioannis de caelo erat an ex hominibus? Respondete mihi.
(Vulgate, Mark 11: 30)

[The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men? Answer me.
(KJB)]

This translation corresponds to the Greek text. But Manetti's translation is expanded with an additional clause:

Baptisma Ioannis e celo est an ex hominibus? Respondete mihi, et dicam
uobis in qua potestate hec facio. (Manetti's New Testament, Mark 11:
30)

[The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men? Answer me and I
will tell you by what authority I do these things.]

The additional words were probably taken from the preceding verse, Mark 11: 29. Most of the expansions of this kind could be explained as either writing errors in Pal.lat.45 or as deliberate insertions to render the text more readable.

This is different for the seventy-plus omissions – readings that are present in Manetti's sources, but absent from his translation. Some of these are quite substantial. For example, at Luke 16: 12, the Vulgate reads:

καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς δώσει ὑμῖν; (Luke
16: 12)

Et si in alieno fideles non fuistis quod uestrum est quis dabit uobis?²⁴⁸
(Vulgate, Luke 16: 12)

²⁴⁷ E. g. Ephesians 5: 9; Acts 15: 33; Acts 17: 5.

²⁴⁸ Pal.lat.18, fol. 341r.

[And if you have not been trustworthy with someone else's property,
who will give you property of your own? (NIV)]

These words are generally present in the Greek and Latin tradition, but they are missing from Manetti's version.²⁴⁹ The most plausible explanation for omissions of this kind seems to be that they were made unintentionally. Manetti may have accidentally skipped a number of words when he wrote his first draft, or the copyist skipped them when he transcribed Pal.lat.45. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Manetti often overlooked writing errors when he revised Pal.lat.45.²⁵⁰

To recapitulate, it is clear that Manetti relied mostly on the Greek text. This was Botley's impression on the basis of a small sampling of readings, and on closer inspection, it turns out to be generally true. Manetti also occasionally preserved the Latin reading, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The marginal notes in Pal.lat.18 and the corrections in Pal.lat.45 show that he collated his manuscripts carefully. Unfortunately, however, most of Manetti's deliberations are lost to us, which makes many text-critical decisions difficult to account for.

3.4 JEROME, BESSARION AND VALLA

Now that a general impression of Manetti's text-critical method has been given, we may turn to the possible influence of other Biblical scholars on Manetti's work. In this section, I investigate to what degree Manetti was influenced by Jerome, Bessarion and Valla. As for Jerome, we will see in Chapter Five that Manetti placed himself in the tradition of his Biblical scholarship. In this section we will investigate if Manetti was influenced by Jerome's remarks on text-critical problems, which are spread over the Church Father's numerous writings on the Bible. Valla also influenced Manetti's translation, as we have seen in Chapter Two: Manetti consulted Valla's notes and many of his suggested translations appear in Manetti's text. With regard to text-critical matters, however, it is as yet unclear if Manetti relied on Valla. The influence of the *Collatio/Annotationes* on Manetti's textual criticism will be investigated in this section.

Cardinal Bessarion, finally, was among the most influential intellectuals of his day and he was known to be interested in text-critical problems in the Vulgate text. Bessarion was admired by Manetti: he was mentioned

²⁴⁹ The words are in Manetti's main Greek source: Pal.gr.171, fol. 55r-v.

²⁵⁰ See above, pp. 32f., 34f. and 35f.

as an example of a good translator in *Apologeticus* V.²⁵¹ Although Bessarion was no longer in Rome when Manetti produced his translation there, he may have influenced Manetti indirectly, especially through a treatise he wrote on problematical readings in the Latin text.²⁵² I will discuss these three Biblical scholars in chronological order, beginning with Jerome.

3.4.1 Jerome

The Church Father Jerome (c. 347-420) is mainly known for his revision of the earliest Latin version of the Bible, the Old Latin, and for his translation theory. But Jerome's Biblical scholarship was not limited to his translations: he was also a skilled textual critic. He was aware that a text could be corrupted through transmission. In his writings, he often pointed out writing errors or problematic readings. He signalled several sources of corruption, such as faulty word-division, confusion of similar letters, assimilation and conscious emendation.²⁵³ Bruce Metzger listed Jerome's explicit references to variants in the New Testament.²⁵⁴

Given Manetti's and Valla's interest in Jerome, one might expect that they relied on the Church Father for text-critical matters. But it turns out that Valla consulted Jerome only rarely: in a handful of cases, he dismissed the reading of the Vulgate because of a variant in Jerome's writings, for instance at 1 Corinthians 15: 51.²⁵⁵

A comparison of Jerome's remarks with Manetti's text shows that Manetti's translation was not at all influenced by Jerome. Out of the 27 explicit references to text-critical problems listed by Metzger, only seven appear in Manetti's version.²⁵⁶ In these cases, he may have followed

²⁵¹ Manetti mentioned Bessarion's translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as a good example of *ad sensum* translation. *Apologeticus* V, 42.

²⁵² Bessarion was in Bologna between 1450 and 1455: Concetta Bianca, *Da Bisanzio a Roma: Studi sul cardinale Bessarione* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1999), 25–26.

²⁵³ Bruce M. Metzger, *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1980), 199–200.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 199–210. Brown added eight readings, to Metzger's list: Dennis Brown, *Vir Trilinguis: A Study in the Biblical Exegesis of Saint Jerome* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992), 47–52. I have not compared these readings with Manetti's text.

²⁵⁵ Camporeale mentioned Jerome's influence on Valla's notes at Luke 16: 2 and 1 Cor. 2: 9. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 289–290. But these cases are not representative for Valla's general text-critical method: Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 40–41.

²⁵⁶ These 27 are: Matthew 5: 22, Matthew 6: 25, Matthew 11: 19, Matthew 11: 23, Matthew 13: 35, Matthew 16: 2-3, Matthew 21: 31, Matthew 24: 36, Mark 16: 9, Mark 16: 14, Luke 14: 27, Luke 22: 43, John 7: 53-8: 11, Acts 15: 29, Romans 12: 11, Romans 16:

Jerome's recommendations, but it is more likely that he relied on his own manuscripts. In all other cases Manetti did not adopt the readings Jerome preferred. For example, the words *non oboedire ueritati* ['not to obey to the truth'] in Galatians 3: 1 are added in part of the Vulgate tradition, including Manetti's copy.²⁵⁷ They are explicitly rejected by Jerome as spurious.²⁵⁸ Manetti, however, included these words in his translation, probably because they are supported by his Greek source.²⁵⁹ Although Manetti was clearly influenced by Jerome's translation theory, he appears to have ignored the Church Father's remarks on textual criticism.

3.4.2 Bessarion

The second Biblical scholar who may have influenced Manetti's textual criticism is Cardinal Bessarion, who wrote a treatise on possible corruptions in the Vulgate in the early 1450s, entitled *In illud: sic eum volo manere*.²⁶⁰ The title of Bessarion's treatise refers to what he believed was a corruption at John 21: 22, where the Vulgate reads:

Sic eum volo manere donec veniam, quid ad te

[So I want him to stay until I come; what is that to you?]

This is a translation of the Greek

ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σέ;

[If I want him to stay until I come, what is that to you?]

The Latin translation *sic* ['so'] in the Vulgate for the Greek ἐὰν ['if'] was disputed by Bessarion. He was convinced that it was a corruption and suggested replacing it with *si* ['if'].²⁶¹ The readings in the Vulgate New Testament that Bessarion believed to be corrupted are presented in the

25-27, 1 Corinthians 9: 5, 1 Corinthians 13: 3, 1 Corinthians 15: 51, Galatians 2: 5, Galatians 3: 1, Ephesians 3: 14, Ephesians 5: 22, Colossians 2: 18, 1 Timothy 1: 15 and 3: 1, 1 Timothy 5: 19, Hebrews 2: 9. The following seven correspond to Manetti's text: Matthew 16: 2-3, Matthew 21: 31, Matthew 24: 36, Luke 9: 23, Romans 12: 11, 1 Timothy 1: 15 and 3: 1, and 1 Timothy 5: 19.

²⁵⁷ Pal.lat.18, fol. 362r.

²⁵⁸ Metzger, *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic*, 205.

²⁵⁹ Pal.gr.171, fol. 142v 5-6.

²⁶⁰ The Latin text of Bessarion's treatise is available in PG 106, 623-640.

²⁶¹ For this debate and especially the position of George of Trebizond, who disagreed with Bessarion, see: John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1976), 90-102.

table below.²⁶² In the third column, Bessarion's proposed emendations are listed. He rejected Vulgate readings at Matthew 25: 1, 2 Corinthians 8: 24 and 1 Corinthians 10: 17 as spurious.

Table 5: corruptions in the Vulgate according to Bessarion

| <i>Verse</i> | <i>Vulgate</i> | <i>Bessarion</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Mt 25: 1 | et sponse | [spurious] |
| Jo 1: 13 | uoluptate | uoluntate |
| Jo 18: 28 | ad Caipham | a Caipha |
| Jo 19: 27 | in suam | in sua |
| Jo 21: 22 | sic | si |
| 2 Co 8: 24 | Dei | [spurious] |
| 1 Co 10: 17 | et de uno calice | [spurious] |
| 1 Ti 1: 15 | humanus | fidelis |

It is tempting to suppose a connection between Bessarion's treatise, Valla's notes and Manetti's version. That Bessarion and Valla discussed text-critical matters is certain. In the *Secundum Antidotum*, Valla wrote explicitly that Bessarion had drawn his attention to the corruption at John 21:22:

Nam Cardinalis Nicenus, uir de me optime meritis, et qui, ut Romam uenirem, mihi autor extitit, habet in opere meo partem: quippe qui illud, cuius supra feci mentionem: *Sic eum uolo manere, quid ad te?* quod ego non animaduertem, ut adderem, admonuit. (Valla, *Secundum Antidotum*)²⁶³

[For *Cardinalis Nicenus* [i.e. Bessarion], a man who has treated me very well, and who, when I came to Rome, stepped forth as my adviser, has a part in my work, for it was he who suggested that I would add what I referred to above, *Sic eum uolo manere, quid ad te?*, which I did not observe.]

Valla does comment on John 21:22 in the *Collatio*, but in the *Annotationes*, written in the 1450s, he replaces *sic* with *si*, in accordance with Bessarion's suggestion.

Apart from this passage, however, the *Collatio/Annotationes* were not visibly influenced by Bessarion. Out of the seven other cases of

²⁶² Bessarion also commented on Old Testament readings, but as these are not relevant for our purpose, they have been left out of the discussion.

²⁶³ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 340. In this edition, the *Secundum Antidotum* is printed as *Antidotum* IV.

corruption that Bessarion mentioned in his treatise, only one is taken up in Valla's notes. This is a corruption at John 18: 28, where the Vulgate reads:

Adducunt ergo Iesum ad Caiapham in pretorium. Erat autem mane. Et ipsi non introierunt in pretorium ut non contaminarentur sed manducarent pascha (Vulgate, John 18: 28)²⁶⁴

[Then they led Jesus to Caiaphas in the Praetorium, and it was early morning. But they themselves did not go into the Praetorium, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover.]

The adverbial clause 'ad Caiapham' ['to Caiaphas'] makes no sense in context: Jesus had just been questioned by Caiaphas. Moreover, the translation is not supported by the Greek, which reads:

Ἀγουσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ ὄρτιον etc.

[Then they took Jesus from Caiaphas to the pretorium etc.]

Bessarion commented on this passage in *In illud: sic eum uolo manere*, where he suggested replacing *ad Caiapham* with *a Caiapha*. Valla made the same change in the *Annotationes*, rejecting Augustine's interpretation of the passage, which was based on the Vulgate:

Hoc in loco incassum laborat Augustinus eruere sententiam contra Evangelii veritatem, quem non consuluisse grecum fontem, multo magis mirum quam in superioribus fuit, cum presertim permulti codices latini reperiuntur venerandae vetustatis in quibus legitur *a Caipha*. (Valla, *Annotationes* at John 18: 28)²⁶⁵

[Here Augustine struggled in vain to produce a meaning contrary to the truth of the Gospel. It is strange that he did not consult the Greek source here, even more than in the above, especially because there are numerous Latin manuscripts available, of a respectable age, that read *a Caipha*.]

Valla does not refer to Bessarion in his comment on John 18: 28. As for the other seven readings discussed in Bessarion's treatise (see table 1 above), Valla does not propose any changes there. Apart from John 21:22 and John 18: 28 then, Bessarion did not visibly influence Valla's textual criticism.

As for Manetti, a comparison of his translation with Bessarion's treatise is presented schematically in the table on the next page:

²⁶⁴ Pallat.18, fol. 351r.

²⁶⁵ Mariarosa Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," in *Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo: Atti del convegno a Trento il 5-7 Dicembre 1995*, ed. C. Moreschini and G. Menestrina (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1997), 274; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 41.

Table 6: Manetti and Bessarion

| <i>Verse</i> | <i>Vulgate</i> | <i>Bessarion</i> | <i>Manetti</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Mt 25: 1 | et sponse | [spurious] | - |
| Jo 1: 13 | uoluptate | uoluntate | uoluntate |
| Jo 18: 28 | ad Caiapham | a Caipha | ad Caiapham |
| Jo 19: 27 | in suam | in sua | in propria |
| Jo 21: 22 | sic | si | si |
| 2 Co 8: 24 | dei | [spurious] | - |
| 1 Co10: 17 | et de uno calice | [spurious] | et de uno calice |
| 1 Ti 1: 15 | humanus | fidelis | fidelis |

Manetti changed the Vulgate reading *sic eum uolo manere* at John 21 into *si eum uolo manere*, in accordance with the main point of Bessarion's treatise. But it is not clear if he did this at Bessarion's suggestion. He may have altered the text after reading Valla's note in the *Annotationes*, or even simply followed his Greek text. In the three other cases where Manetti's New Testament has Bessarion's suggested reading, at John 1: 13, 2 Corinthians 8: 24 and 1 Timothy 1: 15, Manetti's Vulgate text already corresponded to Bessarion's suggestion. At John 1: 13, for instance, Bessarion suggested changing *uoluptate* ['through pleasure'] into *uoluntate* ['through the will']. Valla commented on this corruption:

Quidam hunc locum emendare conantur, immo mendosum potius facere, non modo grece sed latine lingue ignari, quod dicant legendum esse *neque ex voluptate carnis*, voluptatem quoque in malam utique significationem accipiendam esse asseverantes. (Valla, *Collatio* at John 1: 13)²⁶⁶

[Some people try to emend this passage, or rather to make it even more corrupt; they are not only ignorant of Greek but also of Latin, because they say that it should read *neque ex voluptate carnis*, asserting that *voluptas* is to take on a negative meaning.]

Manetti's version has *uoluntate*, in accordance with Bessarion's and Valla's suggestions. But this does not mean he was influenced by them: his Vulgate copy, Pal.lat.18, already read *uoluntate*.²⁶⁷

Most of Bessarion's suggestions do not appear in Manetti's text in any way. Interestingly, Manetti did not even change the Vulgate text at John

²⁶⁶ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 131.

²⁶⁷ Pal.lat.18, fol. 344v.

18: 28, where both Bessarion and Valla replaced *ad Caiapham* with *a Caiapha*. It is very likely that Manetti read Valla's note on this passage. What is more, he wrote in the margin of Pal.lat.18: *Ad Caifam non bn sed a Caifa et in greco constat* [*ad Caifam* is not correct, but *a Caifa*; this is also supported by the Greek'].²⁶⁸ In his translation, however, he preserved *ad Caiapham*.

3.4.3 Valla

It is clear then that Jerome and Bessarion had very little influence on Valla's textual criticism and none on Manetti's. But the influence of Valla's *Collatio/Annotations* on Manetti's text is quite another matter. Valla's textual criticism was discussed by Camporeale and especially by Bentley. I draw on their work for my comparison with Manetti's text.²⁶⁹

Valla grew more and more interested in the Greek text over time. Whereas in the *Collatio* he did not give any Greek variants, in the *Annotationes* he incorporated numerous text-critical remarks.²⁷⁰ Although he did not specify which manuscripts he used, he remarked in one place that he had consulted four Latin codices, and in another that he had used seven Greek ones.²⁷¹ His approach to the New Testament text was innovative in several ways. In his comments, he distinguished between intentional and unintentional variants and he pointed out several cases of assimilation in the Latin text.²⁷² Furthermore, he was convinced that Jerome was not the only author of the Vulgate New Testament, and he doubted whether the translator of the New Testament was also the translator of the Psalter.²⁷³

On the other hand, Bentley has also shown that Valla's textual criticism of the New Testament is not as innovative as might be expected from

²⁶⁸ Pal.lat.18, fol. 351r.

²⁶⁹ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 36–49; Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 284–311.

²⁷⁰ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 36–37.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 37. For Valla's manuscripts, see: Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," 272; Celenza, "Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the Vulgate," 41, n. 27.

²⁷² Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 288–289. Valla commented on corruptions in the Vulgate also in his other writings, e.g. in the *Dialecticae Disputationes*, where he discussed the reading θεὸς τῆτος in Colossians 2: 9. Lorenzo Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*, ed. Brian P. Copenhaver and Lodi Nauta (Cambridge (MA), London: The I Tatti Renaissance Library: Harvard University Press, 2012), 56–57.

²⁷³ Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 291.

his work on Thucydides, Herodotus and Livy: he did not venture any conjectures, nor did he consult other witnesses, such as the writings of the Church Fathers. Bentley concluded from this that Valla was reluctant to apply his philological method as rigourously to the New Testament as to secular texts.²⁷⁴

Bentley is right to qualify Valla's reputation as a Biblical philologist, but it would of course not be fair to judge him by modern standards, as if he were a New Testament expert working in the twenty-first century. His sources often diverge from modern editions of the New Testament, which means that some problematic readings were not problematic to him at all, because his Vulgate simply coincided with his Greek sources. The same holds true for Manetti. At Mark 14: 19, for instance, the Vulgate reads:

Coeperunt contristari et dicere ei singillatim: 'Numquid ego?', et alius: 'Nunquid ego?' Respondens autem Iesus dixit eis... (Vulgate, Mark 14: 19)

[And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, 'Is it I?' and another said, 'Is it I?' And Jesus answered and said to them...(KJB)]

The second part of this verse, *Et alius nunquid ego? Respondens autem Iesus dixit eis*, is absent from modern editions of the Greek New Testament, but it is supported by the Byzantine text. It is in Manetti's Vulgate as well as in Pal.gr.171, his main Greek source. It is therefore not surprising that he included it in his translation.²⁷⁵ Valla apparently consulted a Latin source from which these words were missing. He commented in the *Annotationes*:

Nonnihil similitudine sermonis uel ab interprete, uel a librariis omissum est. Sic enim est graece: 'Nunquid ego et alius? nunquid ego? Iesus autem respondens dixit eis'; μήτι ἐγώ, καὶ ἄλλοι, μήτι ἐγώ; ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς'(Valla, *Annotationes* at Mark 14: 19)

[Because of the similarity of the text some things are omitted either by the translator or by the copyists. For the Greek is as follows: 'Is it I?', and another said, 'Is it I?' And Jesus answered and said to them...]

By modern standards, both Valla and Manetti rely 'uncritically' on the Greek here, but their decision to preserve the expansion in the Byzantine text is understandable in light of the information available to them. Manetti and Valla often preserve 'inferior' readings that are supported by

²⁷⁴ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 39–41.

²⁷⁵ Pal.lat.18, fol. 334v; Pal.gr.171, fol. 36v.

the manuscripts available in fifteenth-century Italy.²⁷⁶ But we cannot conclude from this that they were uncritical or conservative. I compare their works with the Byzantine text, and in Manetti's case as much as possible with the manuscripts in his library.

Manetti's textual criticism can be compared with Valla's on various levels. In the first place, Valla discussed corruptions in the Vulgate text. Valla pointed out several places where he believed the Vulgate reading was corrupt because the translator or a copyist confused words or letter-forms. These corruptions are mostly not corrected by Manetti. At Luke 15: 8, for example, Valla suggests replacing *evētit* ['she turns'] with *everrit* ['she sweeps']. Manetti preserved the Vulgate reading.²⁷⁷

Another source of corruption is assimilation, i.e. confusion with similar passages elsewhere in the New Testament. Assimilation occurs mainly in the synoptic Gospels, but also occasionally in the other books. In most of the cases of assimilation pointed out by Valla, Manetti's text has Valla's suggested reading. But this does not mean he changed the Vulgate text *because of* Valla's suggestion. At Matthew 4: 19, Matthew 17: 2, Matthew 24: 36 and Matthew 27: 40, Luke 6: 26, the readings suggested by Valla correspond to either Manetti's Vulgate or his Greek manuscripts. In other cases, readings that Valla suspected to be assimilated from other verses were *not* corrected by Manetti. At John 7: 29, Valla rejected the additional words *si dixero quod nescio eum ero similis vobis mendax et ego scio* ['if I said I do not know Him I would be a liar like you and I know']. He assumed they were assimilated from John 8: 55.²⁷⁸ Manetti, by contrast, preserved the words, even though they were absent from his Greek source; he copied them from his Vulgate.²⁷⁹ At 1 Corinthians 15: 51, he preserved the assimilated reading from John 5: 29 together with an alternative reading from the Greek.²⁸⁰

Next to corruptions in the Vulgate text, Valla also pointed out places where the Vulgate is based on an altogether different reading in the Greek. Both Manetti and Valla collated the text of the Vulgate with Greek manuscripts. I compared their textual criticism by focusing on the

²⁷⁶ Bentley mentions Matthew 6: 25, Mark 6: 11 and 2 Peter 2: 18 as cases where Valla adopted a reading 'from an inferior Greek source.' Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 45.

²⁷⁷ Other places where Manetti preserved what Valla believed was a corruption in the Vulgate are: Luke 2: 14, John 18: 28, Acts 5: 3 and Revelation 15: 6.

²⁷⁸ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 842; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 42.

²⁷⁹ Pal.lat.18, fol. 347r; Pal.gr.171 69v.

²⁸⁰ He may have intended to eventually eliminate the Latin reading. See above, pp. 69ff.

way they treated expansions in the Vulgate that are not supported by the Byzantine text. Manetti preserved eighteen lengthy expansions from the Vulgate; none of these are supported by the Byzantine text.²⁸¹ And yet, only one of them, an expansion at John 7: 29, is rejected by Valla as spurious. The remaining sixteen, including the *comma Johanneum*, are *not* rejected by Valla.²⁸² If these readings were not in Valla's Latin manuscripts, that would account for his not mentioning them in the *Collatio/Annotationes*. But at Romans 4: 5 and Acts 22: 7, Valla quotes the additional words from the Vulgate, without mentioning the fact that they were absent from his Greek manuscripts. At Romans 4: 5, for example, the Vulgate reads:

ei uero, qui non operatur, sed credit in eum, qui iustificat impium,
reputatur fides eius ad iustitiam secundum propositum gratiae Dei
(Vulgate, Romans 4: 5)

[However, to the one who does not work but trusts God who justifies
the ungodly, their faith is credited as righteousness according to the
purpose of the grace of God.]

The words *secundum propositum gratiae Dei* are not supported by the Byzantine text. Manetti, in his version, preserves them against his Greek source.²⁸³ Valla is equally uncritical: he quotes the additional words in the *Annotationes*.²⁸⁴ With regard to these expansions then, Manetti acted conservatively, but not more so than Valla.

Conversely, there are also numerous expansions in the Vulgate that were *not* preserved by Manetti. He rejected some fifty Latin readings because they were not supported by the Greek. Some of these cases were pointed out by Valla, but most of them were not. Manetti may have omitted *neque filius* ['nor the son'] at Matthew 24: 36, *magister uester* ['your master'] at Mark 2: 16 and *cum ipse non essem sub lege* ['though I am not under the law'] at 1 Corinthians 9: 21 at Valla's suggestion. These three readings were

²⁸¹ These are found at Matthew 27: 35, Luke 9: 55, John 7: 29, Romans 4: 5, Romans 4: 18, Romans 7: 21, 1 Corinthians 8: 8, Hebrews 2: 7, Acts 8: 37, Acts 9: 6, Acts 15: 34, Acts 15: 41, Acts 22: 7, Acts 23: 25, Acts 24: 7, 1 Peter 3: 22, 1 John 5: 6-7, and 2 John 11.

²⁸² For the *comma*, see Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 45–46. Valla quoted the comma in support of a grammatical argument in *Disputationes* I, 8, 2-3. Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*, 90–91.

²⁸³ They are in Manetti's Vulgate, but not in his Greek source: Pal.lat.18, fols. 352v-353r; Pal.gr.171, fol. 120r.

²⁸⁴ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 856. The expansions at Acts 7: 22 is mentioned in the *Collatio*.

rejected in the *Annotationes*. But Manetti also left out 19 readings that Valla does not mention at all.²⁸⁵

To recapitulate: for his text-critical decisions, Manetti relied on his manuscripts rather than on Valla's notes. Both Valla and Manetti made choices that are 'uncritical' by modern standards. They preserved Vulgate readings that were not supported by their Greek manuscripts, contrary to their general tendency to rely on the Greek text rather than on the Latin tradition. Valla occasionally rejected readings that Manetti preserved, but this does not make him significantly more critical than Manetti, since there are also examples of the opposite.

3.4.4 A 'conservative' reading: 1 Corinthians 15: 10²⁸⁶

Understanding Manetti's method of textual criticism is especially important where readings with theological implications are concerned. An example of this is 1 Corinthians 15: 10, where Manetti's translation goes against Valla's discussion of the passage. Valla dismissed the notion of cooperative grace in his comment on this verse, because of a Greek article that was not translated in the Vulgate, which reads here:

non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum (Vulgate, 1 Corinthians 15: 10)
[yet not I, but the grace of God with me]

Valla changed this to:

non ego autem, sed gratia Dei *quae est* mecum (Valla, *Annotationes* at 1 Corinthians 15: 10)²⁸⁷
[yet not I, but the grace of God that is with me].

Valla's translation was based on the most common Greek reading:

οὐκ ἔγω δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί (1 Corinthians 15: 10)

Valla's translation has far-reaching theological implications: whereas in the Vulgate rendering Paul and the grace of God operated together

²⁸⁵ At Matthew 7: 21, Matthew 8: 6, Matthew 10: 8, Matthew 12: 47, Luke 10: 1, Luke 17: 35, John 1: 15, Romans 12: 17, 1 Corinthians 15: 47, 1 Corinthians 16: 15, 2 Corinthians 2: 3, 2 Timothy 1: 9, Hebrews 11: 29, Acts 10: 19, Acts 15: 34, 1 Peter 1: 4, 2 Peter 3: 3, Revelation 3: 3 and Revelation 16: 3.

²⁸⁶ I have used this example also in Annet den Haan, "Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament: New Evidence on Sources, Translation Process and the Use of Valla's *Annotationes*," 745-746.

²⁸⁷ Valla makes a similar but shorter comment in the *Collatio*.

(hence ‘cooperative grace’), in Valla’s translation the grace of God works alone, without Paul himself having a share in it. Valla wrote in the *Annotationes* that the scholastic theologians had based their interpretation of the passage on a wrong translation of the Greek:

...ut nihil dicant qui hanc uocant gratiam dei cooperantem: Paulus enim sibi hoc non tribuit, sed totum a deo refert acceptum. (Valla, *Annotationes* at 1 Corinthians 15: 10)²⁸⁸

[...so that they say nothing who call this the cooperative grace of God: for Paul does not attribute this to himself, but referred all received to God.]²⁸⁹

Charles Trinkaus, who compared Valla’s notes with Manetti’s translation, rightly observed that ‘Manetti [...] makes no change in this passage.’²⁹⁰ Trinkaus’s words imply that this marks a fundamental difference between Valla’s approach and Manetti’s: whereas Valla had no qualms about facing the theological consequences of his philological findings, Manetti would have hesitated to alter the received reading of the Vulgate. This contrast is all the more striking if Manetti read Valla’s comment on this passage – as he probably did, since it appears in the *Collatio* as well as the *Annotationes*.²⁹¹

On consulting Manetti’s Greek source text, however, it turns out that it does not have the article. It reads:

οὐκ ἔγω δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ σὺν ἐμοί (Pal.gr.171, 1 Corinthians 15: 10)²⁹²

Manetti had therefore no reason to change the translation of the Vulgate. Had the article been in his source text, he would most probably have retranslated it according to Valla’s suggestion, as appears from similar constructions elsewhere in the New Testament. For example, Manetti changed Romans 15: 17 to include the Greek article in a construction quite similar to the one in 1 Corinthians 5: 10.²⁹³ Conversely, in 2

²⁸⁸ Valla made a similar comment in the *Collatio*: Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 211. Valla’s note on the passage in the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes* was also discussed by Bentley, who did not refer to Manetti here: Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 57.

²⁸⁹ Trinkaus’ translation. Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 575.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 211.

²⁹² Pal.gr.171, fol. 131r.

²⁹³ Pal.gr.171, fol. 125v; Pal.lat.45, fol. 82r.

Corinthians 1: 18, his Greek source text lacks the article present in other textual families, and Manetti changed the Vulgate text accordingly.²⁹⁴

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have seen that Manetti collated his manuscripts carefully, as appears from the marginal notes in Pal.lat.18 and from his corrections in Pal.lat.45, and that he based his text-critical decisions on his sources rather than on the writings of Biblical scholars he admired. Furthermore, we have seen that he, generally speaking, relied on the Greek tradition rather than on the Latin. Some of his decisions are difficult to account for: he occasionally preserved Latin readings that clearly conflicted with his Greek source and he overlooked some very obvious writing errors. Valla, however, also uncritically preserved Vulgate readings several times. Manetti's textual criticism can therefore not simply be regarded as inferior to Valla's. Finally, the case of 1 Corinthians 15: 10 shows that it is important to consult Manetti's *Vorlage* before conclusions can be drawn about the role of theology in his version.

²⁹⁴ Pal.gr.171, fol. 136r; Pal.lat.45, fol. 89v.

4 Translation theory from Antiquity to the Renaissance

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters, the writing process of Manetti's New Testament and his textual criticism have been covered. The insights gained there will eventually be used for my analysis of Manetti's translation method in Chapter Six. But first, we will have a look at another source of information concerning the translational norms behind Manetti's New Testament: his translation theory. We are fortunate to have a treatise on the subject from Manetti's hand, *Apologeticus*. The purpose of Chapters Four and Five is to give an interpretation of this work. Chapter Four gives an overview of the theoretical writings on translation from classical antiquity to the fifteenth century, preparing the ground for Chapter Five, which zoom in on *Apologeticus* and on Bible translation in particular.

My discussion of the history of translation theory in this chapter is necessary for a good understanding of Manetti's ideas on correct translation, for two reasons. First, it enables us to appreciate Manetti's originality – or lack thereof. Historians of translation theory have often complained of the apparent repetitiousness of the sources: the same commonplaces return again and again from Antiquity to far into the early modern era. George Steiner wrote in his influential study on translation, *After Babel*:

Over some two thousand years of argument and precept, the beliefs and disagreements voiced about the nature of translation have been almost the same. Identical theses, familiar moves and refutations in debate recur, nearly without exception, from Cicero and Quintilian to the present-day.²⁹⁵

Frederick Renier wrote a study on the history of translation theory in this period. The very aim of his book was to show the continuity from Cicero in the first century BC to Tytler in the eighteenth-century AD:

²⁹⁵ George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 239. For similar comments, see: *ibid.*, 248, 261, 265–266. Cf. Renier, *Interpretatio*, 2–3.

The attempt will be made to show that the many centuries between classical antiquity and the eighteenth century should be regarded *as a unit* which is cemented by a strong tradition. The binding element is a common theory of language and communication and an equally jointly shared idea of translation.²⁹⁶

This translation theory was derived from the classics, and Renier's purpose was to compile a manual on the subject 'which, though never written, nevertheless existed and was known to all translators and particularly to their critics.'²⁹⁷

If no essential change occurred during all these long centuries, can a diachronical study still be useful? Steiner, Renier and others would answer in the negative, and they structured their works thematically, not chronologically.²⁹⁸ I do see, however, several reasons for studying the development of translation theory over time.

Firstly, the concepts and terms that are used so repetitiously in all the prefaces and treatises should not be taken at face value: the modern reader may assign meanings to them that are alien to the sources. This is the whole point of Renier's study: translation theory was firmly embedded in theory of language and the language arts. A naive reading of the terminology applied by theoreticians of translation in earlier periods leads to confusion and misinterpretation.²⁹⁹ This holds particularly for the distinction between translation *ad verbum* ['word for word'] and *ad sensum* ['according to the sense'], which plays a crucial role in the next three chapters.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 7. Emphasis mine.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Other thematically structured studies are: Louis G. Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979); Glyn P. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents* (Genève: Droz, 1984).

²⁹⁹ Renier, *Interpretatio*, 2–3; 21. An example of such a misinterpretation is the rather common assumption that Brunetti introduced the Latin term *traduco* ['to lead across'] to refer to his new translation method, as opposed to *transfere* ['to bear across'], which would denote the late medieval literal approach. See, e.g.: Gualdo Rosa, "Le traduzioni dal greco nella prima metà del '400," 178–179; Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents*, 39; Rodolfo Sabbadini, *Il metodo degli umanisti*. (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1922), 23; Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, ed. Jerrold C. Frakes (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 276; Fubini, *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici*, 110; Gianfranco Folena, *Volgarizzare e tradurre* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1994). Renier has convincingly argued that this reading is untenable. Renier, *Interpretatio*, 267–270.

Secondly, although the same phrases and arguments were used time and again over the centuries, their meaning changed over time. We will see how Jerome borrowed his terminology from Cicero and Horace, but used their words to promote fidelity rather than competition with the original. Especially Horace was used to defend several different – and even conflicting – positions on translation. Likewise, Jerome's comments on Bible translating were used in defence of both literalist and free translation methods for Scripture. In the next two chapters, I trace the terms and arguments Manetti used back to their origins and show how they were slightly modified over time.

Since the history of translation theory in the West is a vast subject, my discussion is limited to what is directly relevant for my purpose: understanding Manetti's views on translation. Louis Kelly defines translation theory as the specification of function and goal, the description and analysis of operations, and critical comment on the relationship between the two.³⁰⁰ Manetti's reflections on translation are concerned with all three elements, but he gives comparatively little attention to the technicalities of particular translation problems. My historical overview therefore concentrates on the purpose and goal of translation rather than on the operational part. It is limited to Latin translation and it focuses especially on the treatises of Jerome and Leonardo Bruni, Manetti's main sources.

Finally, in this chapter the history of translation theory is primarily perceived through the lens of the humanists. Some of their views were historically inaccurate, or oversimplifications of a more complex reality. These are qualified to some extent, but it is not the purpose of my discussion to correct the humanists' interpretation of ancient or medieval translation theory.³⁰¹ I describe the history of translation theory as the humanists understood it, starting from its origins in ancient Rome.

4.2 CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

The history of Latin translation theory begins with the reception of Greek literature during the Roman Republic. Because of the wide-spread bilingualism among the Roman elite, readers interested in Greek

³⁰⁰ Kelly, *The True Interpreter*, 1.

³⁰¹ Examples of such misrepresentations are the alleged literalism of all medieval translations and the humanistic readings of classical passages on translation theory, most importantly Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* 14 and Horace's *Ars poetica* 133-134.

literature had rather easy access to the works in the original language. Many a Roman reader was convinced that Greek literature could not be translated into Latin in the first place, because of Latin's alleged lack of expressivity and technical terminology, especially in the field of philosophy.³⁰²

Nevertheless, Roman authors adapted and reworked Greek texts in multiple creative ways. The most important of them was Cicero, who commented that his free renderings of Greek text in Latin were not meant to make these texts available for a wider readership – after all, most Romans could read the Greek originals for themselves. A mere translation of Greek texts would therefore be superfluous. Cicero rather intended to prove that the Latin language by no means inferior to the Greek.³⁰³ He meant to *compete* with his models:

Quid si nos non interpretum fungimur munere, sed tuemur ea quae dicta sunt ab iis quos probamus, eisque nostrum iudicium et nostrum scribendi ordinem adiungimus? quid habent cur Graeca anteponant iis quae et splendide dicta sint neque sint conversa de Graecis? (Cicero, *De Finibus* I, 6)³⁰⁴

[And supposing that for our part we do not fill the office of a mere translator, but, while preserving the doctrines of our chosen authorities, add thereto our own criticism and our own arrangement: what ground have these objectors for ranking the writings of Greece above compositions that are at once brilliant in style and not mere translations from Greek originals?]

In this passage, Cicero explicitly states that he had not merely translated Greek works, the ‘task of interpreters’ (*non interpretum fungimur munere*). He associates word-for-word translation with the practice of an *interpres*, a word that originally did not mean ‘translator’ but ‘interpreter’. It was used in the context of diplomacy, and it referred to the literal rendering of spoken messages.³⁰⁵ Unlike these interpreters, Cicero had given his own interpretation, and rendered the text in his own style. In other

³⁰² Lucretius mentioned this problem in the first book of *De rerum natura*, where he famously complained of the ‘poverty of the parental tongue’ (*egestas patrii sermonis*). Lucretius, *De rerum natura* I, 832.

³⁰³ Cicero, *De finibus* 1, 10 and 3, 15.

³⁰⁴ Text and translation quoted from: Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, ed. E. H. Warmington and H. Rackham (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1931).

³⁰⁵ Astrid Seele, *Römische Übersetzer: Nöte, Freibeiten, Absichten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 91–92. On ‘interpres’, see also: Paolo Chiesa, “Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzione,” *Medioevo e Rinascimento* (1987): 6–7.

words, he had reshaped his Greek models into a new literary product. Cicero's words are exemplary for ancient translation practice, where no distinction was made between translation and adaptation, and where translations functioned as 'metatexts'; through them, the translator could comment on, parody, or compete with the original.³⁰⁶ Translation was considered mainly as a stylistic exercise.³⁰⁷

The ideal of creative freedom had implications for the translator's method in practice. Cicero wrote about his version of Aeschines and Demosthenes:

Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschinis et Demosthenis; nec converti ut interpretes, sed ut orator, sentiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere. (Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, 14)³⁰⁸

[That is to say I translated the most famous orations of the two most eloquent Attic orators, Aeschines and Demosthenes, orations which they delivered against each other. And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or as one might say, the 'figures' of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them in weight, as it were.]

Rather than slavishly following his model by translating word for word (*verbum pro verbo*), Cicero approached the text as a second author. This statement is often considered as representative for Cicero's translation theory, and as such it would be quoted by theoreticians of translation in the middle Ages and the Renaissance.

³⁰⁶ Ancient translation-adaptations often presuppose a thorough knowledge of the original on the part of the reader: Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 10–14.

³⁰⁷ Chiesa, "Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzione," 5–7; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 99–101; Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 10.

³⁰⁸ Text and translation quoted from: Cicero, "De Optimo Genere Oratorum," in *Cicero II*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson and H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1949). Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* is now considered as spurious. See, e.g., Celenza, "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology: The 'Preface' to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context," 392, n. 8. The translations referred to by Cicero do not survive.

Very similar to Cicero's statement in *De optimo genere oratorum* 14 is the following recommendation in Horace's *Ars poetica*:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere / fidus interpres (Horace, *Ars poetica*, 133-134)³⁰⁹

[And you will not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator]

Horace's words are directed not to a translator, but to a poet – an author who wants to create something new, rather than render the words of another. His recommendation is therefore not concerned with the technicalities of translation at all. However, like the passage from Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* quoted above, Horace's words have been taken up by numerous translation theorists in later times, including Manetti. Like the rejection of word-for-word translation, the notion of the *fidus interpres* would become important in the translation theory of the ages to come.³¹⁰

It is important to note here that in ancient translation theory as well as practice, a literary translation does not have to faithfully reflect the original. Rather, it is meant to draw out the differences between the two languages and cultures. Reproducing a Greek model in Latin makes competition possible. This would change in the patristic period.

4.3 JEROME

Between the second and the fourth century, the Ciceronian model underwent some radical changes. Jewish notions of the sacred text entered the Latin world through the early Christian Church.³¹¹ New genres emerged – hagiographies, theological and technical treatises – and knowledge of Greek diminished. A growing readership depended on translations for access to Greek texts. Most translations produced in this

³⁰⁹ Horace, "Ars Poetica," in *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*, ed. G. P. Goold and H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1929).

³¹⁰ See especially: Werner Schwarz, "The Meaning of *Fidus Interpres* in Medieval Translation," *The Journal of Theological Studies* XLV (1943): 73–78; Kelly, *The True Interpreter*, 205–218; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 94–99. Copeland wrote: 'Horace's phrase "nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus interpres" could become a ready formula for justifying whatever theoretical position on translation that a given cultural or historical context required.' Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 174.

³¹¹ For ancient views on translation within the Jewish tradition, see: Theo A. W. van der Louw, "Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies" (Universiteit van Leiden, 2006), 42–47.

period were painfully literal, partly because of the incompetence of the translators. This new literalness conflicted with the classical approach to translation, where the foreign text was ‘domesticated’, i.e. subjugated to the rules of the Latin language. In the literary versions produced by the early Christian translators, these rules were often broken. The activity of translating was no longer a patriotic deed, and it was referred to as *interpretari* or *transferre* rather than *aemulari*.³¹²

By the fourth century, free translation came up as an alternative to the literal approach. Some of the overly literal versions that had been made before were revised by more capable translators. One of them was Evagrius of Antioch, who wrote:

Ex alia in aliam linguam ad verbum expressa translatio sensus operit et veluti lactum gramen sata strangulat. Dum enim casibus et figuris servit oratio, quod brevi poterat indicari sermone, longo ambitu circumacta vix explicat. Hoc igitur ego vitans vitam beati Antonii te petente ita transposui ut nihil desit ex sensu cum aliquid desit ex verbis. Alii syllabas aucupentur et litteras, tu quaere sententiam. (Evagrius, *Vitae Patrum*)³¹³

[Literal translation from one language into another conceals the sense and strangles the seeds, just as does the luxuriant grass. For when the style is a slave to the grammatical cases and figures of speech, it can scarcely explain even by involved circumlocution what could have been expounded briefly. I have avoided that and translated the life of St. Anthony, which you requested, in such a way that none of the meaning, even if some of the words, is lacking. Others may have an eye for syllables and letters, you seek the meaning.]³¹⁴

Evagrius’ words were taken to heart and repeatedly referred to by one of the most famous translators in the history of the Western world: Jerome.³¹⁵

By the end of the fourth century, Jerome produced a new Latin version of the Gospels at the request of Pope Damasus (366-384). After the Pope’s death, he translated parts of the Old Testament from the Greek and Hebrew. But Jerome was not only one of the most prolific translators of the ancient world, he was also by far the most productive

³¹² Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 48; Chiesa, “Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzzio,” 8–12. For Greek-Latin translation in the fourth century, see: Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 48–49.

³¹³ Ibid. This passage was quoted by Jerome in his *Epistula* 57, 6. Jerome, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula* 57), ed. G. J. M. Bartelink (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 14.

³¹⁴ The translation is Berschin’s.

³¹⁵ Evagrius’ words were quoted by Jerome in *De optimo genere interpretandi* VI, 2. For other references to Evagrius in Jerome’s writings, see: *ibid.*, 65.

writer on translation theory. His *Epistula 57*, addressed to Pammachius, is often regarded as the first treatise on translation theory in the Western world. This letter was written in 395 or 396, and it is also known as *De optimo genere interpretandi*.³¹⁶ In it, Jerome places himself in the Ciceronian tradition of free translation. Because of its importance for the history of translation theory in general and for Manetti's *Apologeticus* in particular, I will discuss Jerome's letter in some detail.

De optimo genere interpretandi concerns a particular historical event: at the request of a friend, Jerome had privately made a translation of a letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem. It was never intended for publication, but Jerome's adversaries somehow got hold of it and criticized him for not translating word for word.³¹⁷ The main question of Jerome's treatise is therefore why word-for-word translation does not work. He openly admitted that he had always preserved the sense rather than the words in his translations – except in the case of the Scriptures:

Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu. (Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V, 2)³¹⁸

[Now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek – except of course in the case of Holy Scripture, where even the syntax contains a mystery – I render not word for word, but sense for sense.]³¹⁹

This remark would become one of the most cited statements in future discussions on Bible translating. What Jerome seems to say here is that whereas a free translation method is generally applicable, the Bible requires a literal rendering. His reason for believing this is that in the Bible, 'the syntax [or order of the words] contains a mystery.' However, this statement is not elaborated in *De optimo genere interpretandi*. Rather, Bible translation appears to be the exception that proves the rule. Jerome immediately moves on to show that word-for-word translation should be avoided in general.

³¹⁶ I refer to this text in Bartelink's edition: Jerome, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula 57*).

³¹⁷ Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* I, 2.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

³¹⁹ Translations of *De optimo genere interpretandi* are quoted from: Douglas Robinson, *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997).

In support of this position, he refers to ancient practice, quoting Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* 14 and Horace's *Ars poetica* 133-134. Jerome was the first to quote Horace's words as a recommendation to translators:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere

fidus interpres (Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V, 5)

[And you will not seek to render word for word as a slavish translator]

In this new context, 'faithful translator' (*fidus interpres*) becomes a disqualification.³²⁰ Jerome's main reason for translating the sense rather than the words was his belief that languages are essentially different. He had commented on this problem earlier with regard to his version of Eusebius' *De temporibus*, and he repeats his comment in *De optimo genere interpretandi*:

Significatum est aliquid unius verbi proprietate: non habeo meum, quo id efferam, et, dum quaero inplere sententiam, longo ambitu vix brevis viae spatia consummo. Accedunt hyperbatorum anfractus, dissimilitudines casuum, varietates figurarum ipsum postremo suum et, ut ita dicam, vernaculum linguae genus... (Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V, 7)

[Each particular word has a significance of its own. Possibly I have no equivalent by which to express some word, and if I then must go out of my way to reach the goal, miles are spent to cover what in reality is a short city block. To this difficulty must be added the windings of word transpositions, the dissimilarities in the use of cases, the varieties in figures of speech, and, most difficult of all, the peculiar vernacular marrow of the language itself.]

Hence Jerome's dilemma: if he translates word for word, the result is absurd, but if he changes the text in any way, he does not fulfil the task of a translator ('ab interpretis videbor officio recessisse').³²¹ He chose to translate freely, because this is what authoritative writers had done before him. Jerome mentions other Christian authors who also favoured the *ad sensum* approach.³²² Even the apostles and the evangelists referred to the Old Testament in a way very similar to free translation, as Jerome shows with a long list of examples:

Ex quibus universis perspicuum est apostolos et evangelistas in interpretatione veterum scripturarum sensum quaesisse, non verba, nec magnopere de ordinatione sermonibusque curasse, cum intellectui res paterent. (Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* IX, 8)

³²⁰ Jerome must have been aware that this was not the meaning of *Ars poetica* 133-134; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 91.

³²¹ Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V, 7.

³²² Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V-VI.

[For all these examples it should be apparent that the Apostles and the Evangelists in quoting from the Old Testament sources have tried to communicated the meaning rather than the literal words, and that they have not cared greatly to preserve exact phrases and sentence constructions, so long as they could clearly present the substance of their subject to men's understanding.]

Jerome's insistence that the evangelists and apostles translated the Scriptures *ad sensum* seems difficult to square with his remark earlier in *De optimo genere interpretandi* that in Scripture 'even the order of the words is a mystery'. But note that Jerome used the examples from the New Testament to illustrate that free translation is acceptable, not to make a point about Bible translating in particular. *De optimo genere interpretandi* can therefore be interpreted as a recommendation for a literal method for translating Scripture, but it does not have to be.

In his other writings, Jerome was equally ambiguous with regard to the correct method for translating the Bible. He made comments in favour of literal translation of the Bible several times, partly with a view to his intended readership, which would not appreciate a free rendering. Then again, in his prefaces to Job and Judith, he stated that he had not translated the text *ad verbum*, but *ad sensum*, and he criticized Aquila's overly literal version of the Old Testament.³²³

Although Jerome's view on Bible translating is not clear-cut, some observations can be made. We have already seen that for Jerome, no text can be rendered into another language by a one-on-one method because of the *proprietas*, the unique character, of each language. This holds true also for Bible translating, as he wrote with regard to his translation of the Hebrew Psalter:

[...] et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιώματα linguae alterius, suae linguae exprimat proprietate. [...] Nec ex eo quis Latinam linguam angustissimam putet, quod non possit uerbum transferre de uerbo; cum etiam Graeci pleraque nostra circuitu tranferant, et uerba Hebraica, non interpretationis fide, sed linguae suae proprietatibus nitantur exprimere. (Hiëronymus, *Epistula* 106, 3)³²⁴

[and that this is the rule of the good translator, that he expresses the idiomatic expressions of someone else's language according to the usage of his own. [...] And let no one believe from now on that the Latin language is scanty, because it cannot render [the Greek] word for word;

³²³ Jerome, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula* 57), 46–47.

³²⁴ Hiëronymus, *Lettres*, ed. Jérôme Labourt, *Collection des universités de France*, vol. 5 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1955), 106–107.

because the Greeks also render many of our words in a roundabout way, and they struggle to express Hebrew words according to the usage of their own language, not through a faithful translation.]

That word-for-word translation from Greek into Latin is impossible is not because Latin is poorer or less sophisticated than Greek.³²⁵ After all, the problems encountered in translating Greek into Latin also occur when Hebrew is rendered into Greek. It is rather a universal problem inherent to translation. Because of the *proprietas* of languages, Jerome allowed for the invention of neologisms, also in case of the Bible.³²⁶ He commented on the translation of particular Hebrew words in several of his letters.

Jerome's view differs from Cicero's on this point: whereas Cicero recommended free translation as a means to compete with the original and to create a new literary work, Jerome's main reason for rejecting the word-for-word method was that it would distort the *meaning* of the source text. His translation theory is based on an ideal of fidelity, not competition. One explanation for this could be that Jerome was mainly concerned with Scripture and theological texts.³²⁷

This may also explain why Jerome put restrictions to the translator's freedom. It is not the translator's task to *interpret* Scripture; as we will see in the next chapter, this was one of his objections to the Septuagint.³²⁸ This is also where Jerome differed from some of his contemporaries, especially Rufinus, who censured some of his source texts by leaving out or changing controversial passages in his translation.³²⁹ For Jerome, the

³²⁵ Although Jerome occasionally used the *topos* of the poverty of Latin; see: G. Q. A. Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d'après Saint Jérôme* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1966), 22.

³²⁶ Ibid., 38–44. For examples of Jerome's solutions for Greek-Latin and Hebrew-Latin asymmetries, see also: Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 111–119. Renier dedicated a section to the term *proprietas*: Renier, *Interpretatio*, 38–56. In it, he distinguished between the *proprietas verborum*, meaning that every thing has a sign of its own, and the *proprietas linguae*, meaning that languages have their own collection of words. The way Jerome uses the term is not mentioned in this section, but later on in Renier's book, where he writes with regard to the *proprietates linguae* that '...every language is the proprietor not only of words but of [sic] also of numerous features which are its exclusive characteristics.' Ibid., 81.

³²⁷ Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 42–55.

³²⁸ See below, pp. 181f.

³²⁹ Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 196. On Rufinus' 'censured' translations, see: Chiesa, "Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzzio," 20–23.

translator should pass on the content ‘neutrally’ and leave its interpretation to the reader.³³⁰

A second difference between Jerome’s and Cicero’s view on translation concerns their ideas of style.³³¹ Like Cicero, Jerome contrasted literalness with an elegant rendering: in *De optimo genere interpretandi* and also in his *Epistula* 106, which concerns his Psalter translation, he claims to follow the standards of good Latin usage (*latinitas* or *consuetudo*). But in other places, he distinguishes between classical rhetorical standards of Latin and Biblical *rusticitas* [‘rusticity’].³³² Since the Bible was written for the common people, readers should not expect to find rhetorical brilliance in it, but open up to the meaning of the Gospel instead.³³³ Especially in the case of Bible *translation*, which is often inferior in style to the original, it may not be possible to enjoy the text for its stylistic elegance. But here also, the meaning is more important than the wording:

[...] licet de scripturis sanctis disputanti non tam necessaria sint verba quam sensus; quia, si eloquentiam quaerimus, Demosthenes legendus aut Tullius est, si sacramenta divina, nostri codices, qui de hebraeo in latinum non bene resonant, pervidendi (Jerome, *Epistula* 29, 1, 3)³³⁴

[...] although for him who discusses the Holy Scriptures, the words are not so necessary as the sense; for if we look for eloquence, we should read Demosthenes or Cicero, but if we look for the divine mysteries, we should examine our own books, which, being translated from Hebrew into Latin, give back a less pleasant sound]

The style of the Old Latin was characterized by transliterations of Hebrew words, neologisms and calques. These were not all smoothed out by Jerome in his new translation. The Vulgate text, partly the product of Jerome’s efforts, abounds in words and grammatical constructions that fall short of classical standards.³³⁵ Although Jerome was a great stylist, he was not concerned with stylistic elegance in his versions of the Scriptures.

At this point, two observations can be made with regard to Jerome’s translation theory. First, in spite of an apparent continuity, Jerome’s view

³³⁰ Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 198–199.

³³¹ See also: Adam Kamesar, “Jerome,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to 600*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 664–670.

³³² Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d’après Saint Jérôme*, 4–15.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

³³⁴ Quoted from: Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d’après Saint Jérôme*, 24.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 64–66.

on translation differed from classical notions on several fundamental points. Second, his translation theory is often not clear-cut, nor is it always compatible with his practice.³³⁶

4.4 MIDDLE AGES

From the fourth century onward, reflections on translation were mostly based on Jerome. But his theory was modified over time to meet new needs. In what follows, I give an overview of the most important statements on the practice of translation into Latin in the Middle Ages, focusing especially on the notion of fidelity and on the appreciation of word-for-word translation as opposed to a free method.

In the sixth century, Boethius translated several works by Aristotle into Latin. Like Cicero before him, he meant to ‘conquer’ the realm of Greek wisdom by rendering it into Latin. Boethius was well aware that the ancient authors disapproved of slavish imitation. He referred to Cicero and Horace in the preface to his version of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, using Horace’s *fidus interpres* as a disqualification, as Jerome had done.³³⁷ Nevertheless, Boethius felt compelled to give precedence to accuracy over elegance when rendering philosophical texts into Latin. His apologetic tone suggests that the word-for-word approach was still considered as an inferior option in the sixth century – at least in theory.³³⁸ This also appears from the instructions Gregory the Great gave as to how his writings were to be translated into Greek: *not* word

³³⁶ For Jerome’s translation practice in the Bible, see: Peter R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, “From the Beginnings to Jerome,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 525–526; Werner Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation: Some Reformation Controversies and Their Background* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 34–37; Allan K. Jenkins and Patrick Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church: A Sixteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Ashgate, 2007), 23; Bogaert, “The Latin Bible,” 516.

³³⁷ The notion of *fidus interpres* in the Middle Ages was discussed by Werner Schwarz in an incomplete article: Schwarz, “The Meaning of *Fidus Interpres* in Medieval Translation,” 73–78. This paper appeared again as Werner Schwarz, “Die Bedeutung des ‘fidus interpres’ für die Mittelalterliche Übersetzung,” in *Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie*, ed. Werner Schwarz et al. (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1985), 54–57.

³³⁸ Werner Schwarz, “Aspekte der Übersetzungstheorie im Mittelalter,” in *Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie*, ed. Werner Schwarz et al. (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1985), 43.

for word – that would make the text unintelligible – but *ad sententiam*, according to the prescriptions of the ancients.³³⁹

In the ninth century, John Scotus Eriugena referred to Horace's *fidus interpres* in the preface to the translation of *De Caelisti Hierarchia*: he had rendered the text very literally, and was aware that he had 'incurred the blame of the faithful translator.'³⁴⁰ In his defence, he reminded his readers that he was the translator of the text, not its commentator. He felt he owed his readership an explanation for his free renderings of theological terminology. Apparently, translating word-for-word had become more acceptable over time.³⁴¹

Burgundio of Pisa, writing in the twelfth century, openly admitted that he translated word for word:

...verbum de verbo reddidi, non sensum solum, sed et ordinem verborum, in quantum potui, sine alteritate conservans (Burgundio of Pisa, *Prologus super opus beati Johannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi CP. super Matthaeum*)³⁴²

[I translated word for word and preserved not only the sense, but also the order of the words as far as I could without any change]

The humanists ridiculed the word-for-word approach of the medieval translators and dismissed it as a result of their incompetence. But lack of linguistic skills only partly explains the medieval preference for a literal rendering. It was also a matter of principle: the medieval translator had no wish to compete with the first author, but chose to remain in the background. This happened partly out of respect and awe for the ancient *auctoritates*, and partly to avoid responsibility for the content of the text or even accusations of heresy.³⁴³ This appreciation of a word-for-word method – be it exaggerated by the humanists – marks a difference between medieval and humanistic translation practice.

³³⁹ Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 52–55. For translation theory in the early Middle Ages, see also: Chiesa, "Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzione," 25–33.

³⁴⁰ 'Ubi valde pertimesco, ne forte culpam fidi interpretis incurram.' Quoted from: Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 52.

³⁴¹ Schwarz, "Aspekte der Übersetzungstheorie im Mittelalter," 44; Schwarz, "Die Bedeutung des 'fidus interpres' für die Mittelalterliche Übersetzung," 56. For Latin translation in the Carolingian period, see: Chiesa, "Ad verbum o ad sensum? Modelli e coscienza metodologica della traduzione," 35–49; Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 118–125.

³⁴² Quoted from: Berschin, 228. For Burgundio as a translator, see: *ibid.*, 225–231.

³⁴³ Schwarz, "Aspekte der Übersetzungstheorie im Mittelalter," 43.

The second difference between medieval translators and the humanists concerns the status of the Latin language. Some medieval translators blamed the problems they were confronted with on the target language, Latin. Johannes Sarracinus, for example, complained of the poverty of Latin with regard to Greek in the twelfth century:

Nam apud Graecos quaedam compositiones inveniuntur, quibus eleganter et proprie res significantur; apud Latinos autem eadem res duabus aut pluribus dictionibus ineleganter et improprie et quandoque insufficienter designantur. Ad commendationem enim alicujus personae vel alterius rei pulchre articuli apud eos repetuntur, et per eosdem articulos multae orationes sibi invicem perpolite connectuntur. Taceo de insigni constructione participiorum et infinitorum articularum conjunctorum. Hujusmodi autem elegantiae apud Latinos nequaquam inveniiri. (Johannes Sarracinus, letter CXLIX to John of Salisbury)³⁴⁴

[In Greek one finds certain compounds by which things are designated elegantly and pertinently; the Latins must inelegantly, less precisely, and occasionally quite unsatisfactorily paraphrase the one word with two or more expressions. In order to designate a person or object, they repeat the articles in the proper positions, and by means of the same article many statements are joined smoothly. I do not wish to speak of the excellent construction of the participle and the articular infinitive: such linguistic elegance cannot be found in Latin.]³⁴⁵

In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon argued that Latin translations could never fully displace the original – partly because of the bad quality of the versions produced by his contemporaries – but also because of the poverty of the Latin language. For this reason, Bacon recommended the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; he presented himself explicitly as a new Jerome.³⁴⁶ Bacon's view on translation was closely connected with his conception of language: he believed that languages consist of unique *proprietas* on the one hand, and universal *rationes* on the other. In his opinion, a translation can never replace the original, because the meaning of the text will always be compromised. For Bacon, even the Vulgate Bible is therefore inferior to the original. Jerome, though a fine translator, was a fallible human being.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ PL 199, 143.

³⁴⁵ The translation is Berschin's.

³⁴⁶ Pierre Lardet, "Un lecteur de Jérôme au XIII^e siècle: Langues et traduction chez Roger Bacon," in *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient: Actes du colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986)*, ed. Yves-Marie Duval (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), 445–463. See also: Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 252–255.

³⁴⁷ The notion of 'corrective translation', in which no version is final, also appears in the writings of John of Trevisa. For him as well as for Bacon, not even Jerome's Vulgate was perfect. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 225–226.

4.5 HUMANIST TRANSLATION THEORY

In the fifteenth century, the Italian humanists rejected the literalism of late medieval translation practice and – at least in theory – returned to the ideal of elegant, *ad sensum* translation advocated by Cicero and Jerome.³⁴⁸ This section describes how the first Italian humanists, from Petrarch to Bruni, appropriated the classical approach to translation. The literature on this subject is vast, and the purpose of this section is merely to recapitulate the available information and to provide context for Manetti's *Apologeticus*. It is concerned only with Latin sources that reflect on Latin translation from the Greek; vernacular translation, insofar as it was reflected upon in this period, will be left aside.

4.5.1 The first humanists

The first humanists' ideas on translation were marked by a return to classical stylistic elegance. Although they did not know Greek himself, they had clear ideas as to how a translation from that language should be made. When Petrarch read Leonzio Pilato's Latin translation of Homer, he was extremely disappointed at its lack of stylistic elegance. In his comments on this version, he referred to Jerome's preference for free translation over literal.³⁴⁹ Coluccio Salutati was not pleased with Pilato's work either. To Antonio Loschi, who intended to revise Pilato's version of the *Iliad*, Salutati recommended imitating the style of the poet, focusing on the content (*res*) rather than the wording (*verba*):

[...] *res* velim, non *verba* consideres; illas oportet extollas et ornes et tum propriis, tum novatis verbis comas talemque vocabulorum splendorem adicias, quod non inventione solum, nonque sententiis, sed verbis etiam Homericum illud, quod omnes cogitamus, exhibeas atque sones. [...] non etiam verbo verbum, sicut inquit Flaccus, curabis reddere fidus Interpres, nec carmini carmen connumerare [...] (Salutati, letter to Antonio Loschi, 1393)³⁵⁰

[I hope you will concentrate on the subject matter, not the words. You should embellish the subject matter and beautify it and adorn it, now

³⁴⁸ For Jerome in particular, see: Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 84–115.

³⁴⁹ Marianne Pade, "The Fifteenth-Century Latin Versions of Plutarch's Lives: Examples of Humanist Translation," in *Greek into Latin from Antiquity until the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Glucker and Charles S. F. Burnett (London, Turin: The Warburg Institute, Nino Aragno Editore, 2012), 174.

³⁵⁰ Quoted from: Marianne Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), 97, n. 269.

with proper words, now with novel words, and you need to add such brilliance of diction that you present and express that Homeric quality which all of us have in mind, not merely in plot formulation and thought but also in words. [...] Do not, as Horace warns, ‘render word for word, as a faithful translator’ and do not make your poem exactly equal to its model in length.]³⁵¹

Salutati refers to the well-known lines from Horace, which he would use again when he commented on Simon Atumanus’ version of Plutarch’s *De ira*, produced around 1373.³⁵² According to Salutati, the Latin style of Simon’s translation did not do justice to Plutarch. Simon had rendered the text *ad verbum*, as a *fidus interpres*. For Salutati this was clearly a disqualification, as it had been for Jerome.

A new movement of Latin translation of Greek works began with Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1355-1415), who taught Greek to a group of prominent Florentine humanists at the turn of the century. Chrysoloras used translation as an educational tool: he encouraged his students to make translations of Greek texts, first literal, then free and in elegant Latin. By providing new Greek manuscripts he introduced classical works unknown before to the Italian humanists. Chrysoloras never wrote anything on translation theory himself. His views on the subject are known to us only through a remark made by one of his students, Cencio de’Rustici. In the preface to his translation of Aristides’ *De Baccho*, written in 1416, Cencio wrote that Chrysoloras disapproved of word-for-word translation:

Sed ut de interpretis natura aliquid dicam, ferebat Manuel homo sine ulla dubitatione diuinus conuersionem in latinum ad uerbum minime ualere. Nam non modo absurdum esse asseuerabat, uerum etiam interdum grecam sententiam omnino peruertere. Sed ad sententiam transferre opus esse aiebat hoc pacto ut ii qui huiusmodi rebus operam darent, legem sibi ipsis indicarent, ut nullo modo proprietates grece immutaretur; nam si quispiam, quo luculentius apertiusque suis hominibus loquatur, aliquid grece proprietatis immutarit, eum non interpretis se exponentis officio uti. (Cencio de’Rustici, Preface to Aristides’ *De Baccho*)³⁵³

[Let me say something about the character of the translator: Manuel, without any doubt a man of divine quality, used to say that a word-for-word rendering into Latin is quite inadequate. He claimed that it was not merely absurd, but that at times it entirely falsified the meaning of the

³⁵¹ Translation quoted from: Robinson, *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche*.

³⁵² In a letter to Corsini, written in 1394. Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch’s Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 1, 74–75, n. 191.

³⁵³ The text of the preface is available in: Ludwig Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1975), 132–133.

Greek. Instead he said that one needed to translate according to the sense, on condition that those performing the task should impose on themselves the requirement not to change in any way the idiom of the Greek. For if anyone did change the Greek idiom in order to speak more clearly or openly to his audience, he would be performing the duty of the commentator, not the translator.³⁵⁴

According to Cencio, Chrysoloras distinguished between translating *ad verbum* (word for word) and *ad sententiam* (according to the sense). The latter is to be preferred. However, translating the sense should not go too far: if the *proprietas*, the unique character of the Greek, is distorted (*immutaretur*), the result is not a translation but an interpretation – and that is the task of a commentator.

Chrysoloras' view is not radically new; we have seen that the rediscovery of the ancient rhetorical ideal and the preference of *ad sententiam* over *ad verbum* were already present in Salutati's letters. But he put restrictions to the free translation method, and emphasized the importance of a correct understanding of the Greek.³⁵⁵ The importance of Chrysoloras' 'programme' was certainly felt by his students. Dedication letters accompanying translations in the first two decades of the fifteenth century are often a tribute to Chrysoloras. His students considered themselves as members of a 'lay fraternity', and they promoted the study of Greek, which was still controversial at the time.³⁵⁶ Born in 1396, Manetti was too young to participate in Chrysoloras' classes. However, he was influenced by them indirectly, partly through the writings of Chrysoloras' most famous student, Leonardo Bruni.

³⁵⁴ Translation: Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 11.

³⁵⁵ Interestingly, Chrysoloras' rejection of *ad verbum* translation is difficult to square with his translation practice. He authored a very literal version of Plato's *Republic*, in collaboration with Uberto Decembrio. For this translation, see: Mariarosa Cortesi, "La tecnica del tradurre presso gli umanisti," in *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Proceedings of the First European Science Foundation Workshop on "The Reception of Classical Texts"* (Florence, Certosa del Galluzzo, 26-27 June 1992), ed. Claudio Leonardo and Birger Munk Olsen, vol. Florence (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 147; James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1990), 108–110; Ernesto Berti, "Traduzioni oratorie fedeli," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 2 (1988): 249–251.

³⁵⁶ Gualdo Rosa, "Le traduzioni dal greco nella prima metà del '400," 182–186.

4.5.2 Leonardo Bruni

Leonardo Bruni was one of the most prolific translators of the early fifteenth century. He was also the most communicative with regard to his views on translation. Bruni expounded them in the prefaces to his translations, as well as in his well-known treatise *De interpretatione recta*, the first theoretical text on translation since Jerome's *De optimo genere interpretandi*. Since Bruni's treatise influenced Manetti significantly, it will be discussed in some detail. But first, we will have a closer look at some of the prefaces he wrote for his translations.³⁵⁷

Bruni's Prefaces

Bruni appropriated Cicero's ideal of free translation, which was reiterated by Salutati and Chrysoloras. He emphasized the importance of capturing the style of the original, and ridiculed the medieval translators of Aristotle for their word-for-word renderings. Unlike Salutati and Chrysoloras, however, Bruni did not dismiss *ad verbum* translation altogether. Concerning his version of Plato's *Phaedo*, produced around 1400, he wrote:

Primo igitur sententias omnes ita conservo, ut ne vel minimum quidem ab illis discedam. Deinde si verbum verbo sine ulla inconcinnitate aut absurditate reddi potest, libentissime omnium id ago: si autem non potest, non equidem usque adeo timidus sum, ut putem me in crimen lesae maiestatis incidere, si servata sententia paulisper a verbis recedo, ut declinem absurditatem. Hoc enim ipse Plato praesens me facere iubet, qui cum elegantissimi oris apud Graecos sit, non vult certe apud Latinos ineptus videri. (Bruni, Preface to Plato's *Phaedo*)³⁵⁸

[I am keeping close to Plato. I call up a vision of him, one that speaks Latin, so that he may judge, and I will ask him to bear witness to the translation of his own work. I translate him in a way that I understand will give him most pleasure. So first of all I preserve every statement without the least deviation from its meaning; then if a word-for-word rendering is possible without oddity or absurdity, this is most welcome;

³⁵⁷ For Bruni's translation theory and practice, see: Helene Harth, "Leonardo Brunis Selbstverständnis als Übersetzer," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 1 (1968): 41–63; Cortesi, "La tecnica del tradurre presso gli umanisti," 157–158; James Hankins, "Translation Practice in the Renaissance: The Case of Leonardo Bruni," in *Actes du colloque "Methodologie de la traduction: De l'Antiquité à la Renaissance"* (Luxembourg, 1992), ed. Charles-Marie Ternes (Luxembourg: Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg, 1994), 154–175. This paper appeared again in James Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003), 177–192.

³⁵⁸ Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Laurentius Mehus, vol. 1 (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2006), 17.

when it is not possible, I am not so timid as to fear accusations of lèse-majesté if I depart a little from the wording while preserving the sense, always avoiding absurdity. This is what Plato by his speeches obliges me to do; being the most elegant of writers in the Greek, he will not wish to appear lacking in taste in Latin.]³⁵⁹

Like Chrysoloras, Bruni set limits to the free, *ad sententiam* approach: a translation must do justice to the original and not distort the *proprietas* of the Greek.

Some years later, Bruni referred to *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* translation again in the preface to his version of Plutarch's *Vita Antonii*, written in 1404-1405. This time, he approached the subject from the perspective of a creative writer. Because of the divergent characteristics of the Greek and Latin language, Bruni wrote, a translator must render the original *ad sensum*; otherwise, he will be blamed for the bad style of his work, even if that is really the responsibility of the first author. Bruni criticized the frivolity and loquacity of Greek authors as opposed to the soberness of Latin. Greek literature, Bruni wrote, is not *per se* superior to Latin. By means of creative translation, Latin authors could compete with the Greeks.³⁶⁰

Bruni would go even further in his new translation of Plutarch's *Vita Ciceronis*, written in 1413. Not satisfied with Niccolò Niccoli's earlier version, he decided to produce a new one. But while working on his new translation, Bruni became more and more convinced that not only Niccoli's Latin, but also Plutarch's Greek original were unsatisfactory. He then rewrote the text 'not as an interpreter but according to [his] own judgment and choice' ('non ut interpretes sed pro nostro arbitrio voluntateque').³⁶¹

Bruni's words in each of these three prefaces suggest that he distinguished several functions of translation: in the case of Plato's *Phaedo*, his goal was to convey the meaning of the first author as accurately as possible, using *ad sensum* translation only if a too literal rendering would obscure the meaning of the original. Plutarch's *Vita Antonii*, by contrast, lent itself for a creative adaptation, which became a literary work in its own right that could compete with its model. Bruni went even further in the *Cicero Novus*, his adaptation of Plutarch's *Vita*

³⁵⁹ Translation: Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 11–12.

³⁶⁰ The text of the preface is available in: Leonardo Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*, ed. Paolo Viti (Napels: Liguori, 2004), 238–241.

³⁶¹ For the Latin text of the preface, see: *ibid.*, 249–250. This quotation is on p. 250.

Ciceronis, in which he partly rewrote the original text. In other words, Bruni did not introduce a monolithic model for humanistic translation. Rather, he recommended various strategies, depending on the translator's purpose and preference.

Bruni's De interpretatione recta

Bruni's best known text on translation theory is his *De interpretatione recta*, written in the 1420s.³⁶² Like Jerome's *De optimo genere interpretandi*, it is the result of a controversy concerning one of the author's translations, in this case Bruni's version of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*.³⁶³ The controversy originated in 1416, when Bruni published his new version. In his preface to this text, addressed to Pope Martin V, Bruni had argued that the existing translation of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* was barbarian rather than Latin. He did not know the identity of the translator (Robert Grosseteste), but he accused him of knowing neither Greek nor Latin: often, Bruni complained, this anonymous translator merely transliterated Greek words instead of rendering them by a proper Latin equivalent. He could therefore impossibly do justice to the elegant style of Aristotle, who, as Cicero had pointed out, united wisdom with eloquence.

Although Bruni's version would soon become very popular among his contemporaries, it also attracted criticism, especially with regard to its free rendering of Aristotle's terminology.³⁶⁴ Bruni's critics also accused him of being disrespectful towards the medieval translator. This accusation led to the composition of *De interpretatione recta*.

In order to account for his severity towards his predecessor in his treatise, Bruni stated the requirements a translator should meet: he ought to be fluent in both the source and the target language, and be alert to

³⁶² Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* was published by Baron: Hans Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), 81–96. A more recent edition with an Italian translation is Bruni, *Sulla perfetta traduzione*. This volume comprises *De interpretatione recta* and the prefaces to Bruni's numerous translations. An English translation of parts of *De interpretatione recta* is available in Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton (NY): Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1987), 217–229.

³⁶³ For the ethics-controversy, see: Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 193–239; Griffiths, Hankins, and Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 201–208; Fubini, *L'umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici*, 108–114.

³⁶⁴ Notably Bruni's rendering of *τἀγαθόν* ['the good'] by *summum bonum*. See: Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 195–199.

figures of speech in the source text, which are easily misunderstood; he should be familiar with the exact meaning and nature (*vis* and *natura*) of the words he needs to use in the target language; and he should preserve both the style and the content of the original in his translation.³⁶⁵

Bruni's translation theory in *De interpretatione recta* is characterized by its emphasis on style: in order to capture the spirit of the original, the style of the first author has to be preserved, including figures of speech, stylistic devices, and even sound effects and prose rhythm.³⁶⁶ The translator needs to identify with his model:

[...] sic in traductionibus interpres quidem optimus sese in primum scribendi auctorem tota mente et animo et voluntate convertet et quodammodo transformabit eiusque orationis figuram, statum, ingressum coloremque et liniamenta cuncta exprimere meditabitur. (Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 13)

[...] so in translation the best translator will turn his whole mind, heart, and will to his original author, and in a sense transform him, considering how he may express the shape, attitude and stance of his speech, and all his lines and colors.]³⁶⁷

Bruni argues that these requirements were not met in the medieval translations of Aristotle's works, illustrating his point with extensive samples from William of Moerbeke's *Politics* and from his own version.³⁶⁸ He quotes Jerome and Cicero in support of his position. Here the text suddenly breaks off.³⁶⁹

Bruni's translation theory is closely connected with his rhetorical ideal. His rejection of the use of Greek transliterations can be understood as a defence of the Latin language: after all, 'nothing has been said in Greek which cannot be said in Latin' ('nihil grece dictum est quod latine dici non possit').³⁷⁰ Of course, Bruni admitted, there are some exceptions to this general statement, but on the whole the Latin language is rich enough to express most of the Greek concepts without taking recourse

³⁶⁵ *De interpretatione recta* 6-12. References are to section numbers in Viti's text.

³⁶⁶ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 14-15 (and passim). See also: Rener, *Interpretatio*, 163-164.

³⁶⁷ Translation: Griffiths, Hankins, and Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 220.

³⁶⁸ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 18-45.

³⁶⁹ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 46.

³⁷⁰ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 43.

to neologisms or transliterations. This line of argument fits with Bruni's cultural agenda: he aimed at a revival of the Latin classical past.³⁷¹

Bruni's 'rhetorical' approach to the translation of philosophical texts led to a controversy with Alonso da Cartagena of Burgos in the 1420s. Alonso was a Spanish bishop who was initially very impressed with Bruni's versions of other Greek works. But when he read the translation of the *Ethica Nicomachea*, he was shocked, especially because Bruni's translation was meant to replace the Greek original, not just to help understand it.³⁷² In his *Libellus contra Leonardum*, Alonso warned Bruni against the dangers of translating Aristotle too freely.³⁷³ Two points of his criticism are especially relevant.

First, according to Alonso, Bruni did not distinguish very strictly between translation and interpretation. He often incorporated his own interpretation of a problematical passage in the text. For Alonso this was unacceptable: a translator ought to convey the meaning of the original as neutrally as possible. If this rendered the text incomprehensible, an interpretation should be provided in a commentary.

Second, Alonso disagreed with Bruni as to the nature of Aristotle's text. Bruni approached Aristotle's philosophy just like a rhetorical text. He claimed he could understand Aristotle better than any scholastic, because of his competency in Greek grammar and literature.³⁷⁴ Bruni emphasized the eloquence of Aristotle and Plato and compared them with the best orators.³⁷⁵ For Alonso, the leading principle for translating the Philosopher was reason (*ratio*): rather than recovering the meaning of the historical Aristotle, the translator ought to do justice to the consistency and rationality of his philosophical system, which had been worked out by the scholastics.³⁷⁶

³⁷¹ For Bruni's ideal, see especially: Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 253–261.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 201.

³⁷³ This text is available in A. Birkenmajer, "Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit Leonardo Bruni Aretino," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* 20, no. 5 (1920): 129–210.

³⁷⁴ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 11. In 33–44, Bruni gives numerous examples of words and expressions mistranslated in the medieval version, with their proper meaning according to ancient usage.

³⁷⁵ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta*, 25, 29.

³⁷⁶ Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 202; Fubini, *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici*, 110–113.

The impact of Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* on fifteenth-century translation theory is uncertain. The work was probably hardly known in the fifteenth century. It was never finished and it probably did not circulate widely, but only as part of a set of Bruni's works.³⁷⁷ Manetti, however, owned a copy.³⁷⁸ We will see in the next chapter that Manetti's own ideas on translation were influenced significantly by Bruni.

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

In the above overview of the history of translation theory from Antiquity to the fifteenth century, we have seen that the task of the translator was understood in various ways over the centuries. In Cicero's time, his task was not to make a text accessible to a wider readership, but rather to compete with the original and to demonstrate the superiority of Latin. Translation was described in terms of conquest and patriotism. Free translation was therefore the ideal. With the rise of Christianity, new notions of fidelity arose. Jerome combined the Ciceronian ideal of free, elegant translation with the literalness of the early Christian translators. He allowed for multiple stylistic registers according to genre. In the middle Ages, word-for-word translation became the norm. Whereas Cicero and Horace had warned against copying a text as a (*fidus*) *interpretes*, most medieval translators did just that; their translations were subservient to the source text.

The first Italian humanists appropriated classical ideas on translation, rejecting the alleged literalism of the middle Ages. These 'classical' ideas, however, were interpreted in several different ways. Initially, questions concerning translation method were part of a broader movement that aimed at the restoration of classical Latin. For humanists such as Petrarch and Salutati, who did not know Greek, revising translations was mainly a stylistic exercise. These humanist revisions were not meant to make Greek texts accessible, but to promote the Latin language. For Chrysoloras, on the other hand, a translation should accurately reflect the original, taking into account the particularities of the source language.

In Bruni's translations, Ciceronian competition and the patristic ideal of fidelity go together, depending on the genre and the purpose of the

³⁷⁷ Rener, *Interpretatio*, 264; Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 70.

³⁷⁸ Pal.lat.1598. Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti," 20.

translation. The controversy between Alonso and Bruni has been considered as illustrative for the fundamental discrepancy between the Schoolmen and the humanists, or between scholastic and humanistic methodologies.³⁷⁹ But this representation does not do justice to the complexity of Bruni's ideas and to the diversity of humanist translation theory at large. Especially later on in the fifteenth century, humanists would vary their translation method according to genre. This is also what we find in Manetti's *Apologeticus*, to which we now turn.

³⁷⁹ See, for example, Stinger: Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 107. Hanna-Barbara Gerl compared Bruni's version with Grosseteste in order to reconstruct the linguistic views of both: Hanna-Barbara Gerl, *Philosophie und Philologie* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1981).

5 Apologeticus

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to Manetti's treatise on translation theory, *Apologeticus*. It serves two purposes. The first is to describe Manetti's translation theory, with an eye to comparing it with his method in Chapter Six. For this purpose I give an interpretation of Manetti's argumentation and terminology in *Apologeticus* V, drawing on the historical overview of translation theory in the previous chapter. My second purpose is to investigate Manetti's approach to the sacred text and the ways he legitimized his new translation.

Manetti wrote *Apologeticus* shortly after completing his translation of the Psalter, which had circulated about a year at the time of writing. He dedicated the treatise to Alfonso V in 1458.³⁸⁰ Its purpose was twofold. In the first place, it served as a more extended introduction to the Psalter than the earlier preface to Alfonso. In the first book, Manetti addresses several questions concerning the Psalter text, such as the authorship of David and the division into five books. Second, Manetti explicitly presents *Apologeticus* as a defence against criticism from his contemporaries. They disapprove of his new version, Manetti writes in the opening lines, because Jerome already translated the entire Bible a thousand years earlier. Trying to compete with, or even replace, the Vulgate, was considered as sheer arrogance on Manetti's side. This is why he feels compelled to give his reasons for retranslating the Psalter.³⁸¹

Apologeticus is structured as follows: the first two books are dedicated to various Bible translations produced in antiquity; book two zooms in on the Psalter and on the two main Latin versions written by Jerome. In books three and four, these two versions are meticulously compared. The fifth and final book is concerned with the correct way to translate.

³⁸⁰ The text survives in three manuscripts, all dating from the fifteenth century: Pal.lat.40, a *codex emendatus*; Pal.lat.41, the dedication copy for Alfonso, written by Pietro Ursuleo da Capua; and Urb.lat.5, copied for the library of Federico da Montefeltro. In all three manuscripts, *Apologeticus* accompanies Manetti's version of the Psalter, together with a shorter preface written earlier, likewise addressed to Alfonso. A critical edition of *Apologeticus* was made by Alfonso De Petris in 1981. Manetti, *Apologeticus*. For a description of the manuscripts and their interrelation, see *ibid.*, XLIII–LXV.

³⁸¹ *Apologeticus* I, 1–3. References are to section numbers in De Petris's edition.

My analysis of Manetti's translation theory builds on earlier studies, most importantly the works of De Petris and Rener. De Petris compared Manetti's text with other relevant sources, especially the treatises written by Bruni and Jerome. He traced back numerous similarities with, and references to, earlier works.³⁸² However, De Petris hardly problematized these similarities: he was not concerned with the *meaning* of the concepts Manetti borrowed from others. This is different for Rener's study, which I found very helpful for a better understanding of Manetti's terminology. The shortcoming of Rener's work, which deals with Manetti's treatise only in passing, is that it does not investigate in what way existing notions took on a new meaning in the context of *Apologeticus*. Furthermore, as Rener's discussion is limited to the fifth book, it could not take the argumentative structure of *Apologeticus* as a whole into account.³⁸³ Most other studies that mention *Apologeticus* are likewise limited to the fifth book. They often merely paraphrase Manetti's text.³⁸⁴

Besides describing Manetti's ideas on correct translation, I investigate his view on Bible translation in particular in this chapter. Over the centuries, the sacred text and its translations have been approached in a variety of ways. Werner Schwarz published a series of studies on the history of Bible translation theory, concentrating on two debates, one in the fifth and one in the sixteenth century. From these debates, Schwarz extrapolated three main positions ('views' or 'principles') with regard to the translation and interpretation of Sacred Scripture: the traditional principle, where a Bible text becomes authoritative when it is sanctioned by a religious institution or by long use; the philological principle, where the meaning and reliability of the Bible text are subject to the same criteria as other texts; and the inspirational principle, where the meaning of the text is revealed by the Holy Spirit.³⁸⁵ Schwarz's framework was

³⁸² Alfonso De Petris, "Le teorie umanistiche del tradurre e l'*Apologeticus*' di Giannozzo Manetti," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 37, no. 1 (1975): 15–32; Manetti, *Apologeticus*, V–XLII.

³⁸³ Rener, *Interpretatio*, *passim*.

³⁸⁴ Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, vol. 2, 581–601; Theo Hermans, "Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation," in *Geschichte, System, literarische Übersetzung / Histories, Systems, Literary Translations*, ed. Harald Kittel (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1992), 95–116; Fubini, *L'umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici*, 115–117; Manetti, *Apologeticus*; De Petris, "Le teorie umanistiche del tradurre e l'*Apologeticus*' di Giannozzo Manetti"; Stefano U. Baldassarri, "Teoria e prassi della traduzione nell'*Apologeticus*' di Giannozzo Manetti," *Journal of Italian Translation* 3, no. 2 (2008): 7–30. Botley included *Apologeticus* II in his discussion: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 105–113.

³⁸⁵ Werner Schwarz, "The History of Principles of Bible Translation in the Western World," *Babel* IX (1963): 5–22; Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*;

referred to in recent studies on humanist (Bible) translation by Theo Hermans and by Jenkins and Preston.³⁸⁶ I have several objections to Schwarz's framework. The difference between the inspirational and the traditional principle is not always clear. A text that has been in use for a long time may be considered to be the result of inspiration long ago, or the institution that authorizes a text may itself be believed to be inspired. Furthermore, Schwarz's framework does not differentiate between producing new Bible translations, assessing the authority of existing ones, and determining the meaning of the text. These shortcomings were remedied by Eugene Nida, who modified Schwarz's model. According to Nida, debates on Bible translating mostly turned on three questions: the role of inspiration as opposed to philology; the status of tradition as opposed to contemporary authority; and the question of what determined the meaning of the text, theology or grammar.³⁸⁷

Recently, Anthony Pym, in a paper on the history of Bible translating, introduced the notion of 'epistemologies', an epistemology being 'a mode of construing knowledge from a text.'³⁸⁸ According to Pym, historical epistemologies of Bible translating turn on roughly two issues or 'problematics'—quite similar to Nida's questions —: the kind of meaning of the text and its authorization.

As for the meaning of the sacred text, this can come to the translator in various ways. According to non-representational epistemologies, it is communicated in a supernatural way, by spirit-channelling, illumination, or some other kind of direct 'spiritual transfer.' Pym's example of such a non-representational epistemology is the early Christian belief in the inspiration of the Septuagint, the Hellenistic Greek version of the Hebrew Old Testament, as it was formulated by Augustine. Augustine believed that the differences between the Greek text and the Hebrew original were the result of divine inspiration. According to representational epistemologies, by contrast, meaning is inextricably bound up with the text: it is expressed in the source text and represented by its translations. I argue that Manetti's *Apologeticus* is informed by a representational epistemology.

Werner Schwarz et al., *Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und Mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1985).

³⁸⁶ Hermans, "Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation," 106–108; Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, x and passim.

³⁸⁷ Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964), 26–29.

³⁸⁸ Pym, "On the Historical Epistemologies of Bible Translating", 195.

Pym's second 'problematic' is the authorization of Bible translations. Once a translation is considered to be authorized, it is no longer considered as a translation, but as a sacred text in its own right. This means that plurality is problematic: other translations will necessarily differ from the authorized version, and these differences can only be perceived as 'errors.' It also means that individual passages in the authorized version cannot be criticized, unless at the cost of the authority of the whole. I argue that Manetti did not believe in authorized versions as replacements of the original.

This chapter is structured as follows. In section one, I give an analysis of Manetti's discussion of the Septuagint translation in the first books of *Apologeticus*. Manetti describes the debate between Jerome and Augustine, who held – in the terminology discussed above – a representational and a non-representational view respectively. I then give an interpretation of *Apologeticus* V in section two, comparing Manetti's translation theory with that of his predecessors and contemporaries. In addition, I situate the fifth book in the argumentative structure of *Apologeticus* as a whole. Finally, in section three I compare the way Manetti legitimizes his new Bible translations with the strategies applied by Jerome and Valla.

5.2 THE INSPIRATION OF THE SEPTUAGINT

In the second book of *Apologeticus*, Manetti discusses the various existing Bible translations, including the several Latin translations of the Psalter. One of the questions he addresses is that of the authority of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament dating from the Hellenistic period. This Greek version was traditionally believed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, but its inspiration was disputed from the start. The inspiration of the Septuagint is relevant for Manetti's writing purpose in *Apologeticus* in two ways: first, it directly concerns his new translation of the Psalter, which he decided to base on the original Hebrew and not on the Greek text of the Septuagint. Second, it has implications for Manetti's view on Bible translating in general. The debate on the inspiration of the Septuagint, best known through the controversy between Jerome and Augustine in the fourth century, was the first and exemplary clash between the philological view and the inspirational view to Bible translating. Manetti's treatment of the debate is therefore revealing for his broader view on Bible translating.

5.2.1 The Septuagint: early accounts

The oldest account of the translation of the Septuagint is the so-called 'Letter of Aristeas.' According to the author –Aristeas or Pseudo-Aristeas – who wrote around 100 BC, King Ptolemy summoned seventy-two wise Jews to his court, in order to render their holy books into the Greek language. The translators completed their task in 72 days. The letter lists several factors that established the authority of their translation, such as the quality of the manuscripts used as a source text, the religious and scholarly credentials of the translators, and the sanction of the religious authority (the High Priest).³⁸⁹ It does not mention any supernatural intervention in the translation process.

This changed in later accounts of the event. Philo Iudaeus, who wrote around 40 AD, was much more specific about the *modus operandi* of the seventy-two translators. According to Philo, they withdrew to the island Pharos, far from the bustle and impurities of the world, where they independently produced identical translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. This was, of course, a miracle, and Philo ascribed it to the intervention of the Spirit of God, who 'dictated' the Greek version word for word. For Philo, the translation served as a full replacement for the original. His exegesis, which focused on a deeper, spiritual sense hidden in the text, was based exclusively on the Septuagint. This would have been pointless if the Greek version was not as inspired as the Hebrew. Later accounts of the translation process grew increasingly spectacular, in order to affirm the supernatural status of the Septuagint – and hence its authority.³⁹⁰

However, not all Greek-speaking Jews agreed with Philo that the Septuagint was as authoritative as the Hebrew original. One factor that

³⁸⁹ Werner Schwarz, "Die Bibel im Abendland: Geschichte der Übersetzungsprinzipien," in *Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie*, ed. Werner Schwarz et al. (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1985), 12–13; Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, 17–21; Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 5–7. For the Septuagint translation and other ancient versions, see, e.g.: David G. Burke, "The First Versions: The Septuagint, the Targums, and the Latin," in *A History of Bible Translation*, ed. Philip A. Noss (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2007), 59–89.

³⁹⁰ Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, 21–25; Pierre Benoit, "L'Inspiration des Septante d'après les Pères." In *L'Homme devant Dieu: Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac*, ed. Henri De Lubac (Lyon: Aubier, 1963), 170–173. Manetti did not refer to Philo in *Apologeticus*, though he read him: Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 106.

complicated the status of the Septuagint as a substitute for the Hebrew text was the fact that the translation is often not very literal. Since Hebrew and Greek belong to different linguistic families, grammatical constructions and modes of expression can often not be easily transferred from one language to the other. This is why the Septuagint contains numerous explications and (sometimes very) free renderings.³⁹¹ Not all Jews were convinced of the legitimacy of such freedom. Some rabbinic schools preached the untranslatability of the Hebrew Scriptures. Others embraced alternative, more literal translations, such as the ones produced by Aquila, Theodotio, and Symmachus.³⁹²

With the rise of the early Church, Christian scholars in their turn reacted to the Jewish criticism of the Septuagint. Origen would be the first to point out the differences between the Hebrew text and the available Greek translations in the third century AD. In his *Hexapla*, he presented them next to each other, marking the additions, omissions and changes in the Septuagint with text-critical signs. This resulted in the so-called ‘Hexaplaric’ Greek text, a revised version of the Septuagint. Origen laid the foundation for the Bible criticism of Jerome.³⁹³

5.2.2 Jerome

When Jerome produced new Latin translations of parts of the Scriptures, he saw himself confronted with the conflicting traditions of the Old Testament. Whereas for his first revision of the Old Latin, undertaken between 386 and 391, he had relied on the text of the Septuagint in Origen’s *Hexapla*, after 392 he based his translation on the Hebrew manuscripts. Over time, he had questioned the authority of the Septuagint more and more, until he decided to abandon it altogether.

In 403, Jerome openly rejected the inspiration of the Septuagint in the preface to his new translation – from the Hebrew – of the Pentateuch:

Et nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo extruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarint, cum Aristheus eiusdem Ptolomei υπερασπιστης et multo post tempore Iosephus nihil tale rettulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant, non

³⁹¹ For the a detailed study of the translation method of the Septuagint, see: van der Louw, “Transformations in the Septuagint.”

³⁹² Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 4–9; van der Louw, “Transformations in the Septuagint,” 45.

³⁹³ Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 9–11; 15; Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, 26; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 121–122.

prophetasse. Aliud est enim vatem, aliud esse interpretem: ibi spiritus ventura praedicat, hic eruditio et verborum copia ea quae intellegit transfert; nisi forte putandus est Tullius Oeconomicum Xenofontis et Platonis Protagoram et Demosthenis Pro Ctesifonte afflatus rethorico spiritu transtulisse, aut aliter de hisdem libris per Septuaginta interpretes, aliter per Apostolos Spiritus Sanctus testimonia texuit, ut quod illi tacuerunt, hii scriptum esse mentiti sint. (Jerome, *Preface to the Pentateuch*)³⁹⁴

[I do not know whose false imagination led him to invent the story of the seventy cells at Alexandria, in which, though separated from each other, the translators were said to have written the same words. Aristee, the protector of that same Ptolemy, and Josephus, long after, relate nothing of the kind; their account is that the Seventy assembled in one basilica consulted together, and did not prophesy. For it is one thing to be a prophet, another to be a translator. The former, through the Spirit, foretells things to come; the latter must use his learning and facility in speech to translate what he understands. It can hardly be that we must suppose Tully was inspired with rhetorical spirit when he translated Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, Plato's *Protagoras*, and the oration of Demosthenes *In Defence of Ctesiphon*. Otherwise the Holy Spirit must have quoted the same books in one sense through the Seventy translators, in another through the Apostles, so that, whereas they said nothing of a given matter, these falsely affirm that it was so written.]³⁹⁵

Jerome makes an important statement in this passage: a translator of the Bible is not essentially different from a translator of any other text. It is not for him to make explicit what is not in the text, or to interpret it, as the seventy translators had done. Nor should they have made stylistic changes and free renderings on their own account:

Melius est autem in divinis libris transferre quod dictum est, licet non intellegas quare dictum sit, quam auferre quod nescias. Alioquin et multa alia quae ineffabilia sunt et humanus animus non potest comprehendere, hac licentia delebuntur. (Jerome, *Commentary to Ezekiel* 1, 13-14)³⁹⁶

[But as regards the divine books, it is better to translate what was said, even if you do not understand why it was said, than to leave out what you do not know. Otherwise many other things that are unspeakable and that cannot be grasped by the human mind will be blotted out by this license.]

³⁹⁴ Fischer and Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, vol. 1, 3–4. These words are quoted almost verbatim by Manetti in *Apologeticus* II, 48.

³⁹⁵ Translation: Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (London: Routledge, 2002), 103.

³⁹⁶ Quoted from: Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d'après Saint Jérôme*, 18.

Jerome repeatedly pointed out the shortcomings of the translators of the Septuagint. He was convinced that they were often ignorant of the true meaning of the text or tampered with it intentionally.³⁹⁷

By discarding the Greek, Jerome broke with tradition: most of his contemporaries believed that the Septuagint was inspired by the Holy Spirit just as much as the Hebrew original – if not more. But Jerome argued that the Hebrew tradition was more stable than the Greek text, which had become corrupted over time. More importantly, the Septuagint was itself a translation. A Latin version based on it would therefore be ‘three times removed’ from the original:

Neque vero ego de Veteri disputo Testamento, quod a septuaginta senioribus in graecam linguam verum tertio gradu ad nos usque pervenit. (Jerome, *Praefatio in evangelio*)³⁹⁸

[Nor do I discuss the Old Testament, which, translated into Greek by the seventy elders, comes to us in the third degree.]

Jerome’s decision to base a new version on the Hebrew resulted in the co-existence of several Latin translations of the Old Testament. The case of the Psalter is especially complex. First, Jerome had written a hurried revision of the Old Latin based on the Septuagint, which was finished by 385, and would become known as the Roman Psalter. Second, Jerome had translated several books of the OT – including the Psalms – from the Septuagint text according to Origen’s *Hexapla*. The Psalms in this translation would later on circulate separately as the Gallican Psalter. And finally, there was Jerome’s Psalter translation from the Hebrew, the so-called *Hebraica veritas*. The Gallican Psalter eventually became the standard version used in the Latin West.³⁹⁹

5.2.3 Augustine

By rejecting the inspiration of the Septuagint, Jerome saw himself opposed by Augustine, who was convinced of the authority of the Greek version. Augustine objected to Jerome’s translation from the Hebrew partly for practical reasons. The existing Latin translation based on the Septuagint was cherished by the public; besides, Christian readers could not accurately evaluate the quality of Jerome’s text, since the Hebrew was

³⁹⁷ Benoit, “L’Inspiration des Septante d’après les Pères,” 180; Ackroyd and Evans, “From the Beginnings to Jerome,” 530–531.

³⁹⁸ Fischer and Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, vol. 2, 1515.

³⁹⁹ Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 101. See also: Jerome, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula* 57), 69–70; Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 50–51.

inaccessible to them. How then could the authority of his version be determined? The Latin version according to the ‘Hebrew truth’ would only alienate the Western Church further from the Eastern Church, which used the Greek text. And whereas his New Testament had been commissioned by the Pope, Jerome had translated the Old Testament on his own initiative. For these reasons, Augustine strongly objected to Jerome’s retranslation of the Old Testament, although he embraced his revised New Testament enthusiastically.⁴⁰⁰

Augustine also used a theological argument to defend the authority of the Septuagint: the translation was inspired by the Holy Spirit. In *De civitate Dei*, he wrote:

Traditur sane tam mirabilem ac stupendum planeque diuinum in eorum uerbis fuisse consensum, ut, cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli sederint (ita enim eorum fidem Ptolomaeo placuit explorare), in nullo uerbo quod idem significaret et tantundem ualeret uel in uerborum ordine alter ab altero discreparet, sed tamquam unus esset interpres, ita quod omnes interpretati sunt unum erat, quoniam re uera spiritus erat unus in omnibus. (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 42)⁴⁰¹

[It is reported indeed that there was a so wonderful, amazing and clearly divine agreement in their words that although each had his separate place where he sat working (for so Ptolemy chose to test their good faith), they did not differ one from another in any word, though it were a synonym and had just the same meaning, or in the order of the words. It was rather as if there had been one translator, so completely were their translations at one, for in truth one Spirit was in them all.]

According to Augustine, the Holy Spirit could speak in more than one way: if the wording of the Greek differed from the Hebrew, the literal sense of the text may change, but no contradiction need occur on the deeper level of the spiritual sense. Rather, the new literal meaning of the Greek text enriches and illuminates the first version.⁴⁰²

In this passage, Augustine’s view on the inspiration of the Septuagint is directly opposed to Jerome’s position as discussed above. However, Augustine’s view on the inspiration of the Septuagint is not clear-cut. In *De Doctrina Christiana*, he reports two accounts of the translation project: in one of them, the translators did their work in isolation; in the other,

⁴⁰⁰ Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 22–25; Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, 37–43; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*, 85–86.

⁴⁰¹ Text and translations quoted from: Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. T. E. Page and William Chase Greene (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1960).

⁴⁰² Augustin, *De civitate Dei* XVIII, 43.

they compared their translation and arrived at a consensus in the end. It is not clear from Augustine's words which version he preferred.⁴⁰³ Elsewhere in *De Doctrina Christiana*, he commented that recourse to the original text might be necessary for a good understanding of the Scriptures. He therefore recommended the study of Greek and Hebrew. For students of the Bible lacking in linguistic skills the alternative would be to consult the text in a (literal) translation, preferably more than one. This suggests that Augustine, like Jerome, considered translations to be inferior to the source text: they were helpful tools for the study of the original, but they could not replace it.

Although it is clear that Augustine's view on Bible translating is not in every way opposed to Jerome's, from this point on I will only refer to Augustine's 'inspirational view' as he presented it in *De civitate Dei*, leaving aside other sources. I do this because the debate between Jerome and Augustine interests me mainly because of its role in Manetti's *Apologeticus*. Manetti had only *De civitate Dei* in mind when he discussed the debate in *Apologeticus* II.

5.2.4 Manetti's view

In the second book of *Apologeticus*, Manetti presents both Jerome's and Augustine's position in the debate on the inspiration of the Septuagint. In *Apologeticus* II, 1-12, he describes how the Septuagint translation came into being. He refers to Aristeas and Philo via Eusebius, but it is possible that he consulted their writings directly.⁴⁰⁴ Manetti's account of the translation process itself, in capita 9-12, is of special interest here. He included the detail of the separate cells, emphasizing the fact that the seventy-two translators did their work in isolation.⁴⁰⁵ The results of their work could then be compared and mistakes could be corrected against the translations of the others:

Quod a Ptholemeo de industria factum fuisse legimus, ut singuli seorsum interpretarentur, ne qua forte inter interpretandum future traductionis suspitio oriretur. Per hunc igitur modum cum dolo agendi suspitione penitus ablata, non solum ipsa interpretatio integra atque incorrupta merito haberi putarique posse videbatur; sed etiam si forte ab aliquo

⁴⁰³ Annemaré Kotzé, "Augustine, Jerome and the Septuagint," in *Septuagint and Reception: Essays Prepared for the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa*, ed. J. Cook (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 250–254.

⁴⁰⁴ The Manetti family library had a copy of Aristeas' letter: Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 588.

⁴⁰⁵ 'seorsum et singillatim' (9) 'Singulis igitur cellulis...separatim' (10).

interprete uspiam, ut fit, erratum variatumque fuisset, per accuratam quandam cunctarum aliarum interpretationum collationem ab integro undique emendabatur. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* II, 9)

[And we read that this was intentionally done by Ptolemy, so that they would translate individually. This way, there would be no suspicion in the translation process about the translation that was to be. After every suspicion of what was being done had been cunningly driven away in this fashion, it seemed that it was not only possible to consider and regard this translation complete and flawless, but also that if perchance one translator had made an error or variation, as often happens, it could be emended by an accurate comparison of all the other translations.]

But such a collation proved unnecessary, since all translators produced identical renderings of the Hebrew text as a result of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Manetti presents this explanation explicitly as the opinion of others:

Quod cum humanitus fieri non potuerit, a Spiritu Sancto factum fuisse ii soli aiunt [...] qui hanc ipsam, de qua disserimus, interpretationem ita divinitus provenisse contendunt, ut nullus ne unus quidem minimus error reperiri possit et valeat. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* II, 11)

[And that this was done by the Holy Spirit, since it could not possibly be done by human beings, is said [...] only by those people who maintain that this translation that we discussed came into being in such a supernatural way that no error, not even the smallest, could be found in it.]

According to these anonymous defenders of the inspiration of the Septuagint, the translation was perfect: it contained no errors at all. Differences between the Greek and the original Hebrew are accounted for as follows:

Si qui vero in aliquibus eorum additamentis et in quibusdam quoque omissionibus et in plerisque etiam alienis interpretationibus forte apparere extareque videntur, eos tales non esse errores neque pro erroribus ullatenus habendos plane aperteque dicunt, cum quicquid eiusmodi evenerit, divinitus a Spiritu Sancto profluxisse confirmant. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* II, 11)

[But if it happens that some [errors] seem to appear and exist in some of their additions and omissions and in most of their alternative translations, these people say plainly and openly that they are not errors, nor should they be considered as errors in any respect, because they maintain that whatever happened of this nature has flown forth from the Holy Spirit in a supernatural way.]

Through the intervention of the Holy Spirit, these people believe, the translators could render the message just as it had been revealed to the prophets who first wrote it down in the Hebrew Old Testament. Manetti

then adds one more argument for the authority of the Septuagint: it was quoted by the Apostles and Evangelists in the New Testament.⁴⁰⁶ Although Manetti does not reject this view out of hand, he does not seem to identify with it either. After quoting passages from Eusebius' *De temporibus* on the alleged isolation of the seventy-two translators, he expresses his doubt as to the veracity of the story – his main reason being that Jerome doubted it.⁴⁰⁷

Manetti then reports Augustine's opinion, which corresponds to Eusebius' account, by quoting and paraphrasing extensively from *De civitate Dei*.⁴⁰⁸ The following passage is quoted loosely from Augustine's text:

Spiritus enim, qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in Septuaginta viris, quando illa interpretati sunt: qui profecto auctoritate divina et aliud dicere potuit tanquam propheta ille utrunque dixisset, quia utrunque idem Spiritus diceret et hoc ipsum aliter, ut si non eadem verba, idem tamen sensus bene intelligentibus dilucesceret et aliquid premittere et aliquid addere, ut etiam hinc ostenderetur non humanam fuisse in illo opere servitutem, quam verbis dicebat interpret, sed divinam potius potestatem, que mentem replebat et erigebat interpretis. (*Apologeticus* II, 39)⁴⁰⁹

[For the same spirit that was in the prophets when they delivered those messages was present in person in the seventy men also; and he surely had it in his power to say something else, just as if the prophet had said both, because it was the same Spirit that said both. And the spirit could say that very thing in different ways, so that though the words were not the same, yet, when they should be properly understood, the same meaning should shed its light through them; and he could omit or add something, so as to show in this way too that the work was not accomplished by a man enslaved to a literal rule of thumb, but by the power of God flooding and guiding the intelligence of the translator.]

After this he gives Jerome's – conflicting – view.⁴¹⁰ Surprisingly, however, Manetti abstains from taking sides in the debate. He moves on without settling the matter:

Huiusmodi igitur Septuaginta interpretum traductio, quomodocunque et qualitercunque, sive seorsum et separatim, sive simul ac coniunctim

⁴⁰⁶ *Apologeticus* II, 12.

⁴⁰⁷ *Apologeticus* II, 13-26. 'quod utrum verum fuerit an non me ignorare fateor' ['and I confess that I do not know if this is true or not'] Manetti surprisingly connects Jerome's doubt with the story of the recension of Homer under the Pisistratides, described by Cicero in *De oratore* III, 137: *Apologeticus* II, 27-33.

⁴⁰⁸ *Apologeticus* II, 36-46.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVIII, 43.

⁴¹⁰ *Apologeticus* II, 47-48.

celebrata fuerit, tanto tamen in honore tantoque pretio primitus habita est, ut paucis post annis totam pene Greciam occupaverit. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* II, 49)

[So this way the translation of the Seventy translators – in whatever way it had been made, whether independently and separately or simultaneously and together in great numbers – was nonetheless held in so much esteem and considered to be so precious from the start, that only a few years later it had won over almost the whole of Greece.]

Manetti thus neither asserts nor denies the inspiration of the Septuagint in *Apologeticus* II. However, there are several reasons to believe that he sided with Jerome rather than with Augustine. First, Manetti omitted the Apocrypha in his exposition of the books of the Old Testament in *Apologeticus* I.⁴¹¹ This is significant, because the Apocrypha appear only in the Septuagint and not in the Hebrew tradition – which is why Jerome rejected them.⁴¹² Second, like Jerome, Manetti based his own translation of the Psalter on the Hebrew, not the Greek. This implies that for him, the Septuagint was less authoritative than the Hebrew tradition.

Third, in *Apologeticus* III and IV, Manetti listed the most important differences between Jerome's two Psalter translations. He presented them as the result of translation *errors* in the Septuagint:

In unaquaque enim seria gravique traductione tres duntaxat errores esse reperiri possunt. Nam aut error per aliqua additamenta aut per omissiones aut per alienas interpretationes fieri provenireque potest. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* III, 1)

[For in a serious and grave translation, exactly three errors can be found. For an error can be made either through an addition or through an omission or through alternative translations.]

The free translation method of the Seventy led to numerous discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Greek tradition, and consequently between Jerome's two translations based on them. Manetti did not write explicitly that the Septuagint translation was fallible, but by referring to 'errors' he certainly implied it.

All this suggests that Manetti implicitly sided with Jerome. Manetti's discussion of the Septuagint in *Apologeticus* II also suggests that he, like

⁴¹¹ *Apologeticus* I, 42.

⁴¹² Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 21–22. For Jerome's view on the Old Testament canon, see: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "The Latin Bible, C. 600–C. 900," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 516.

Jerome, held the philological view with regard to Bible translation: for him, the Septuagint translation was fallible, even if it was sanctioned by tradition.

On the other hand, we have also seen that Manetti was extremely cautious with regard to the inspiration of the Septuagint: although it appears that he did not believe in its inspiration, he did not openly take sides in the debate between Augustine and Jerome in *Apologeticus* II. We will see in section two below that Manetti would contradict himself when he returned to the question in *Apologeticus* V. This is not surprising considering the context in which *Apologeticus* was written. In Manetti's time, the Septuagint text still held an important position in the tradition of the Latin Bible. Its inspiration had shortly before been affirmed at the Council of Florence in 1442.⁴¹³ Aristeas' letter would be printed with the Vulgate Bible in 1471.⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, the translation project carried out under Ptolemy's patronage was taken as an example by the Italian humanists: Aristeas' letter was translated by Bruni and Angeli, and Manetti himself referred to it in his biography of Nicholas V.⁴¹⁵ Hebrew studies were regarded with suspicion in Manetti's lifetime.⁴¹⁶ Manetti could therefore not openly dismiss the Greek text of the Old Testament in favour of the Hebrew. The inspiration of the Septuagint would be questioned more openly by Erasmus and Vives in the sixteenth century.⁴¹⁷

5.3 APOLOGETICUS V

In the fifth book of *Apologeticus*, Manetti expounded his ideas on correct translation. This book has been considered as the first treatise on translation theory in the proper sense: unlike Jerome's *De optimo genere*

⁴¹³ Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 319.

⁴¹⁴ Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 25.

⁴¹⁵ Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti Summi Pontificis*, II, 21. Concetta Bianca, "Traduzioni interlineari dal greco nel circolo del Salutati: Jacopo Angeli, Niccolò Niccoli, Leonardo Bruni?" in *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente: Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997)*, ed. Riccardo Maisano and Antonio Rollo (Napels: Dipartimento di Studi dell'Europa Orientale, Istituto Universitario Orientale; Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico, 2002), 149.

⁴¹⁶ See Chapter One above, p. 12. Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 102–104. Traversari, however, was said to read the Old Testament initially in Greek, and later in Hebrew. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and the Italian Renaissance*, 151.

⁴¹⁷ Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 26.

interpretandi and Bruni's *De interpretatione recta*, it is not a set of practical instructions or a polemical exposition, but a systematic presentation of the author's views.⁴¹⁸ However, *Apologeticus* V is not an autonomous text. The book is firmly embedded in the overall argumentative structure of *Apologeticus*.⁴¹⁹ The purpose of this section is to analyze Manetti's view on translation: to investigate which questions he was most interested in, which notions he derived from other authors and where he is original, and how he used well-known concepts for his writing purpose. Furthermore, these ideas will be placed in the context of *Apologeticus* as a whole.

Apologeticus V is structured as follows. In the opening paragraphs, Manetti briefly recapitulates the first four books and introduces the main question of the last book: what is a good translation (*recta interpretatio*), and how is it made? The rest of the book can be divided into roughly three sections. First, Manetti gives a definition of correct translation, and lists the requirements it should meet. This section is based on Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* and follows its text rather closely, often verbatim. However, Manetti adds several new elements to Bruni's translation theory. Second, he distinguishes three types of translation or 'strategies', as I will call them. One of these, word-for-word translation, is rejected altogether. The remaining strategies each in their way apply to different genres, as Manetti explains in the third section. In the second and third sections, Manetti does not refer to Bruni anymore, but uses Jerome's *De optimo genere interpretandi* as a model instead. In the concluding paragraphs of *Apologeticus* V, he returns to the question of the inspiration of the Septuagint, which he had addressed before in book II; this is where the overall argumentative structure of the work becomes clear.

5.3.1 Part One: definition and requirements

In *Apologeticus* V, Manetti defines correct translation as follows:

Est ergo interpretatio recta idonea quedam et commoda de quacunque celebrata ac preceptis et regulis instituta lingua in aliam pariter vel pene

⁴¹⁸ Rener, *Interpretatio*, 261–264.

⁴¹⁹ Norton wrote about *Apologeticus* V that it was the 'fifth and summarizing book' and that the first four books are 'preliminary to the act of total translation.' Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents*, 44–45. This description does no justice to the content of any of the books.

similem, iuxta subiectam de qua tractatur materiam, conversio.
(*Apologeticus* V, 21)⁴²⁰

[A correct and proper and suitable translation is therefore a transfer from one respected language, regulated by norms and rules, into another, in a like manner or nearly similar, according to the subject matter that it treats.]

In the first section of *Apologeticus* V, Manetti often quotes extensively from Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* – without mentioning his source – and he paraphrases him in other places.⁴²¹ Occasionally he modifies Bruni's ideas. One of the differences between Manetti's and Bruni's translation theory concerns their definition of correct translation, which Bruni defines as follows:

Dico igitur omnem interpretationis vim in eo consistere, ut quod in altera lingua scriptum sit, id in alteram recte traducatur. (Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 5)

[In my view, then, the whole essence of translation is to transfer correctly what is written in one language into another language.]⁴²²

Manetti adds two new elements with regard to Bruni's definition. The first is the relevance of the subject matter of the text for the way it is translated; this point will feature prominently later on in *Apologeticus* V. The second element is the prominent role of the *celebrata ac preceptis et regulis instituta lingua* ['respected language, regulated by norms and rules']: a good translation is made both from and into such a language. Manetti goes on to emphasize this point in the succeeding paragraph: a translation into a vernacular can never be a good one, even if all other requirements are met. It would lack the necessary *dignitas*.⁴²³

This distinction between natural and not-regulated languages on the one hand and grammatical, more dignified languages on the other recalls the medieval conception of language, in which the vernacular languages are opposed to Greek, Hebrew and Latin.⁴²⁴ This dichotomy was disputed in

⁴²⁰ For other definitions of correct translation, see: Renner, *Interpretatio*, 265–281.

⁴²¹ Baldassarri addresses the question of why Manetti never mentioned Bruni in *Apologeticus*. He suggests that Bruni's treatise was so well-known among Manetti's intended readership that there was no need to mention him by name. Baldassarri, "Teoria e prassi della traduzione nell'*Apologeticus*' di Giannozzo Manetti," 24, n. 36. However, given the limited circulation of Bruni's treatise, this explanation is hardly tenable (see above, p. 109).

⁴²² Translation: Griffiths, Hankins, and Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, 218.

⁴²³ *Apologeticus* V, 22.

⁴²⁴ According to Pym, is the medieval belief in a hierarchy of languages is closely connected with representationalism. Not only the text, but also the language in which it is

the early fifteenth century: some humanists, most notably Flavio Biondo, argued that Latin had once been a mother tongue itself, and that present-day vernacular languages were just as grammatical as the supposedly ‘regulated’ ones. Biondo saw himself opposed by Bruni, who believed in the artificiality of Latin. Manetti seems to have shared Bruni’s view.⁴²⁵ Interestingly, Manetti does not address the alleged poverty of Latin as opposed to Greek in *Apologeticus*, a subject other Latin translators, including Bruni, had given ample attention to. When Manetti wrote *Apologeticus*, the debate had shifted to the position of Latin as opposed to the vernacular.⁴²⁶

After giving his definition of correct translation, Manetti moves on to sum up the requirements of a good translator. This section is heavily dependent on Bruni’s *De interpretatione recta*. Firstly, Manetti writes, a good translator needs to have a thorough understanding of the language he intends to translate from.⁴²⁷ This is acquired through reading the works of the classical authors. Bruni mentions poets, orators, philosophers, ‘and all others’.⁴²⁸ Manetti adds historiographers to the list and, significantly, the Doctors of the Church, ‘if one is to translate from the Holy Scriptures.’⁴²⁹ Studying literary works in the source language is essential, because a translator should be familiar with the way words and expressions are used in practice. The meaning of idiomatic expressions is not determined by the individual words they consist of, but by their context:

Hec profecto omnia longe aliud ex consuetudine figurisque loquendi
significant quam propria ipsius locutionis verba significare videantur, ut
est. (Manetti, *Apologeticus* V, 25)

written ‘embodies the message.’ This is why the Biblical languages, Greek and Hebrew, are believed to be sacred, whereas the language of the translation of the Bible, Latin, is second in order. Vernacular translations were based on the Latin text and thus further down in the hierarchy. Pym, “On the Historical Epistemologies of Bible Translating.”

⁴²⁵ See my article on Manetti’s position in the *questione della lingua* debate: Annet den Haan, “Translation into the Sermo Maternus: The View of Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459),” in *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*, ed. Tom Deneire (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 163-176.

⁴²⁶ Gualdo Rosa, “Le traduzioni dal greco nella prima metà del ’400,” 189-191.

⁴²⁷ *Apologeticus* V, 23-26. Cf. Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 6-10.

⁴²⁸ ‘Primum enim notitia habenda est illius lingue [...] magna et trita et accurata et multa ac diuturna philosophorum et oratorum et poetarum et ceterorum scriptorum omnium lectione quesita.’ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 6.

⁴²⁹ ‘et, si e sacris Scripturis traducendum foret, celebratorum doctorum lectione’ *Apologeticus* V, 23.

[These [expressions] all mean something widely different than what the individual words of the phrase seem to mean, because of usage and figures of speech]

The second requirement is that a translator needs to be at least as fluent, if not more so, (*multo magis*) in the target language as in the source language.⁴³⁰ He will then be able to render the exact meaning of each word, without simply transliterating foreign terminology. Manetti wrote:

... ut cum par verbum verbo reddendum fuerit, quod plerunque accidit, vel id nullatenus mendicare cogatur vel in aliena lingua ob crassam eius ignorantiam peregrinum extraneumque relinquat. (*Apologeticus* V, 27)⁴³¹

[...so that, when it is necessary to render a word with an equal word – which generally happens – he is not forced to beg for one or leave it in the foreign language because of his barbarous ignorance, as something exotic and alien.]

Manetti borrowed this passage from Bruni.⁴³² Read in isolation, it could be interpreted as a recommendation of *ad verbum* translation; as such, it is contradictory with what follows in 44 and onwards. Apparently, Manetti did not notice the inconsistency.⁴³³

Manetti's third requirement is that the translator needs to know the exact *vis* (strength) and the *natura* (nature) of the words.⁴³⁴ Fourthly, he needs to have trained ears that are sensitive to style.⁴³⁵ All this is necessary for both understanding the original, for rendering it adequately and for expressing the 'dignity' and 'majesty' of the first author.⁴³⁶

As we have seen, preserving the style of the original and identification with the first author played an important role in Bruni's treatise, for translations of the works of Plato and Aristotle as well as other genres. This emphasis on stylistic features is less prominent in Manetti's text. In *Apologeticus* V, Manetti describes good and bad translation in terms of

⁴³⁰ *Apologeticus* V, 27.

⁴³¹ Manetti, *Apologeticus*, 112.

⁴³² These words are quoted from *De interpretatione recta* 11.

⁴³³ I do not agree with Theo Hermans, who concluded from *Apologeticus* V, 27 that Manetti as well as Bruni 'sanction word-for-word translation, provided (...) it is conducted within certain proprieties (...).' Hermans, "Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation," 100. In spite of his debt to Bruni in this particular passage, Manetti repeatedly stresses elsewhere in *Apologeticus* that word-for-word translation is unacceptable.

⁴³⁴ *Apologeticus* V, 28. This is not a separate requirement in Bruni's text, but included in the second one. Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 11.

⁴³⁵ *Apologeticus* V, 29. Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 12.

⁴³⁶ *Apologeticus* V, 30.

clarity and obscurity rather than elegance: he contrasts ‘ambiguous’, ‘intricate’ and ‘obscure’ translations (*ambiguas* [...] *perplexas* [...] *obscuras traductiones*) with ‘clear’ and ‘plain’ books (*libros* [...] *claros* [...] *et apertos*).⁴³⁷ In this sense, Manetti’s view is closer to Jerome’s than to Cicero’s: the function of free translation is not stylistic elegance, but accuracy and intelligibility.⁴³⁸

5.3.2 Part Two: strategies and genres

From the definition of a good translation and the description of a good translator, Manetti concludes that word-for-word translation is never a good method. He distinguishes three translation strategies: (1) word-for-word, or *ad uerbum*, translation, (2) *ad sensum* translation, where the meaning of the original, rather than the exact wording, is preserved, and (3) an even freer approach where the translator adds, omits, or changes textual elements at will:

Est enim triplex interpretatio: una ad uerbum; altera, ut ita dixerim, ad sensum; tertia ubi aliqua interdum ornatus gratia omittuntur, non nulla pro arbitrio voluntateque interpretis superadduntur (Manetti, *Apologeticus* V, 34).⁴³⁹

[For there are three kinds of translation: one word for word, the second, so to speak, according to the sense, and a third, where things are occasionally omitted and some things added according to the judgment and inclination of the translator]

Like Chrysoloras before him, Manetti adds a third alternative to the well-known dichotomy of *ad uerbum* and *ad sensum* translation.

Manetti’s main reason for dismissing *ad uerbum* translation concerns the incommensurability of languages: this renders a one-on-one transfer

⁴³⁷ *Apologeticus* V, 41.

⁴³⁸ For this distinction, see Chapter Four.

⁴³⁹ On subdivisions of translation types in the history of translation theory before the 18th century, see: Rener, *Interpretatio*, 281–293. Remigio Sabbadini distinguished between ‘literal translation,’ ‘faithful rhetorical translation,’ and ‘free rhetorical translation.’ See also: Theo Hermans, “The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance: Explorations in a Discursive Field,” in *Translating Literature*, ed. Susan Bassnett (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 14–40; Hermans, “Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation”; Keith Hoskin, “Verbum de Verbo: The Perennial Changing Paradox of Translation,” in *Second Hand: Papers on the Theory and Historical Study of Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (Vlaamse Vereniging voor Algemene en Vergelijkende Literatuurwetenschap, 1985), 10–45.

impossible.⁴⁴⁰ His second reason is the fact that languages tend to be full of idiomatic expressions. In support of his position, Manetti refers to Horace and Cicero for the translation of secular texts, and to Jerome for sacred texts.⁴⁴¹

At this point, it is important to correctly understand Manetti's meaning of the terms *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*, because they feature prominently in the rest of *Apologeticus* V, and because they will be used as a starting-point for my discussion of Manetti's translation method in Chapter Six. They have been used in various ways in the history of translation theory. For some theoreticians, translation *ad verbum* means no more than faithful translation, which may still conform to the norms of the target language. Theoreticians who use the term in this way usually recommend the *ad verbum* method. For others, *ad verbum* means 'overly literal'.⁴⁴² This is Manetti's understanding of the term:

Que [sc. tropi figureque dicendi] si ut sonant verba, ita interpretantur,
non modo ridicula et stulta, sed quandoque falsa reddetur conversio.
(Manetti, *Apologeticus* V, 24)

[And if these tropes and figures of speech are translated according to the
sound of the words, a translation will be given that is not only ridiculous
and silly, but sometimes even false.]

Writers on translation theory with such a negative understanding of *ad verbum* translation usually recommend an *ad sensum* approach, by which they mean a combination of literal translation with free renderings for idiomatic expressions.⁴⁴³ This mixed approach is also recommended by Manetti. In other words, his *ad sensum* is the kind of faithful translation that some others would call *ad verbum*.

Manetti mentions Bessarion's new version of Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and Ambrosio Traversari's translations of Pseudo-Dionysius as good examples of the *ad sensum* approach.⁴⁴⁴ These are obviously philosophical and theological works. It is clear then that Manetti does not recommend

⁴⁴⁰ *Apologeticus* V, 36.

⁴⁴¹ *Apologeticus* V, 37-40. Norton writes: 'Like many of his successors, Manetti is taken in by the scholastic misreading of Horace's celebrated line 134.' Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents*, 46. There is an easy explanation for this: the quote as well as the surrounding paragraphs are all taken from Jerome.

⁴⁴² Renier, *Interpretatio*, 288.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁴⁴⁴ *Apologeticus* V, 41-43. These translations are not among Manetti's manuscripts. Cagni, "I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti."

ad verbum translation for theological and philosophical texts any more than for the less serious genres. Rather, the examples he uses suggest that a mitigated *ad sensum* approach is justified in these cases. However, Manetti does make a distinction according to genre. A different approach is required for poetry, oratory, and historiography than for philosophy and theology:

[...] licet ad verbum interpretatio, ut supra diximus, sive secularibus et profanis sive religiosis sacrisque auctoribus recta atque idonea esse non valeat, inter traductiones tamen poetarum, oratorum, historicorum ex una parte, ex altera vero manifestam philosophorum ac theologorum differentiam [...] esse [...] oportet. (*Apologeticus* V, 45)

[...]although word-for-word translation, as I wrote above, cannot be correct or suitable, nor for secular and worldly authors, nor for religious and sacred ones, nonetheless there ought to be a clear difference between translations of poets, orators and historians on the one hand, and philosophers and theologians on the other.]

He gives examples of good *ad sensum* translations, first with regard to the lighter genres (47-51) and then the serious ones (52-53).⁴⁴⁵ Translators of texts in the latter category should avoid unnecessary freedom. Changing the exact wording of the original is justified only when figures of speech or obscurities render it necessary; the translator should adopt a safe middle course. This applies all the more strongly in the case of the Scriptures.⁴⁴⁶ Thus, the translation strategies are applied to the two genre categories in the following way:⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ Authors were traditionally divided into *historici* and *oratores*; *oratores*, in their turn, included the *poets*. Rener, *Interpretatio*, 172–174. According to Rener, Manetti included the historians among the ‘light’ authors because of the invented speeches in their writings. *Ibid.*, 284–286.

⁴⁴⁶ *Apologeticus* V, 53.

⁴⁴⁷ According to Glynn Norton, Manetti ‘rejects the simplistic rubrics of *ad sensum* and *ad verbum* translation, laid down by Jerome and perpetuated in the humanist split of *verbum* and *res*’ and introduces even a fourth option. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents*, 53. This fourth option, the *via media* – if I understand Norton correctly – would be Manetti’s *paene ad verbum* [‘almost word for word’] for sacred texts. I see no reason to deduce a fourth translation strategy from Manetti’s text: after listing the three mentioned, he does not explicitly introduce a fourth one. Moreover, the *via media* recommended for sacred Scripture matches the second strategy Manetti discusses, *ad sensum* translation, without any difficulty.

| <i>Strategy</i> | <i>Genre</i> |
|-----------------|--|
| Ad verbum | - |
| As sensum | Philosophy, theology, <i>Scripture</i> |
| Free | Poetry, rhetoric, history |

That Manetti recommended different translation strategies for different genres is of course not new. Manetti points out that Cicero had already varied his translation method according to genre, as he indicated in *De Finibus Bonorum Et Malorum*.⁴⁴⁸ We have seen that Brunini implicitly recommended different strategies for different purposes in his prefaces.⁴⁴⁹ Other humanists made distinctions similar to Manetti's. With regard to a translation of a theological text, *Adversum Graecorum Errores*, Ambrogio Traversari remarked that the style of his version was not very elegant, partly because he had written it in a hurry. More importantly, he had often not dared to deviate from the wording of the original, fearing that he would change the precise meaning of the text, which dealt with delicate doctrinal issues. Although Traversari was no advocate of literal translation in general, he was aware that not all works lend themselves for a free rendering.⁴⁵⁰ Francesco Filelfo recommended a different approach for philosophy than for other genres.⁴⁵¹ What makes Manetti's model unique is that he explicitly rejected *ad verbum* translation for all genres. Even Scripture should be rendered *ad sensum*.

This is different from other humanists who commented on Bible translating. Pier Candido Decembrio, for instance, distinguished three translation strategies: the 'Brunian' rhetorical approach for poetry and rhetoric, a more restricted method for philosophy and historiography, and literal translation for Scripture. His view was reported by his friend Antonio da Rho:

⁴⁴⁸ *Apologeticus* V, 54-55.

⁴⁴⁹ See above, pp. 104ff.

⁴⁵⁰ The translation of *Adversum Graecorum errores* was made in 1424. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and the Italian Renaissance*, 103-104; 109-113; Cortesi, "La tecnica del tradurre presso gli umanisti," 150-151.

⁴⁵¹ Filelfo made this distinction in the dedicatory letter to Alfonso Carillo concerning his translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, a work falsely attributed to Aristotle. The preface was written in 1429. Lucia Gualdo Rosa, "Una prolusione inedita di Francesco Filelfo del 1429, rielaborata dal figlio Gian Mario nel 1467," in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte: Atti del XVII convegno di studi maceratesi (Tolentino, 27-30 Settembre 1981)*, ed. Scevola Mariotti (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1986), 278-279.

Sunt et alii qui verbum e verbo traducant. Hoc autem sacris in literis in quibus 'ipse verborum ordo mysterium est' curandum puto. (Antonio da Rho, *Dialogi in Lactantium*)⁴⁵²

[There are others also, who translate word for word. I believe, however, that this is to be attempted in the sacred text where 'even the syntax contains a mystery.']

This is a clear reference to Jerome. In a similar vein, George of Trebizond recommended free translation for the 'lighter' genres, and more literal translation for philosophy, theology and Scripture. In his attack on Theodore Gaza's versions of Aristotle, George distinguished between genres that can be translated freely and genres that require a more serious approach.⁴⁵³ Jerome had set the example for the latter category in his Bible translations:

Idcirco Hieronymus [...] divinas quidem scripturas ornatu verborum neglecto verbum de verbo transtulit. [...] Hanc igitur regulam in traducendo tenendam studiosis putamus, ut graviora difficilioraque ad verbum de verbo paene reddant, historica et facilia latius angustiusve, sicuti iudicabunt, conplectantur. (*In perversionem Problematum Aristotelis a quodam Theodoro Cage et Problematicae Aristotelis philosophiae protectio*)⁴⁵⁴

[For this reason Jerome, [...] translated the Holy Scriptures word for word, not troubling himself about the embellishment of the words. [...] For I am convinced that the learned should observe this rule when translating, that they render what is serious and difficult almost word for word, and handle what is historical and easy with as much freedom or strictness as seems best to them]

Among the 'more serious and difficult subjects' (*graviora difficilioraque*), George counted theology and philosophy.⁴⁵⁵ Although he admitted that free translation may be necessary for accurately rendering the sense of the text, he considered it to be dangerous in the case of theological works.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² Quoted from: Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, 121, n. 28. For Decembrio's view on translation, see: *ibid.*, 118–122.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 186–190; Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 152–154. On the quality of George's translations, see: *ibid.*, 76–79.

⁴⁵⁴ Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist, und Staatsmann*, vol. 3, 326–327.

⁴⁵⁵ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, 187.

⁴⁵⁶ As he wrote in the preface for the translations of St. Basil's *Contra Eunomium* and *De spiritu sancto*, paragraph 4. In: John Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton (NY): Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with The Renaissance Society of America, 1984), 160–161.

George commented on this subject also in another work. In the preface to his new version of Demosthenes' *Oratio de corona*, he wrote that the reason for disapproving of *ad sensum* translation for philosophical and theological works lies with the difficulty of understanding the meaning of a text:

Non enim unus modus in traducendo est, sed pro rerum subiectarum varietate varius atque diversus. Qui ardua, sensu intellectuque difficilia, et plerumque vel apud ipsos auctores suos ambigua in aliam linguam vertit, is verba magis exprimat quam sensum ne, cum eum sensum sequatur quem ipse capiat, alios negligat forte meliores ac altiores. (Preface to *Oratio de corona*, 2)⁴⁵⁷

[There is no one way to translate; rather, the method should be varied in accordance with the subject matter. Things that are sublime and difficult to understand or to sense – [such things] the translator should express literally rather than according to the sense, lest, in following the sense as he understands it, he should happen to neglect other deeper and better senses.]⁴⁵⁸

The danger of *ad sensum* translation, George argues, is that a translator can only convey the meaning that he understands. If another or deeper sense is lost on him, it will automatically be lost in translation. It is therefore unthinkable that the Bible or Aristotle's works could be rendered in this way:

Hanc traducendi rationem divine scripture Aristotelisque voluminibus convenire nemo nisi omnino imperitus dubitabit. (Preface to *Oratio de corona*, 2)⁴⁵⁹

[Only the utterly ignorant will doubt that this method of translating is suitable to the Holy Scriptures and the works of Aristotle.]⁴⁶⁰

For George, good translation is not merely a matter of linguistic competency. He mentions other requirements a translator should meet: thorough knowledge of the subject matter of the text, and, in case of theological works, a pure life, unstained by sin. Although George was

⁴⁵⁷ The preface to George's new version of Demosthenes' *Oratio de corona* was written in 1444-1446 to an anonymous addressee. A revision of this preface addressed to Alfonso V was written in 1452-1453. The text is available in: *ibid.*, 93-97, there p. 94. Monfasani compares George of Trebizond with Alonso da Cartagena: both regretted the loss of lexical precision in the humanistic translation of philosophical texts. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 154.

⁴⁵⁸ Translation: Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, 187.

⁴⁵⁹ Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 94.

⁴⁶⁰ Translation: Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, 187.

sensitive to textual corruptions, he discouraged scholars to tamper with the text of the Vulgate.⁴⁶¹

Bessarion, who commented on Bible translation in *In illud: sic eum volo manere*, recommended *ad sensum* translation where possible, referring to Jerome. But he also allowed for flexibility when necessary:

Oportet enim qui aliquid ex una in aliam transfert linguam, et linguam ipsam nosse quam transfert, et eius non modo sententiae veritatem, sed etiam verba de verbis exprimere, idque praesertim in sacris litteris, ubi non modo verba ipsa custodiri, sed ordo quoque verborum, quoad eius fieri potest, servari debet. Siquidem in sacra Scriptura etiam ordo ipse verborum, ut Hieronymus ad Pammachium scribens inquit, mysterium est; periculosum est enim aliquid in ea mutare, nisi proprietas linguae, in quam fit translatio, tantam interim observantiam non patitur; tunc enim licet diversorum verborum ambitu eandem fideliter representare sententiam. (*In illud: sic eum volo manere*)⁴⁶²

[For it is necessary that he who translates something from one language into another knows the language that he translates, and that he does not only express its true sense, but also its words, and this especially in the case of the sacred text, where not only the words themselves should be headed, but also the order of the words should be preserved as far as possible. Since indeed in sacred Scripture even the very order of the words contains a mystery, as Jerome wrote to Pammachius; it is therefore dangerous to change anything in it, unless it happens that the *proprietas* of the language into which the translation is made does not allow for so much fidelity. For then he may convey the same sense faithfully by a circumlocution.]

Manetti dedicated capita 56-74 of *Apologeticus* V to Scripture and *ad sensum* translation. If translations of philosophical and theological texts are stricter than translations of lighter genres, Manetti wrote, one would expect translations of Scripture to be even stricter, because of the sacred and divine nature of the original and its importance for the salvation of man. However, this is not always what we find:

Quod tametsi ita sit, excellentes tamen sacrarum Scripturarum interpretes usque adeo ab interpretatione ad verbum, utpote ab illa quam et sententias obscurare et interdum pervertere arbitrabantur, abhorruisse videntur, ut in medio sacri textus cum non nunquam amplificationibus, tum alienis quoque interpretationibus utantur. (*Apologeticus* V, 57)

[And although this is the case, yet it seems that excellent translators of the sacred Scriptures have been averse to translating word for word, since they were of the opinion that it obscured and occasionally

⁴⁶¹ Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 93–94; 160.

⁴⁶² PG 161, 626.

perverted the sense. This is why they often used amplifications as well as alternative translations in the middle of the sacred text.]

Manetti does not specify right away which ‘excellent’ translators he has in mind here – one could think of the seventy-two, whose amplifications and alterations he had discussed so extensively in the first four books of *Apologeticus* – nor does he make explicit if he approved of their method or not. In the succeeding paragraphs, however, he mentions Jerome as an example of such an ‘excellent translator’ who rendered Scripture freely. Jerome had never made a secret of his free translation practice and he had given ample justification for it. Manetti quotes extensively from *De optimo genere interpretandi* to illustrate this point. He first quotes several passages from Jerome’s preface to Eusebius’ *De temporibus*, which were integrated in *De optimo genere interpretandi* and probably taken from that work.⁴⁶³ He then lists some of the numerous examples of free Bible translation that Jerome had given in *De optimo genere interpretandi*. These examples concern references to the Hebrew Scriptures by the Evangelists and Apostles in the New Testament.⁴⁶⁴

It is important to keep in mind, however, that Jerome did not advocate a particular method of Bible translating in *De optimo genere interpretandi*. The passages from the preface to *De temporibus* do not concern Scripture, nor do the examples from the New Testament support Jerome’s own translation method in his new version of the Bible. He used them to illustrate a very different point: if even the Evangelists and Apostles could quote so freely from the Old Testament, then he (Jerome) could not possibly be blamed for taking some liberties with a non-Biblical text, in a translation that he had never meant to publish in the first place.⁴⁶⁵

Manetti places these quotations explicitly in the context of Bible translating. After giving a short overview of ancient Bible translations, he repeats that word-for-word translation is never acceptable, even if some genres require a stricter method than others.⁴⁶⁶ Faithful translators (*fidi interpretes*) of philosophical and theological texts do not wander away too far from the wording of the original, nor do they stay too close to it; they follow a safe middle course instead.⁴⁶⁷ Manetti considered Jerome’s Vulgate as the ultimate example of *ad sensum* translation:

⁴⁶³ *Apologeticus* V, 59–60; cf. Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* V, 6–8.

⁴⁶⁴ *Apologeticus* V, 62–65; cf. Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* VII, 1–5.

⁴⁶⁵ For Jerome’s *De optimo genere interpretandi*, see above, pp. 91ff.

⁴⁶⁶ *Apologeticus* V, 75–78.

⁴⁶⁷ *Apologeticus* V, 77.

[...] quemadmodum Hieronymus noster, optimus ac gravissimus interpres [...] de interpretandis Sacris Scripturis legem plerunque expressisse ac servasse videtur. [83] In hac enim sua universali et pernecessaria ac utilissima utriusque Testamenti, hebrei et greci, in latinam linguam traductione quandoque ita a verbo recedit, ut non solum sacer sensus ad unguem servetur, sed etiam dilucidior reddatur ac denique ornatior et illustrior habeatur. (*Apologeticus* V, 82-83)

[...] as our Jerome, an excellent and very serious translator, appears to have expressed and kept this rule concerning the translation of sacred Scripture, in general. For in his complete, important and beneficial translation of both Testaments, Hebrew and Greek, he occasionally diverges from the wording, so that the sacred sense is not only perfectly preserved, but also rendered clearer and made more beautiful and noble.]

To sum up, the subdivision into different translation strategies and genres is not original with Manetti; what is new is that he rejected *ad verbum* translation for *all* texts. Chrysoloras and Bruni did not distinguish between genres and never touched on the translation of Scripture. Decembrio, Bessarion and George of Trebizond recommended literal translation for the Bible, whereas Manetti included Scripture in the category of philosophical and theological texts.

5.3.3 Manetti's theory and the method of the Seventy-Two

The basic structure of Manetti's theoretical framework has now become clear: a translator can apply different translation strategies, depending on the genre of his source text. But there is more to it: this theoretical discussion has its place in the argumentation of *Apologeticus*. In the closing paragraphs of *Apologeticus* V, Manetti returns to the discussion concerning the inspiration of the Septuagint. He had already addressed this question in the first books of *Apologeticus*. We recall the opening lines of *Apologeticus* III:

In unaquaque enim seria gravique traductione tres duntaxat errores esse reperiri possunt. Nam aut error per aliqua additamenta aut per omissiones aut per alienas interpretationes fieri provenireque potest (*Apologeticus* III, 1).⁴⁶⁸

[For in a serious and grave translation, exactly three errors can be found. For an error can be made either through an addition or through an omission or through alternative translations.]

⁴⁶⁸ See above, p. 123.

Three observations can be made about this passage. The first is that Manetti specifies the kind of translation he is concerned with as solemn and serious (*in...seria gravique traductione*). This need not surprise us, since he is of course referring to translations of Scripture. Second, he distinguishes three types of changes with regard to the original that can be made in such a translation: additions (*additamenta*), omissions (*omissiones*), and different translations (*alienas interpretationes*). Third, he characterizes these changes as ‘errors’ (*errores*). This is significant, because after reading book V, we know that additions, omissions and changes are not wrong in and of themselves: they characterize a legitimate translation strategy, namely the third, ‘free’ type. The problem is, of course, that this strategy is not open to translators of Scripture. Manetti thus implicitly holds the translators of the Septuagint responsible for the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew tradition. This becomes explicit in book V:

Totum enim Vetus, ut dicitur, Testamentum a Septuaginta interpretibus in grecum eloquium conversum, partim additamentis, partim omissionibus, partim denique alienis interpretationibus ita referctum reperitur, ut horum cumulus [...] talium discrepantiarum numerus pene incredibilis et quasi infinitus putaretur. (*Apologeticus* V, 66)

[For the whole Old Testament, so to speak, rendered into the Greek speech by the Seventy translators, turns out to be so crammed, partly with additions, partly with omissions and partly, finally, with alternative translations, that the mass of such discrepancies was esteemed at an almost incredible and nearly infinite number.]

This makes the status of the Septuagint problematic: according to Manetti’s theory, it is a bad translation. Yet Manetti apparently did not wish to discredit the Septuagint. He returns to its problematic status in the closing paragraphs of *Apologeticus* V. After recapitulating his discussion of the different genres and their corresponding translation strategies (75-78), he makes an exception for the translators of the Septuagint:

Quod si forte Septuaginta interpretes in sua illa tam celebri et tam famosa interpretatione (...) aliter fecisse ac servasse comperiuntur, (...) id duntaxat talibus viris licuisse iure ex eo autumatur et creditur, quod divina sacrarum Scripturarum mysteria illis celitus innotuisse putentur, qua quidem abstrusarum rerum revelatione illustrati, ita interpretari posse videbantur, ut primos scriptores divinitus intellexisse et enuntiasse perceperant. (*Apologeticus* V, 79-80)

[But if we find that, as it happens, the Seventy translators have acted by a different rule in their so well-known and famous translation, it is said and believed that this is permitted only to men of their nature, because it is supposed that they learned the divine mysteries of the sacred Scriptures

from heaven, and it seemed that they, enlightened by this revelation of hidden matters, could translate according to what the first authors had understood and spoken in a divine way.]

If the seventy-two translators deviated from their Hebrew source, they did so because they were illuminated by divine revelation, and therefore could translate what the authors of the Old Testament had understood and announced long before them. For this reason alone they are excused.⁴⁶⁹ Needless to say, this passage cannot be read as a recommendation for free Bible translation in general. Manetti underlines the exceptional position of the Septuagint by pointing again to Jerome as the ideal practitioner of the *via media*.⁴⁷⁰

That Manetti mentions divine revelation as an explanation for the extraordinary translation method of the seventy-two is surprising. In *Apologeticus* II, we have seen that he did not take sides in the debate between Jerome and Augustine, but that he seemed to reject the inspiration of the Septuagint implicitly. By using the argument of its inspiration, Manetti can save the respectability of the Septuagint. It is clear, however, that the version failed by philological standards. Manetti has shown this both through his collation in books III-IV and through his discussion of the correct translation method for Scripture in book V.

In the closing paragraphs of *Apologeticus* V (*in calce*), Manetti raises one last question: why does the Church prefer translations based on the Septuagint to those from the Hebrew?⁴⁷¹ He gives four reasons for the Church's preference for the Septuagint: first, the translation from the Greek was made before that from the Hebrew; second, the Apostles and Evangelists cited from it; third, the story about its miraculous origin is widely believed; and finally, it sounds better set to music.⁴⁷² Manetti then concludes by remarking that he has written his work in defence of the Latin Scriptures and of the Catholic truth.

⁴⁶⁹ 'Atque ob hanc solam causam a recto idoneorum fidorumque interpretum officio tam procul recessisse non immerito excusantur (...)' *Apologeticus* V, 79-80.

⁴⁷⁰ *Apologeticus* V, 81-82.

⁴⁷¹ The expression 'in calce' is typical for Jerome. See Jerome, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula* 57), 55.

⁴⁷² *Apologeticus* V, 85-89. Norton reads in this explanation for the acceptance of the Septuagint by the Church in spite of its faults a 'parting homage to the sonority and harmony of the Septuagint version.' Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents*, 53. In my view, this reading is incompatible with Manetti's line of argument.

5.4 LEGITIMIZING NEW TRANSLATIONS: MANETTI AND VALLA

One purpose of Manetti's *Apologeticus* was to legitimize his new translations of the Bible. This section investigates what strategies Manetti used for this purpose, in comparison with the way Valla legitimized his work on the New Testament. Valla's translation theory has so far been left out of the discussion. Unlike Bruni and Manetti, Valla did not write extensively on translation, but his view can be gleaned from the prefaces to his translations and from some of his other writings.⁴⁷³ In this section, I compare Valla's theory with Manetti's *Apologeticus*, focusing on Valla's ideas on Bible translation. I use this comparison to investigate the way Manetti legitimized his retranslation of the Vulgate. Valla directly influenced Manetti's translation of the New Testament through his *Collatio/Annotationes*.⁴⁷⁴ And yet, we will see that they legitimized their revision projects in very different ways.

The structure of this section is roughly chronological. Valla's ideas on translation and on Bible translation in particular will be introduced first, drawing mainly on the prefaces he wrote to the *Collatio* in the 1440s. I then discuss Valla's controversy with Poggio Bracciolini in the early 1450s, which was already touched upon in Chapter One.⁴⁷⁵ Poggio's criticism against Valla's revision of the Vulgate and Valla's response are illustrative for the kind of opposition Manetti's Biblical scholarship may have had to face. Finally, Valla's defence strategies will be compared with Manetti's.

5.4.1 Valla's philological programme

Unlike the fifteenth-century theoreticians we have seen so far, Valla considered translation as an inferior endeavour: unlike original composition, it does not require any creativity on the side of the author. If a translation is to be attempted at all, it should compete with the original. Through translations from Greek into Latin, a competition between the two languages and cultures takes place. Translation was a

⁴⁷³ Valla may have been familiar with Bruni's *De interpretatione recta*, but this is not certain. Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," 287.

⁴⁷⁴ See above, pp. 48 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ See above, pp. 20 ff.

means of reaffirming the status of the Latin language. Valla derived this idea from Cicero and Quintilian.⁴⁷⁶

As regards Bible translation, Valla did not mean for the Latin Bible to replace or compete with the Greek original, but he saw a place for the Latin language at the heart of Christianity. He emphasized the importance of Bible translation; without it, the Latin-speaking West would have had no access to the Scriptures at all and it would have been separated from God:

[...] nullum cum Deo nos Latini commercium haberemus nisi Testamentum vetus ex hebreo et Novum ex greco foret traductum. (Valla, *Preface to Thucydides' Historiae*)⁴⁷⁷

[...] we Latins would have no intercourse with God, if the Old Testament had not been translated from the Hebrew and the New from the Greek.]

Valla emphasized the centrality of Latin to human culture and Christianity in his *Oratio in principio sui studii*:

Cuius rei sine dubio caput et causa extitit religio christiana. Cum enim utrunque testamentum extaret scriptum latinis litteris, quas deus in cruce una cum grecis et hebraicis consecravat [...]. (Valla, *Oratio in principio sui studii*)⁴⁷⁸

[Without a doubt, it was the Christian religion that stood out as origin and cause [...] since both the Old and the New Testament existed written in that very Latin language that God made sacred on the cross, together with Greek and Hebrew.]⁴⁷⁹

Valla was convinced that a good Latin version of the Scriptures was required as a basis for sound theology. He argued that exegesis should not be based on the Latin, but on the source text. Valla made this point repeatedly in the *Collatio*, and he did not spare authorities. For example,

⁴⁷⁶ Mariangela Regoliosi, “‘Mercatura optimarum artium’: La traduzione secondo Lorenzo Valla,” in *Les traducteurs au travail: Leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 449–470; Marianne Pade, “The Place of Translation in Valla’s Thought,” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 35 (1984): 285–306.

⁴⁷⁷ Cortesi, “Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata,” 285–286.

⁴⁷⁸ Quoted from: Celenza, “Lorenzo Valla’s Radical Philology: The ‘Preface’ to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context,” 393, n. 18.

⁴⁷⁹ The translation is Celenza’s. For Valla’s attitude towards sacred Scripture in general, see: Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 397–407.

he rejected several interpretations of Thomas Aquinas because the Schoolman did not know Greek.⁴⁸⁰

The most important source for Valla's views on Bible translating is his *Collatio/Annotationes*, in which he criticized the Vulgate. Another source is the preface he wrote to the *Collatio*, in which he commented on the translation method of the Vulgate as opposed to his own approach. This text in two versions. The second dates from 1449, when the *Collatio* was dedicated to Nicholas V.⁴⁸¹ In what follows, I summarize Valla's view on Bible translating.⁴⁸²

First and foremost, Valla required fidelity to the Greek. In the *Collatio/Annotationes*, he time and again complains of inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the Vulgate. Where the Latin and the Greek differ, the Greek must be in the right. Valla follows the Greek variant readings in his manuscripts and aims at consistent translation of Greek terms.⁴⁸³

This is not to say, however, that the Bible ought to be rendered word for word. Valla criticized the overly literal translation method of the Vulgate in his two prefaces to the *Collatio*. According to Valla, literal translations could result in obscurities and nonsensical interpretations. He wrote with regard to obscure passages in the Vulgate:

[...] non interpretis vitio, sed interpretationis lege atque necessitate, utique illius que non ad sensum sit sed ad verbum [...] (Valla, *Praefatio forma antiquior*)⁴⁸⁴

[This is not the fault of the translator but rather that of the rules and demands of translation, at least of that kind of translation that is not sense for sense but word for word...]⁴⁸⁵

In the later version of the preface, Valla made a similar comment. He wrote that his task was to help the reader of the Latin text, 'laying bare any ambiguities occurring in the Latin and illuminating any instances when *the regular practice of literal translation* may have made things

⁴⁸⁰ Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 308–310; Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 438–440.

⁴⁸¹ Valla's preface is available in edition with English translation in: Celenza, "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology: The 'Preface' to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context."

⁴⁸² See also: Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 407–412.

⁴⁸³ See e.g. Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 83; Valla, *Opera omnia*, 826–827.

⁴⁸⁴ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 9.

⁴⁸⁵ Celenza's translation.

more difficult to understand.⁴⁸⁶ The main reason for translating freely rather than word for word thus appears to be the intelligibility of the Latin text.⁴⁸⁷ Note that for Valla, as for Manetti, *ad uerbum* did not mean ‘faithful’, but ‘overly literal’. This appears, for instance, from the following remark in the *Collatio*:

Perplexa haud dubie et implicata oratio, sed interpretis est culpa non Pauli, interpretis inquam, qui ad uerbum transferre uoluit, repugnante natura linguae latinae (Valla, *Collatio* at 2 Corinthians 1: 11)

[This speech is doubtlessly intricate and confused, but this is the translator’s fault, not Paul’s; the translator’s, I say, who wanted to translate *ad uerbum*, while the nature of the Latin language does not allow this]

Valla rejects *ad uerbum* translation because it violates grammatical rules. In his opinion, the construction of Greek sentences should be imitated if possible, but without violating Latin rules of syntax. Only this way, the translation could do justice to the stylistic elegance of the Greek New Testament, of which Valla was convinced:

Immo tu non curas de uerborum proprietate, qui graecam ueritatem non consulis, in qua lingua Paulus accurate loquutus est, qui in uerbis cum propriis tum ornatis, dumtaxat rerum maiestate servata, Demosthenem ipsum antecellit. (Valla, *Annotationes* at 1 Thessalonians 1: 8)⁴⁸⁸

[You do not at all care about the proprietas of the words, you who do not consult the Greek source text, in which Paul spoke carefully, who, sometimes in his own words and sometimes in more studied speech, as long as the greatness of the subject was preserved, surpassed even Demosthenes.]

In the *Collatio/Annotationes*, Valla often mentioned issues of grammar and idiom that he had already discussed in his *Elegantie*, his main work on correct Latin usage.⁴⁸⁹ In the preface to the *Elegantie*, he referred to ‘the Latin language and elegance without which all doctrine is blind and

⁴⁸⁶ Celenza’s translation: ‘...sed in latinis siquid ambiguum contingit aperio, siquid lex ad uerbum transferendi obscurius facit illustro...’ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 6.

⁴⁸⁷ Valla commented on *ad sensum* translation as the appropriate method for Scripture also in the *Collatio/Annotationes*, e.g. at Romans 2: 11 and 2 Corinthians 1: 11. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 54.

⁴⁸⁸ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 880.

⁴⁸⁹ Cortesi, “Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata,” 282.

stingy'.⁴⁹⁰ In one of his comments on Matthew in the *Annotationes*, he wrote:

[...] quanquam sint qui negent theologiam inseruire praeceptis artis grammaticae. At ego dico, illam debere seruire etiam cuiuslibet linguae usum, qua loquitur, nedum literatae. Nam quid stultius, quam linguam, qua uteris, uelle corrumpere, et committere ne ab iis, apud quos loqueris, intelligaris? Nemo enim intelligat eum, qui proprietatem linguae non seruat, quam nemo unquam fuit qui non serueret uolens et prudens, sed per imprudentiam labens. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 4: 10)

[There are people who believe that theology is not subservient to the rules of grammar. But I say that theology must observe the usage of the spoken and especially of the written language. For what is more stupid than to corrupt the language used and to make it faulty? For when doing so one cannot be understood by one's fellow speakers. Nobody understands him who does not observe the property of the language.]⁴⁹¹

The rules of grammar Valla refers to are derived from classical examples, where pagan authors are more authoritative than Christian ones, because they lived earlier.

It is clear then that Valla understood the meaning of Scripture in philological terms: in his opinion, the Bible was to be approached like any literary text. In this respect, his view on Bible translation is very similar to Jerome's. Valla was familiar with Jerome's writings and he highly admired the Church Father.⁴⁹² And yet, by criticizing the Vulgate, he challenged Jerome's authority. In what follows, we will see that Valla legitimized his revision project by identifying with Jerome and by borrowing his argumentation.

5.4.2 Valla and Jerome

When Jerome revised the Old Latin, he had used several strategies to legitimize his new translations. In his preface to the Gospels, he anticipated the reactions of his critics:

Quis enim doctus pariter vel indoctus, cum in manus volumen adsumpserit et a saliva quam semel inibit viderit discrepare quod lectitat, non statim erumpat in vocem, me falsarium me clamans esse

⁴⁹⁰ 'Latinitas atque elegantie, sine qua ceca omnis doctrina est et illiberalis' (*Elegantie*, Preface to book III), quoted from Valla, *Antidotum primum*, 13.

⁴⁹¹ Translation: Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*, 133.

⁴⁹² Valla read Jerome and annotated his works: Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 306; Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," 286–287. For Valla and Jerome, see also: Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 412–414.

sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in veteribus libris addere, mutare, corrigere? Adversum quam invidiam duplex causa me consolatur: quod et tu qui summus sacerdos es fieri iubes, et verum non esse quod variat etiam maledicorum testimonio conprobatur. Si enim latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus; tot sunt paene quot codices. (Jerome, *Praefatio in evangelio*)⁴⁹³

[For who among the learned as well as the unlearned, when he has taken up this volume and, having had a taste of it, has seen that it is different from what he often reads, will not immediately burst out, shouting that I am a sacrilegious forger, because I have dared to add, change, correct anything in the old books? I take comfort against such ill-will in two things: that it is you, the Pontiff, who orders this to be done, and that what is differently reported cannot be true, is confirmed even by the testimony of my abusers. For if the Latin exemplars are to be trusted, let them say which ones; there are as many of them as there are manuscripts.]

Jerome was anxious to point out that the Pope himself had commissioned the new translation. Out of respect for the existing translation, he made corrections only when he was convinced of their necessity, leaving most of the text unaltered:

Quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo imperavimus ut, his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant. (Jerome, *Preface to the Gospels*)⁴⁹⁴

[And lest [the words] would not differ too much from the accustomed Latin reading, I controlled my pen so that, while correcting manifest error, I might leave the familiar wording unchanged.]⁴⁹⁵

Over time, Jerome became more confident about his own linguistic skills, both in theory and in practice. His revision of the Old Latin eventually took the form of a retranslation, and in later letters he openly complained of the errors and misunderstandings in the existing version. But especially early on he was very careful not to discredit the Old Latin.⁴⁹⁶

Jerome's version became authoritative in its turn, and Valla, when revising it, faced the same problems Jerome had. Since Biblical exegesis was based on the Vulgate, it was inextricably bound up with its Latin wording. This made textual criticism controversial. A new Latin

⁴⁹³ Fischer and Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, vol. 2, 1515.

⁴⁹⁴ Ackroyd and Evans, "From the Beginnings to Jerome," 523.

⁴⁹⁵ Translation: W. H. Semple, "St. Jerome as a Biblical Translator," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48, no. 1 (1965): 232.

⁴⁹⁶ Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d'après Saint Jérôme*, 28.

translation of the text could hardly coexist with the accepted method of exposition.

Valla used Jerome's arguments in the prefaces to the *Collatio* to legitimize his criticism of the Vulgate. In the first preface, he wrote that he had only interfered with errors in the text, not with the translation itself:

Quod sicubi fortassis a translatione Hieronymi dissentio, velim omnes existiment, aut non sic ab eo traductum fuisse sed tempore depravatum, aut certe translationem primam ob eo ita relictam, siquidem non omnia se ille ait emendasse sed que intellectum maxime depravarent; et alioquin non esse nefas eandem mihi tribui libertatem in unum se, qua ipse in ceteros omnes, sicut ostendi, usus est. (Valla, *Praefationis forma antiquior*)⁴⁹⁷

[Now if I do perhaps differ in some places from Jerome's translation, I'd like everyone to judge either that the passage in question was not translated by him in that fashion but rather corrupted by time, or, certainly, that he left the first translation the way that it was, given that he says he didn't emend everything but only those things that were most damaging to understanding the message correctly. And in any case they should not judge it unlawful that the freedom conferred on me is itself employed against someone who himself employed it against everyone else, as I showed.]⁴⁹⁸

Valla was aware that Jerome had allegedly 'used his pen with restraint' when revising the New Testament.⁴⁹⁹ He cleverly used this remark to argue that most of the Vulgate New Testament was not translated by Jerome in the first place. In the *Collatio/Annotationes*, Valla repeatedly questioned Jerome's authorship of the passages he commented on.⁵⁰⁰ But even criticizing Jerome's text was not wrong in principle, Valla believed: after all, Jerome himself had done the same on a larger scale, criticizing all his predecessors by retranslating the Old Latin.

⁴⁹⁷ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 10.

⁴⁹⁸ Translation: Celenza, "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology: The 'Preface' to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context," 387.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo imperavimus ut, his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.' Jerome, *Praefatio in Evangelio*.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g. at Luke 16: 2 and 1 Corinthians 2: 9. He contrasted the Vulgate text with citations in Jerome's works, to conclude that Jerome could not possibly have translated the text in this way. Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," 278–279.

5.4.3 Poggio's criticism

The controversy between Valla and Poggio has already been introduced in Chapter One.⁵⁰¹ There, it was discussed with an eye to the dating of the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*, and to the possible connection with Manetti's project. We return to it here because of its relevance for the way Valla defended his work on the Bible.

In his first *Invectiva*, written in 1451, Poggio accused Valla of arrogance for calling Jerome a bad translator. Poggio had read Valla's *Elegantie*, and he was shocked by the way the Vulgate was criticized in that work:

Scripturam Sacram hic homo profanus adeo contemnit, ut plura in ea non recte scripta asseveret. Notavi pauca e multis in quibus beatum Hieronymum ut malum interpretem culpat (...). (Poggio, *Invectiva I*)⁵⁰²

[This godless man has so much contempt for Sacred Scripture that he declares that many things in it are not written correctly. I have observed a few of the many places where he censures the blessed Jerome as a bad translator.]

In this passage, Poggio identifies Scripture ('Scripturam Sacram') with the Vulgate translation: by criticizing Jerome, Valla had launched an attack on the Bible itself. Poggio had also heard of Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti* and supposed that Valla had criticized Jerome even more severely in that work.⁵⁰³

Valla's initial response to Poggio's *Invectiva*, the *Antidotum Primum*, was written in the summer of 1452. In it, Valla reacted to Poggio's accusation of arrogance. He is blamed for slighting Sacred Scripture, Valla writes, but what precisely is Sacred Scripture? He points to the multiple versions of the Bible that had circulated through the ages, including the Septuagint and the Greek versions by Aquila and Theodotio. Surely Poggio did not mean every translation of the Old and New Testament. Even if the bulk of translations would be narrowed down to Jerome's version only, Poggio's problem would not be solved. After all, not all Churches agree on one version of Jerome's text, as appears from the multiple Psalter translations in use. The case of the New Testament is also problematic:

⁵⁰¹ See above, pp. 20ff.

⁵⁰² Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, 199.

⁵⁰³ Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 312. See Poggio, *Invectiva I*. Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, 199–200.

[...] Novum [Testamentum] ipse [Hiëronymus] non transtulit, sed aliquotiens repurgavit, non tam in verbis quam in sententiis. Quod rursus, ut opinor, si revivisceret, in quibusdam depravatum vitiatumque corrigeret, quemadmodum in opere meo de Collatione Novi Testamenti, quod tu opus in invidiam vocas, ostendo. (Valla, *Antidotum Primum I*, 135-136)⁵⁰⁴

[He [Jerome] has not translated the New Testament, but he has cleansed it off several times, not so much the words but the phrases. And I am convinced that if he came back to life, he would again correct it, because it is distorted and corrupt in several places, as I show in my work, the *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, a work you expose to odium.]

Valla points out that Jerome had not retranslated the New Testament, but merely revised it. For this reason, the *Collatio* is not an attack on Jerome's authority. Valla then moves on to make another, more fundamental point: Poggio wrongly confuses Sacred Scripture with its translation, whereas in fact these are two different things:

Itaque ne multus sim, siquid emendo non Scripturam Sacram emendo, sed illius interpretationem, neque in eam contumeliosus sum, sed pius potius, nec aliud facio nisi quod melius quam prior interpretes transfero, ut mea translatio sit si vera fuerit appellanda Sancta Scriptura, non illius. Et si proprie Scriptura Sancta sit ea que Sancti ipsi vel Hebraice vel Grece scripserunt, nam Latinum nihil tale est. (Valla, *Antidotum Primum I*, 136)

[So in short, if I revise anything I do not revise Sacred Scripture, but its translation, and this does not make me insolent, but rather dutiful, and the only thing I do is translate better than the first translator, so that if it is accurate, my translation should be called Sacred Scripture, not his. And if anything is properly Sacred Scripture, it is what the saints wrote in Hebrew and Greek, for the Latin is nothing of the sort.]

If Valla's translation is the better one, it has at least as much right to be called 'Sacred Scripture' as Jerome's— but of course, it would be much better to reserve that label for the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, because 'the Latin is nothing of the sort' ('latinum nihil tale est').

Valla referred to Jerome once more when using the metaphor of a river that has collected mud and dirt over time:

...cum retulissem Hieronymi verba dicentis seculo suo tot exemplaria Novi Testamenti fuisse quot codices; verum si post quadringentos omnino annos ita turbidus a fonte fluebat rivus, quid mirum si post mille annos — tot enim fere ab Hieronymo ad hoc evum sunt — hic rivus nunquam repurgatus aliqua in parte limum sordesque contraxit? (Valla, *Antidotum Primum I*, 153)

⁵⁰⁴ I refer to the text in Wesseling's edition: Valla, *Antidotum primum*.

[...when I quote the words of Jerome, who said that in his time there were as many versions of the New Testament as manuscripts: but if after only four hundred years the stream flowed so muddy from the spring, it is no surprise that one thousand years later – for so many there are between Jerome and our time – this stream, which has never been cleansed, has collected slime and dirt in some places?]

Poggio reacted to Valla's *Antidotum Primum* in a second *Invectiva*. He was shocked that Valla referred to his own new translation as Sacred Scripture, even if only hypothetically:

Inter caetera quae boator insanus loquitur, haec addidit: Nisi quod melius quam prior interpretes transfero, ut mea translatio sit sancta scriptura appellanda. [...] Bibliam credo transtulit hic barbarus furiosus, et non in uerbulis quibusdam more grammaticorum tanquam in scopo haesit, et omnes interpretes accusans. (Poggio, *Invectiva II*)⁵⁰⁵

[One of the things that this howling lunatic says is this: 'Only that I translate better than the previous translator, so that my translation should be called sacred Scripture.' [...] I believe that this raging barbarian has translated the Bible, instead of sticking to little words as the grammarians do, as a goal in itself, accusing all translators.]

Valla's arrogance, Poggio warns the reader, might go beyond criticizing revered translators: he is bold enough to produce a new translation to displace the Vulgate.

Poggio's main objection to Valla's revision of the Vulgate is that Valla does not respect Jerome's authority. This is a general concern in Poggio's writings against Valla, and it regards other authors besides Jerome as well. Poggio's disapproval, then, does not primarily concern Biblical scholarship. But it is the most concrete example of the contemporary opposition to Valla's work, and it gives us an impression of what Manetti's New Testament would have met with had it ever been published. Valla's notes were impacted on by Poggio's criticism: in the *Annotationes*, the later redaction, the tone is less aggressive than in the *Collatio*.⁵⁰⁶ Valla used several different strategies to defend himself against Poggio's accusations: like Jerome, he pointed to the writing errors in the text and to the multiple versions in existence; he distinguished between Scripture itself and its translation, which has a very different status; and

⁵⁰⁵ Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, 210.

⁵⁰⁶ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 48; Fubini, "Una sconosciuta testimonianza Manoscritta delle Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum del Valla," 195; Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 92. This is not to say that Valla was altogether cowed by Poggio. Some of his severe criticism of Augustine, for example, dates from after the controversy with Poggio. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 307–308.

he argued that Bible translations should be judged by philological standards just like translations of any other text.

5.4.4 Manetti

At first sight, Manetti's way to legitimize his Bible translation project differs widely from Valla's. He is hardly concerned with the shortcomings of the Vulgate in *Apologeticus* and he never questioned Jerome's authorship. This may be because the disputed authorship of Jerome is less relevant for the Psalter than it is for the New Testament. Manetti had therefore less reason to mention it in *Apologeticus* than Valla in the prefaces to the *Collatio*. But surprisingly, he did not point to the corruption of the text either, although this *does* apply to the Psalter as well as to the New Testament. As it happens, Manetti was not at all concerned with text-critical problems in *Apologeticus*. The list of variant readings in *Apologeticus* III-IV does not deal with scribal corruptions, but rather with the discrepancies between two Latin translations based on different source texts. Although Manetti collated the versions meticulously – without a doubt a considerable philological achievement – he was not concerned with the unintentional writing errors of scribes or with their intentional attempts to correct the text.⁵⁰⁷ As far as I know, Manetti referred to textual variety only once in *Apologeticus*, namely when he had to resolve an inconsistency in Eusebius' account of the translation process of the Septuagint.⁵⁰⁸ He did not mention textual variety in the Vulgate as a reason for his revision.

Furthermore, Manetti never made the point that the Vulgate translation is too literal, as Valla had. This is surprising, too: after all, one of the main points of *Apologeticus* V is that a literal method can never result in a correct translation. But as we have seen, Manetti used this principle only to problematize the status of the Septuagint, not the Vulgate. He presented Jerome as the ideal translator. Finally, Manetti did not problematize the status of the Vulgate as a replacement for the original text in the tradition of the Western Church: he never pointed to wrong interpretations of Scripture based on translation errors in the Latin text.

⁵⁰⁷ The collation of different versions should not be confused with an analysis of textual corruptions, as was done by De Petris: Manetti, *Apologeticus*, XXV. And elsewhere: '[...] a list of textual variants somewhat in the style of Valla's observations on the New Testament [...]' Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 82.

⁵⁰⁸ *Apologeticus* II, 16.

Instead of the arguments we find in Valla's writings, Manetti used two other strategies to legitimize his new translation project. The first features in his preface to the Psalter, but his words regard the entire translation project, comprising the Old and the New Testament:

Cum enim uere ac solide utriusque et prisce et moderne (ut ita dixerim) theologie fundamenta in cunctis ueteris ac noui testamenti codicibus tantum modo omnium doctorum hominum consensu iaciantur, atque ambo illa a ueris hebreorum ac grecorum fontibus in latinam linguam traducta ab ipsis a quibus ea suscepimus quotidie carpi lacerarique acciperem, pro uirili mea ulterius equo animo ferre ac tolerare non potui. Quocirca, hac precipua causa adductus, laborem noue amborum testamentorum traductionis non iniuria nuper assumpsi. (Manetti, Preface to the Psalter)⁵⁰⁹

[For because the foundations of the true and solid theology, both ancient and modern, so to speak, are laid in all the books of the Old and New Testament, insofar as all the learned men agree, and because I heard them both, in their Latin translations from the Hebrew and Greek sources, criticized and lashed daily by the people we received them from, I for my part could no longer bear and tolerate it with composure. And therefore, driven by this particular reason, I recently took up the task of translating both testaments anew, and rightly so.]

Manetti does not explain on what grounds the Latin Scriptures were criticized by the Greeks and Jews, nor does he clarify how his own version will remedy their shortcomings. It is a clever strategy: Manetti himself, he seems to write here, has nothing to say against the Vulgate; it is the enemies of the faith who questions its authority, and who need convincing. He gives no other reasons for retranslating the Bible in the preface to the Psalter.

We find another strategy in *Apologeticus*. As he pointed out twice in *Apologeticus* V, Manetti has structured the five books of the work very carefully. In the first book, he lists respected authors who have all been criticized for their works; in the second, he discusses various translations of the Old Testament in different languages; in the third and fourth books he compares the versions of the Psalter; and finally, in the fifth, he expounds his views on correct translation. By structuring the work thus, Manetti presents his new Psalter translation as one among many. Moreover, he takes care to point out that the existing versions differ from one another, and that some are better than others. This means that

⁵⁰⁹ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 170.

the translations mentioned are not perfect or final and that they are judged by philological criteria.

Most of the arguments used by Valla and Jerome thus reappear in Manetti's work in a different form. In the first place, the existence of multiple versions implies that identifying Sacred Scripture with its translation is problematic. Second, the meaning of the text is determined by grammar, not theology. And finally, the most authoritative text is the one closest to the first version, not the one sanctioned by tradition. These points are all presupposed in *Apologeticus* rather than spelled out. But although Manetti's legitimation of his new translation differed from Valla's on various points, both humanists identified with Jerome. Paradoxically, they challenged the authority of Jerome's translation by adopting Jerome's own philological arguments.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this chapter, we can draw several conclusions concerning Manetti's ideas on correct translation and his approach to Bible translating. We have seen that he categorized the Bible together with philosophical and theological texts, dismissing *ad verbum* translation for all of them, and recommending an *ad sensum* approach instead. Manetti's *ad sensum* is a combination of a general literal approach and free renderings for idiomatic expressions. His main reasons for rejecting overly literal translation are the incommensurability of languages and the fact that the meaning of words differs depending on their context. In the next chapter, we will see that Manetti's translation method in the New Testament corresponds to his theory.

There are many similarities between Manetti's translation theory and that of his predecessors and contemporaries. His views were rooted in a strong tradition that originated in classical antiquity. Most of his ideas were not original, but taken over from other theoreticians, especially from Jerome and Bruni. Manetti's tripartite division of translation methods (*ad verbum*, *ad sensum*, and a free approach) resembles the model ascribed to Chrysoloras. Like Bessarion and Valla, Manetti problematized *ad verbum* translation for Scripture.

However, there are also differences between Manetti's theory and that of his predecessors. In the first place, Manetti omits several issues that his sources did address. He is not at all concerned with the poverty (or sufficiency) of the Latin language, a subject other Latin translators often

comment on. Stylistic issues play a minor role, especially compared to Bruni's *De interpretatione recta*. The differences between Manetti's treatise and Bruni's work can be explained by changed circumstances. In the early years of the fifteenth century, humanists focused mainly on stylistic elegance, whereas later on they grew more and more sensitive to the demands of lexical and grammatical precision.

Second, Manetti used well-known notions and categories in a new way. His recommendation to translate *ad sensum* rather than *ad verbum* can be traced back to Cicero and Horace. But whereas these classical authors commented on the creation of a new literary work as opposed to slavish imitation, Manetti rejected a word-for-word method because it would distort the meaning of the original. In other words, *ad verbum* translation is rejected because it would be a hindrance to meaning – not style. In this respect, his translation theory is closer to Jerome's than to Cicero's. Furthermore, although Manetti's description of a good translator is taken almost verbatim from Bruni, it fits seamlessly into the context of *Apologeticus* V, which is less concerned with the status of Latin as opposed to Greek and with stylistic features than Bruni's *De interpretatione recta*. Finally, Manetti used Jerome's examples from the New Testament to illustrate that even the Bible can be rendered *ad sensum*, whereas Jerome had used these examples to make a different point. All these elements took on a new meaning in the context of *Apologeticus* V.

Manetti's translation theory is closely connected with his approach to the sacred text. His exposition in *Apologeticus* V has a function in the work as a whole: it is eventually used to evaluate the Septuagint and to account for the differences between various Latin versions of the Psalter. Manetti structured *Apologeticus* carefully to show that the existing Bible translations are not final or perfect. His discussion of the Septuagint suggests that for Manetti, a translation cannot replace the original. Furthermore, in *Apologeticus* Manetti judges Bible translations by philological criteria: their quality depends on the skills of the translator only. His view corresponds to Pym's representationalism: the meaning of the source text is represented in its translation. It does not come to the translator through divine inspiration. Manetti's approach to the sacred text informed the way he legitimized his new versions. In the next chapter, we will investigate how his translation theory worked out in practice.

6 Translation method

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter of my dissertation builds on the insights of the previous chapters: the writing process of the translation, Manetti's textual criticism and his translation theory are all relevant for identifying his translation method. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I compare Manetti's translation practice with his theory as described in the previous chapter – did he practice what he preached? Second, I investigate to what extent Manetti's translation choices were informed by theology.

Previous studies that mention Manetti's translation concentrate on his text-critical choices rather than his translation method. If they comment on the latter, it is mostly with regard to isolated passages and always in comparison with Valla's notes. Trinkaus observed that Manetti's translation of one passage was 'more radical' than Valla's.⁵¹⁰ Botley carried out a comparison of Manetti's New Testament with both the Vulgate and Valla's 'translation', pieced together from the *Collatio*. His analysis is very short – it covers only six verses (Mark 7: 32-37) – and his main observation is that Valla used more pronouns than the other two.⁵¹¹ With regard to Manetti's New Testament in general, he observed that Manetti aimed at consistent translation, without giving any examples.⁵¹² For my analysis of Manetti's method, I concentrate on a feature that plays a prominent role in *Apologeticus*: literalness.

Humanist translations are not typically literal or free: Manetti's contemporaries used a variety of methods in for their translations. For example, Ciriaco d'Ancona's version of Pseudo-Aristotle's *De virtutibus* can be labelled literalist: it is characterized by quantitative representation and by the preservation of syntactic structures and word order.⁵¹³ Bruni's version of Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte*, by contrast, is very free: is full

⁵¹⁰ The passage is 1 Corinthians 2: 13; see below, pp. 169ff. Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 575.

⁵¹¹ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96–98.

⁵¹² Ibid., 96. According to Botley, Manetti's main contribution 'was in his application of his knowledge of Hebrew to the Greek New Testament.' Ibid., 98.

⁵¹³ Cortesi, "Ciriaco traduttore dal greco," 208.

of modulations and there is text omitted and added.⁵¹⁴ Chrysoloras' and Decembrio's version of Plato's *Republic* is a combination of literal and free techniques.⁵¹⁵ Some humanist versions are recreations rather than translations, for example Poggio's *Diodorus*.⁵¹⁶ This means that Manetti's choice for one method rather than another was not merely conventional. I argue that Manetti, in accordance with what he wrote in *Apologeticus*, avoided both literalness and unnecessary freedom.

Before the degree of literalness of Manetti's translation can be investigated, we need to set down some criteria. In their influential study on method in translation, Vinay and Darbelnet distinguish between literal translation as a procedure (or technique) and literal translation as a method, method being a combination of techniques informed by norms.⁵¹⁷ A literal translation in the first sense is 'a unique solution which is reversible and complete in itself.'⁵¹⁸ In other words, the reader of a literal translation, if familiar with the source language, is able to reconstruct the source text by translating back the target text. Literal translation as a technique is a solution to an individual translation problem: it concerns one particular word or grammatical construction. Literal translation as a method, by contrast, concerns the text as a whole. This is what I call 'literalism' or 'literalist translation'. In this chapter I investigate literal translation not as a technique, but as a method.

Literalism in Bible translations has been discussed extensively in the field of Septuagint Studies, especially by James Barr, who formulated a typology of literalism in translation.⁵¹⁹ He mentioned several factors that influence a translation's degree of literalism. Some of these concern practical matters, such as linguistic competence, the availability of word-

⁵¹⁴ Maria Accame Lanzillotta, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: La 'Pro Ctesiphonte'*. (Genoa: Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, 1986), 71–91.

⁵¹⁵ Ernesto Berti, "Alla scuola di Manuele Crisolora," *Rinascimento* 27 (1987): 3–72.

⁵¹⁶ Pagliaroli, *L'Erodoto del Valla*, 91–92.

⁵¹⁷ Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995). For their description and examples of literal translation as a procedure, see: *ibid.*, 33–35. This book appeared originally in French: Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (Paris: Les éditions Didier, 1958).

⁵¹⁸ Vinay and Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*, 34.

⁵¹⁹ James Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 11 (1979): 279–325. Recently: Staffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

lists, a wish to achieve accuracy or belief in the precedence of the source text over the translation.⁵²⁰

These practicalities apart, literalism can also be a matter of principle. Especially in the case of Bible translation, there are also theological reasons for applying a literalist method, such as notions of inspired scripture and multiple meaning.⁵²¹

Drawing on Barr's study, I use the following criteria for literalism:

1. Division of the text into elements and segments
2. Word order
3. The level of quantitative divergence, that is the addition or subtraction of elements
4. Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering (stereotyping)

The first three correspond to Manetti's criteria for *ad uerbum* translation as he formulated them in *Apologeticus*. The fourth criterion, consistency, is not mentioned in *Apologeticus*, but it plays a prominent role in the writing and translation process of Manetti's New Testament as well as in Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*. I will therefore dedicate ample attention to it in my discussion of Manetti's translation method. In addition to these criteria, I investigate Manetti's translation method by looking at some translation techniques that Vinay and Darbelnet associate with literalist and free translation respectively: borrowings, transpositions and modulations.⁵²²

Besides comparing Manetti's theory with his practice, I also investigate the role of theology in this chapter. Only when Manetti's translation method is understood, his usual equivalents can be distinguished from theologically motivated translations. The position of theology in Manetti's translation has hardly been touched upon in the literature. This is different for Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*. Scholars mostly agree that although Valla's notes have implications for theology and ecclesiology, he did not write them as a theologian. Rather, Valla advocated a new, philological approach to Scripture. As Bentley put it: 'Valla's notes to the New Testament [...] influenced theology, but they did so as a result of

⁵²⁰ Cf. Hankins' comment on Chrysoloras' version of Plato's *Republic*: 'whatever literalism there was in Chrysoloras' original version was the result, not of some inconsistency in his principles, but of the limitations of his Latinity.' Hankins, "A Manuscript of Plato's Republic in the Translation of Chrysoloras and Ubertro Decembrio with Annotations of Guarino Veronese (Reg.lat.1131)," 156.

⁵²¹ Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," 324–325.

⁵²² Vinay and Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*, 30–42.

their method, not their specific teachings.⁵²³ In this chapter, I investigate if the same holds true for Manetti, by means of four case studies. I argue that Manetti, like Valla, operated in a strictly philological way.

For my investigation of the role of theology in Manetti's translation project, I again draw on methodological discussions from Septuagint Studies. In that field, the relation between translation techniques and theologically motivated renderings has already been investigated and problematized.⁵²⁴ In a recent study, Staffan Olofsson warned against attributing particular translation choices too hastily to the translator's theological views. The student of a Bible translation should seek explanations first in the translator's technique, then in his linguistic competence and in his *Vorlage*.⁵²⁵ Only if all these factors fail to account for a particular rendering, it may be attributed to the translator's theology.⁵²⁶

In what follows, I investigate Manetti's general translation method, concentrating on its degree of literalism. In addition, I present three case studies to investigate the role of theological deliberations as opposed to translation techniques in Manetti's version.

6.2 UNITS OF TRANSLATION

In this section, I analyze Manetti's translation method by using three criteria for literalism: quantitative representation, segmentation, and word order. In section three, these are followed by another criterion, which Manetti did not mention: consistency. Finally, in section four I discuss

⁵²³ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 68. For Valla's new philological approach in Biblical studies, see: Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla*, 277–346; Celenza, "Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the Vulgate," 51; Celenza, "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology: The 'Preface' to the Annotations to the New Testament in Context"; John Monfasani, "The Theology of Lorenzo Valla," in *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Jill Kraye and Martin W. F. Stone (London: Routledge, 2000), 1; Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, 423–440; Monfasani, "Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy," 24–25; di Napoli, *Lorenzo Valla: Filosofia e religione nell'umanesimo italiano*, 134.

⁵²⁴ Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis*.

⁵²⁵ An example of a rendering in Manetti's translation that could be read as 'conservative' but that is really based on a different *Vorlage* is 1 Corinthians 15: 10, which was discussed in Chapter Three. See above, pp. 83ff.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 195–231.

several translation techniques that are commonly associated with literal and free methods.

6.2.1 Quantitative representation

Apart from corrections of what Manetti believed were translation errors in the Vulgate, he also made changes to the Vulgate text because he adhered to a different translational norm. In what follows, I investigate if Manetti translated the New Testament according to a literalist or a free translational norm. My first criterion for literalism is quantitative representation. We have seen in Chapter Three on textual criticism that Manetti took great care to eliminate additions and omissions in the Vulgate. His changes are often based on variant readings in his manuscripts. Manetti very rarely expanded the text on his own account. When he did, it was to avoid confusion and to make the text more readable. A rare example of such an expansion is found at John 4, in an episode about the healing of a royal official's son. When the official appeals to Jesus for help because his son is dying, Jesus tells him to go home and promises that his son will live. Before the father even reaches his house, his servants meet him on the road to inform him that his son is well. When he asks them at what time his son got better, they reply: 'yesterday, at one in the afternoon.' Manetti's translation then reads:

Cognouit ergo pater quod in illa hora sanatus fuerat in qua dixerat ei
Iesus quod 'Filius tuus uiuit' (Manetti's New Testament, John 4: 53)

[Then the father realized that he was healed at the time at which Jesus
had said to him, 'Your son will live.']

The words *sanatus fuerat* ['he was healed'] are not in the Vulgate, where the verse reads:

Cognouit ergo pater quia illa hora erat, in qua... (etc).

[Then the father realized that this was the time at which...]

Manetti added *sanatus fuerat* on his own account. It is not found in the textual tradition of John, neither in the Greek or the Latin text.⁵²⁷

Manetti also diverged from the number of words in the Greek when he used periphrastic renderings for words that lack a Latin equivalent, but this divergence is only marginal. The total number of words in the New

⁵²⁷ Other cases where Manetti added words for clarification are e.g. Galatians 4: 5 (*adoptionem filiorum Dei* for *adoptionem filiorum*), Acts 10: 7 (*qui Cornelio loquebatur* for *qui loquebatur illi*) and Acts 13: 43 (*colentium deum* for *colentium*).

Testament amounts to 125,000 in the Vulgate and 126,000 in Manetti's version, an increase of less than one percent. In this respect, Manetti's method does not differ much from that of the Vulgate. Both translations, however, are significantly shorter than the Greek original, which counts more than 146,000 words. The difference is easily explained by the absence of articles in Latin.

6.2.2 Segmentation

My second criterion for literalism is segmentation, the way the text is subdivided into smaller units, such as episodes, sentences, words, or even morphemes. Manetti made it explicit in *Apologeticus* that a good translator proceeds sentence for sentence, not word for word. His main reason for dismissing the *ad uerbum* method is that the meaning of the original is compromised. This happens because the meaning of idiomatic expressions is determined by the way they are used, not by the meaning of the words they consist of.⁵²⁸

The clearest example of such an expression in the New Testament is the Greek ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω ['to be pregnant'], which literally means 'to have in the belly'. In the Vulgate, it is rendered by *in utero habeo*. Valla commented on this unidiomatic translation at Matthew 1: 18 and 1: 23.⁵²⁹ Manetti translated it as *pregnans* ['pregnant'] at Matthew 1: 18, *concipio* ['to conceive'] at Matthew 1: 23, and *parturio* ['to be in labour'] at 1 Thessalonians 5: 3. He preserved the unidiomatic in *utero habeo* at Revelation 12: 2.

Other idiomatic expressions were given a new translation by Manetti for stylistic reasons, not because a literal rendering would be a hindrance to meaning. At 1 Corinthians 16: 12, he replaced the Vulgate translation *cum ei uacuum fuerit* ['when he has the opportunity'] for ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ with *cum oportunitas dabitur*. Valla suggested a similar change, *cum opportunum erit*.⁵³⁰ Manetti also invented new renderings for expressions that Valla did not comment on. At 1 John 2: 27, he replaced *et non necesse habetis* ['you do not need'] with *et non est uobis opus*, a less literal translation of the Greek οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε. At James 2: 16, the Vulgate has *quid proderit* ['what

⁵²⁸ See above, pp. 130f.

⁵²⁹ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 805–806. At 1 Thessalonians 5: 3, Valla suggested *pregnans*, not *parturiens*. Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 239.

⁵³⁰ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 869.

good does it do?'] for the Greek τί τὸ ὄφελος. Manetti replaced this translation with *que uobis utilitas erit*. In all these cases, Manetti's renderings are relatively free: he changes the grammatical function of the words and the word order.

We can conclude from these examples that Manetti, at least occasionally, translated not word for word, but phrase for phrase. However, I believe that he did not look beyond sentence level, that is, to the macrostructure of the text. I have found two examples in support of this belief. The first is taken from John 8: 38-40, where the Greek is ambiguous. On sentence level, Manetti's translation is a possible alternative for the Vulgate rendering, but in the wider context of John 8 it is not. In John 8, Jesus confronts some Jews who claim Abraham as their ancestor. Jesus tells them that their actions are inconsistent with their alleged descent from Abraham:

Si filii Abrahae essetis, opera Abrahae faceretis. Nunc autem queritis me interficere, hominem, qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum, quam audiui a Deo; hoc Abraham non fecit. (Vulgate, John 8: 39-40)

[But now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth that I heard from God. This is not what Abraham did.]

Jesus' next words are ambiguous in the Greek. In Manetti's copy of the Vulgate they are translated as follows:

ὁμοίως ποιεῖτε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν

Vos facitis opera patris uestri. (Vulgate, John 8: 41)

[You are doing the deeds of your father]⁵³¹

The verb ποιεῖτε can be either a second plural indicative or imperative. Since Jesus has just contrasted the Jews' behaviour with Abraham's, this remark implies that 'your father' is not Abraham, but someone else. Most modern editions and translations of the New Testament follow this interpretation. But there is also another option, which we find in some manuscripts of the Vulgate and also in Manetti's translation:

Vos facite opera patris uestri. (Manetti's New Testament, John 8: 41)⁵³²

[Do the deeds of your father.]

In Manetti's rendering, Jesus acknowledges the Jews' descent from Abraham, and urges them to behave like him. This reading seems natural

⁵³¹ Pal.lat.18, fol. 347v.

⁵³² Valla does not comment on this verse.

enough after the verses that immediately precede it. But it is problematic in light of what follows: the Jews exclaim at Jesus' insinuation of their illegitimacy (*Nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati* ['We are not born of fornication']). It appears then that Manetti did not reckon with the wider context when he translated this sentence.⁵³³

My second example concerns Hebrews 11: 1-2, where Manetti's version reads:

"Ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων.
[2] ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐμαρτυρήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. (Hebrews 11: 1-2)

Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium. In hoc enim testimonium consecuti sunt seniores.
(Manetti's New Testament, Hebrews 11: 1-2)

[Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For in this [matter] the elders have obtained testimony.]

In the Vulgate, Verse 2 is rendered as follows:

in hac enim testimonium consecuti sunt senes (Vulgate, Hebrews 11: 2)

[For in this [faith] the elders have obtained testimony]

Although Manetti's translation seems natural enough at first sight, it is not supported by the Greek: ἐν ταύτῃ (*in hac*) agrees with πίστις (*fides*) in the preceding verse. Moreover, Manetti's rendering does not do justice to the general point of Hebrews 11. This chapter is dedicated to the virtues of faith. It consists of a long list of examples, taken from the Old Testament, which illustrate how much can be achieved through faith. Verse 2 is followed by 21 parallel examples, all beginning with πιστει/*fide* ['by faith'] or a similar expression. In light of the context of Hebrews 11, *in hac*, the Vulgate's rendering, is therefore the better one. To recapitulate, Manetti translated the New Testament sentence for sentence – not word for word or episode for episode.

6.2.3 Word order

My third criterion for identifying Manetti's translation method is the word order in his translation.⁵³⁴ Adherence to source language word order in the target text can be an indication of a literalist translation

⁵³³ Valla does not comment on this verse.

⁵³⁴ For a discussion of word order in particular as an aspect of literalism, see: Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis*, 104-109.

method. It is, however, only significant if the word order in the target language is relatively free: if the grammatical function of words depends on their position in the sentence, a translator will let the target language rules prevail over the word order in the source text, even if he works by a literalist method.⁵³⁵ In the case of Latin, where the word order is relatively free, a translator may follow the order of the original very closely without being ungrammatical. This is indeed what we see in the Vulgate and in the Old Latin. Manetti, however, did not follow the Greek word order as strictly as earlier Latin Bible translators.

Two observations can be made with regard to word order in Manetti's version. On the one hand, it is not random: Manetti followed the Greek very closely when he deemed it necessary. This appears from several cases where he changed the word order of the Vulgate text to make it correspond to a variant order in his Greek text. At Luke 5: 30, for example, he changed *pharisei et scribe* ['Pharisees and scribes'] to *scribe eorum et pharisei* ['scribes and Pharisees'], in accordance with the Greek οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.⁵³⁶ Likewise, at 1 Thessalonians 3: 7, he changed *necessitate et tribulatione* ['distress and affliction'] to *tribulatione et necessitate nostra* ['affliction and distress'], following the Greek τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἡμῶν.⁵³⁷

On the other hand, although Manetti avoided unnecessary freedom, he allowed for the differences between Greek and Latin usage, especially in the later books of the New Testament. In practice, this means that he quite consistently placed the verb at the end of the clause or the sentence. An extreme example of this is James 3: 4. In the Vulgate, this verse is translated as follows:

ιδού καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, τηλικοῦτα ὄντα καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων σκληρῶν ἐλαυνόμενα,
μετάγεται ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστου πηδαλίου ὅπου ἡ ὁρμὴ τοῦ εὐθύνοντος βούλεται
(James 3: 4)

Ecce et naues cum magne sint et a uentis ualidis minentur circumferuntur
a modico gubernaculo ubi impetus dirigentis uoluerit (Vulgate, James 3:
4)

[Look also at ships: although they are so large and are driven by fierce
winds, they are turned by a very small rudder wherever the pilot desires.]

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 108–109.

⁵³⁶ This is the reading of the Byzantine text.

⁵³⁷ This is not the reading of the Byzantine text, but it is in Manetti's Greek source: Pal.gr.171, fol. 153r. Manetti changed the word order of the Vulgate to make it correspond to the Greek also at Matthew 18: 8, 2 Corinthians 1: 7 and Galatians 2: 14.

In Manetti's translation, the verse reads:

Ecce etiam naues, cum tante sint atque a uentis ualidis quatiantur, quocumque impetus dirigentis uoluerit a minimo gubernaculo traducuntur (Manetti's New Testament, James 3: 4)

This particular verse reads much more like a new translation than a revision of the Vulgate, but this is exceptional. In many passages, the order of the words is in fact the only alteration Manetti made to the text of the Vulgate. This is clearly visible when we compare Acts 17: 1-10 in the Vulgate and in Manetti's translation. The verbs that Manetti transposed to the end of the clause or sentence have been emphasized:

Καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον, ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁρνίου. [2] ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεύθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδοῦν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. [3-4][5] καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. [6] Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί, καὶ ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ὅδε γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. [7-9][10] καὶ λέγει μοι, Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν. (Acts 17: 1-10)

[1] Cum autem *perambulassent* Amphipolim et Apolloniam *uenerunt* Thessalonicam ubi erat synagoga Iudeorum [2] Secundum consuetudinem autem Paulus introiuit ad eos et per sabata tria *disserebat* eis de scripturis, [3-4] [5] Zelantes autem Iudei *assumentesque* de uulgo uiros quosdam malos et turba facta *concitauerunt* ciuitatem et assistentes domui Iasonis *querebant* eos producere in populum [6] Et cum non *inuenissent* eos *traherant* Iasonem et quosdam fratres ad principes ciuitatis clamantes quoniam hi qui orbem concitant et huc uenerunt [7-9] [10] Fratres uero confestim per noctem *dimiserunt* Paulum et Silam in Beroeam qui cum aduenissent in Synagogam Iudeorum introierunt (Vulgate, Acts 17: 1-10)

[1] Cum autem Amphipolim et Apolloniam *perambulassent*, Thessalonicam *uenerunt*. Ibi erat synagoga Iudeorum. [2] Secundum consuetudinem Paulus introiuit ad eos et per sabata tria eis de scripturis *disserebat*, [3-4] Et quidam ex eis crediderunt et adiuncti sunt Paulo ac Siloe atque colentium et gentilium multitudo plurima ac mulierum primariorum non paucae. [5] Zelantes autem Iudei increduli et malignos quosdam uiros de foro *assumentes* turba facta ciuitatem *concitauerunt*, et assistentes domui Iasonis eos in populum producere *querebant*. [6] Cum uero eos non *inuenissent*, Iasonem et quosdam fratres ad principes ciuitatis *traherant* clamantes quod 'Hi qui orbem terrarum concitant huc uenerunt [7-9][10] Fratres autem confestim per noctem Paulum et Siloam in Beroeam *miserunt*; qui cum uenissent, in synagogam Iudeorum introierunt. (Manetti's New Testament, Acts 17: 1-10)

[1] Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews. [2] Then Paul, as his custom was, went in to them, and for three Sabbaths reasoned with them from the Scriptures, [3-4][5] But the Jews who were not persuaded, becoming envious, took some of the evil men from the marketplace, and gathering a mob, set all the city in an uproar and attacked the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people. [6] But when they did not find them, they dragged Jason and some brethren to the rulers of the city, crying out, "These who have turned the world upside down have come here too. [7-9] [10] Then the brethren immediately sent Paul and Silas away by night to Berea. When they arrived, they went into the synagogue of the Jews. (NKJV)

In the above passage, the Vulgate translation follows the word order of the Greek. Manetti's version, by contrast, transposes almost every verb to the end of the sentence or clause.

So far, we can conclude that Manetti translated the New Testament in accordance with his theory in *Apologeticus*. As far as quantitative representation, segmentation and word order are concerned, he avoided both literalism and unnecessary freedom.

6.3 CONSISTENCY

Now that the first three criteria for literalism have been covered, we turn to the fourth: consistency. Consistency in translation can be an indication of a literalist norm, but it does not have to be.⁵³⁸ Olofsson listed several factors that influence the degree of a translation's consistency.⁵³⁹ Firstly, there may be practical reasons for (non-)consistency in the rendering. A translator may not have been familiar with the multiple meanings of a source language word and, as a consequence, have used only one equivalent. Early revisers of the Bible often used Greek-Latin lexica derived from the Vulgate. This is why they usually concentrate on inconsistencies in the translation rather than on semantic inaccuracies.⁵⁴⁰ Furthermore, the use of consistent renderings may also be connected with the contemporary practice of language learning. An anonymous student of Chrysoloras, who wrote notes to Lucianus, gave Latin equivalents of Greek words consistently, probably

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 50–66.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 53–63.

⁵⁴⁰ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96. Valla asked Alfonso for a Greek-Latin dictionary: Cortesi, "La tecnica del tradurre presso gli umanisti," 167.

for the sake of memorization.⁵⁴¹ Finally, translators may have based their renderings on a *Vorlage* that is different from the source text available to modern scholars.

Such practicalities apart, consistency in the rendering can also be a matter of principle. In the case of Bible translation, it is necessary if exegesis is based on individual words or expressions: readers need to be sure that every time they encounter a certain word in their translation, it corresponds to one and the same term in the source text (read-back).⁵⁴² Valla was explicit about the importance of consistent translation, for instance in this comment on the use of *gloria* in the Vulgate:

[...] licet interpres ad suum arbitrium *gloriam* nunc per hoc nunc per illud vocabulum transferat, cum hoc faciendi non habeat potestatem, eo precipue quod cogit varias sententias esse, ubi diverse dictiones sunt, putare lectorem. In quod vitium, quantum in me erit, ne incident studiosi, quotiens opus erit, admonebo. (Valla, *Collatio* at Matthew 6: 2)⁵⁴³

[...although the translator renders *gloria* as he sees fit, now by one word, then by another, while he has no right to do this, mainly because he makes the reader believe that there are various meanings where there are various words. And I will warn scholars not to fall into this trap as much as I can and as often as I need to]

However, even if a translator deliberately uses consistent renderings, his translation is not necessarily literalist. If a source-language word has an exact equivalent in the target language, the translator has no reason to vary his renderings. For consistency to be an indication of literalism, it has to either compromise the meaning of the source text or the rules of the target language (stereotyping).⁵⁴⁴ A stereotype translation does not refer to the *meaning* of the words in the source text, but to those words themselves.⁵⁴⁵ What I investigate in this section is how important consistency in translation was for Manetti, and if his use of consistent renderings results from a literalist norm. I will do this by comparing his translation to the Vulgate, concentrating on words that occur frequently in the New Testament and on Vulgate renderings frequently changed by

⁵⁴¹ Berti, “Alla scuola di Manuele Crisolora,” 49. Especially frequent words; rare words are not translated consistently. Ibid., 58. It is clear that their author had no recourse to a dictionary. Ibid., 69–73.

⁵⁴² Barr, “The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations,” 307–309.

⁵⁴³ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 33. Valla made many similar comments in the *Annotationes*, e.g. at Mark 14: 72 and John 9: 31.

⁵⁴⁴ Barr, “The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations,” 306–307; Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis*, 53.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 60; 64.

Manetti. Manetti's corrections and alterations in Pal.lat.45 are included in the investigation: these indicate how important (non-)consistency was to him. In order to rule out the possibility of a different *Vorlage*, problematic cases have been collated with Manetti's sources.

In addition to this, I have compared Manetti's translation with Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*. We have seen that Manetti depended heavily on Valla's work, especially in the early books, and that Valla was very explicit about the importance of consistency in translation. Botley wrote that 'although both writers believed in the importance of the consistent use of terms, Manetti consistently uses terms of which Valla disapproves.'⁵⁴⁶ Although this may be true in some cases, I have found several examples of consistent renderings in Manetti's translation that were in all likelihood taken from Valla. Comparing Manetti's translation choices with Valla's notes, allows us to determine if Manetti's consistent renderings result from his own principles, or from Valla's suggestions. Consistency and writing process

Let us first make a general investigation of (non-)consistency in Manetti's version by examining the changes he made to the Vulgate. Being a heterogeneous collection of revisions of the Old Latin by different authors, the Vulgate is often inconsistent. When in the Vulgate one Greek term is rendered in different ways, Manetti typically chose one translation from among these alternatives and used it consistently. For example, the Greek word ἀρχιερεύς ['high priest'], which occurs over a hundred times in the New Testament, is rendered in the Vulgate by *pontifex*, *princeps sacerdotum*, *sacerdos* and *summus sacerdos*. Manetti translated it consistently as *pontifex*. Only in Matthew and early in Mark, we find an alternative translation: *summus pontifex*, which is used to refer to the high-priest, Caiaphas.⁵⁴⁷ The Greek ἀγαπητός ['beloved'], which occurs about sixty times in the New Testament, was translated in the Vulgate as *dilectus*, *carissimus*, *electus* (once) and *dilectissimus*. Manetti translated it as *dilectus* every time.⁵⁴⁸ The Greek word παραβολή ['parable'] is rendered by the Graecism *parabola* in the Vulgate, except in the Gospel of Luke, where we find the Latin equivalent *similitudo*. Manetti consistently translated παραβολή as *parabola*, over fifty times. But he did not always

⁵⁴⁶ Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, 96; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 58–59.

⁵⁴⁷ Valla suggested replacing *princeps sacerdotum* with *pontifex* in the *Annotationes* at Matthew 2: 4.

⁵⁴⁸ This change was suggested by Valla in the *Collatio* at Mark 9: 7 and John 21: 17.

adopt one of the renderings of the Vulgate: for ἑορτή ['holiday'], which occurs 27 times in the New Testament, he chose the Latin equivalent *festinitas*, whereas the Vulgate has *dies festus*, *dies magnus* or *dies sollemnis*.

That consistency was no trivial matter to Manetti, appears from the writing process of his translation. We have already seen in Chapter Two that Manetti took care to make the earlier books of the New Testament consistent with the later ones when he revised the manuscript of his translation.⁵⁴⁹ His tendency to translate consistently extends to less frequent words as well. The Greek words ἐπιούσιον ['daily'] and πτερύγιον ['pinnacle'] occur only twice in the entire New Testament, but Manetti translated them consistently as *supersubstantialem* and *pinnaculum* respectively, whereas the Vulgate uses two different renderings for each word.⁵⁵⁰ Manetti must have collated the relevant Gospel passages. At Mark 7: 18, he changed the Vulgate translation of the Greek ἀσύνετοι ['without understanding'] to make it consistent with the equivalent passage in Matthew 15: 16. There, the Vulgate rendering of ἀσύνετοι is *Sine Intellectu*, whereas in Mark 7: 18, it is *imprudentes*. Manetti translated the word as *sine intellectu* both times.⁵⁵¹

Some of Manetti's consistent renderings are taken from Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes*. For instance, Manetti translated the Greek δοξάζω ['to glorify'], which occurs 52 times in the New Testament, consistently as *glorifico*, in accordance with Valla's note at Matthew 6: 2.⁵⁵² In the Vulgate, δοξάζω is rendered by *clareo*, *clarifico*, *glorifico*, *honorifico*, and *magnifico*. Manetti translated it as *glorifico* every time, except for twelve cases in the Gospel of John.⁵⁵³ Other consistent translations Manetti may have chosen at Valla's suggestion are *pontifex* for *princeps sacerdotum*,⁵⁵⁴ *dilectus* for *carissimus*,⁵⁵⁵ *ne quando* for *ne forte*⁵⁵⁶, and *populus* for *plebs*.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁴⁹ He changed all translations of σώζω to *saluo*, all translations of ἴδιος to *proprius*, all translations of ὅλος to *totus*, all translations of οἰκουμένη to either *orbis terrarum* or *orbis terre*, and all translations of θρόνος to *solium*. See above, pp. 44ff.

⁵⁵⁰ *Supersubstantialem* in Matthew 6: 11 and Luke 11: 3 (Vulgate: *supersubstantialem* and *cotidianum*); *pinnaculum* in Matthew 4: 5 and Luke 4: 9 (Vulgate: *pinnaculum* and *pinnam*).

⁵⁵¹ Valla does not comment on this inconsistency.

⁵⁵² See above, p. 165.

⁵⁵³ A possible explanation for this exception is that Jerome commented on the use of *clarifico* in John 17 in letter 106, 30. Hieronymus, *Lettres*, vol. 5, 188.

⁵⁵⁴ In the *Annotationes* at Matthew 2: 4. Valla, *Opera omnia*, 806.

⁵⁵⁵ In the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes* at Mark 9: 7; in the *Annotationes* at John 21: 17.

⁵⁵⁶ In the *Annotationes* at Matthew 4: 6.

(Non-)consistency in translation can affect the interpretation of the text and even have theological implications: when one Greek word is rendered by more than one Latin equivalent, readers may come to differentiate between the Latin terms and to assign meaning to them. The following two case studies will make this clear.

6.3.1 Case study 1: *mysterium* and *sacramentum*

The Greek word *μυστήριον*, which occurs 27 times in the New Testament, is translated in two ways in the Vulgate: nineteen times as *mysterium* and eight times as *sacramentum*.

The use of these two terms would become theologically charged in the sixteenth century, when Erasmus used *mysterium* instead of *sacramentum* in his rendering of Ephesians 5: 32. The Spanish humanist Stunica objected to Erasmus translation, because it would undermine the Church's teaching that marriage was a sacrament. Stunica accused Erasmus of siding with Luther on this issue.⁵⁵⁸ For Stunica, *mysterium* and *sacramentum* were certainly no exchangeable renderings of the same Greek term.

Valla, by contrast, was convinced that there was no difference in meaning between the two words in the *Annotationes*:

Mysterium nonnumquam transfert interpretis sacramentum. Ne ignoret interpretis nihil aliud esse mysterium quam sacramentum (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 13: 11)

[The translator renders *mysterium* occasionally by *sacramentum*. Let the translator be aware that there is no difference between *mysterium* and *sacramentum*.]

Valla commented on *μυστήριον* again at 1 Timothy 3: 16, Ephesians 1: 9, and Colossians 1: 27.⁵⁵⁹ Manetti rendered *μυστήριον* consistently by *mysterium*, with only one exception.⁵⁶⁰ He apparently believed that *mysterium* and *sacramentum* had the same meaning, as Valla argued in the *Annotationes*.

⁵⁵⁷ In the *Collatio* at Acts 10: 36 and the *Annotationes* at Matthew 4: 24.

⁵⁵⁸ Jenkins and Preston, *Biblical Scholarship and the Church*, 61.

⁵⁵⁹ See Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," 282.

⁵⁶⁰ Revelation 17: 7.

6.3.2 Case study 2: 1 Corinthians 2: 13

My next case study concerns grammatical consistency. So far, we have seen examples of lexical consistency only. Grammatical consistency plays a minor role in Manetti's and Valla's works. That Manetti was stricter in this regard than Valla, appears from their respective renderings of 1 Timothy 6: 17-19. The Vulgate reads:

[...] sed in Deo uiuo, qui prestat nobis omnia abunde ad fruendum, [18] bene agere, divites fieri in bonis operibus, facile tribuere, communicare, [19] thesaurizare sibi fundamentum (Vulgate, 1 Timothy 6: 17-19)

[...] but in the living God, who gives us richly all things to enjoy, [18] *let them* do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to give, willing to share, [19] storing up for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. (NKJV)]

Valla commented that he would not mix gerunds with infinitives, as the Vulgate does, but rather use a gerund every time.⁵⁶¹ The Greek, however, has several different grammatical constructions, which are reflected in Manetti's translation:

...ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θεῷ τῷ παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀγαθοεργεῖν, πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς, εὐμεταδότους εἶναι, κοινωνικούς, ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς θεμέλιον

sed in Deo uiuo qui prebet nobis omnia opulente ad fruitionem, ut bene agamus, ut ditemur in operibus bonis, ut simus faciles ad tribuendum socii, thesaurizantes sibi ipsis fundamentum⁵⁶²

Whereas Valla opted for a stylistically more elegant rendering in the *Collatio*, Manetti chose to faithfully translate the Greek.

That grammatical consistency can affect the interpretation of a passage appears from the case of 1 Corinthians 2: 13:

ἀ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες

quae et loquimur non in *doctis* humanae sapientiae *verbis*, sed in *doctrina* spiritus sancti, spiritalibus spiritalia comparantes (Vulgate, 1 Corinthians 2: 13)

⁵⁶¹ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 252. Valla did not comment on this passage in the *Annotationes*.

⁵⁶² Manetti translates εὐμεταδότους εἶναι κοινωνικούς as *ad tribuendum socii*.

[These things we also speak, not in the learned words of man's wisdom, but in the teaching of the Holy Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual.]

Valla disapproved of the way the Vulgate rendered the same Greek word by two different grammatical constructions, and proposed making a slight change to the translation:

Cur uariavit interpres graecum uocabulum? Nam sic legitur graece: *Non in doctis humane sapientiae uerbis siue sermonibus, sed in doctis spiritus sancti*; quasi in humana sapientia sint uerba, in spiritu autem sancto doctrina, quod non ita est. Ideoque ego sic transtulissem: *Non in doctis uerbis humane sapientiae, sed in doctis uerbis spiritus sancti, siue in doctis sermonibus* (Valla, *Annotaciones* at 1 Corinthians 2: 13)

[Why has the translator varied the Greek word? For the Greek reads thus: *not in the learned words of man's wisdom, but in those of the Holy Spirit* – as if words are in human wisdom, but doctrine in the Holy Spirit, which is not so. I would have translated this as follows: *Not in the learned words of human wisdom, but in the learned words or the Holy Spirit*]

In Valla's opinion, the Vulgate translation is misleading, because it suggests a distinction between 'words' and 'doctrine' that does not exist in the Greek.

Manetti also changed the translation of this passage, but not according to Valla's suggestion:

non in *docibilibus* humane sapientie, sed in *docibilibus* spiritus sancti uerbis (Manetti's New Testament, 1 Corinthians 2: 13)

[not in the words that man's wisdom *can teach*, but in words that the Holy Spirit *can teach*.]

In Manetti's translation, the passage is not about words that are in fact being taught, but about teachable words.

Trinkaus compared Manetti's translation of this passage with Valla's, and remarked that Manetti made 'a still more radical correction'.⁵⁶³ Read in isolation, this translation looks like a new interpretation of the text by Manetti. But this is not the only time Manetti used an adjective expressing possibility (in *-ibilis*) instead of one expressing a fact. He did this repeatedly throughout the New Testament. The Greek allows for both translations. Valla wrote about ambiguities of this kind in the *Collatio*:

⁵⁶³ Trinkaus, *In Our Image*, vol. 2, 575; Monfasani, "Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy," 33, n. 100.

Graece semper uniformis est vox in huiusmodi genere dicendi, veluti *inextincto*, *indomito*, *inuestigato*, sed nos sive ob decorem lingui sive ob vocis declarationem solemus etiam sic transferre: *inextinguibili*, *indomabili*, *inuestigabili*. (Valla, *Collatio* at Matthew 3: 12)

[In Greek, the word looks the same in both meanings; for example *unextinguished*, *untamed*, *investigated*. But to make our speech more elegant or to explain the meaning of the word we also translate as follows: *unextinguishable*, *untamable*, *investigabilis*.]⁵⁶⁴

Manetti took these words to heart: at Luke 4: 19, for instance, he replaced the Vulgate rendering *acceptum* ['accepted'] for δεκτόν with *acceptabilem* ['acceptable'], and at Titus 1: 16 he replaced *abominati* ['abominated'] for βδελυκτοὶ with *abominabile* ['abominable']. He made similar changes at Matthew 19: 26, 1 Corinthians 9: 25, 1 Timothy 2: 3, Acts 10: 28 and Acts 21: 39. Rather than giving a new interpretation of 1 Corinthians 2: 13, Manetti translated it according to a general rule, viz. that a Greek adjective in -τός is best rendered by a Latin one in *-ibilis*.

The example of 1 Corinthians 2: 13 shows that Manetti's changes to the Vulgate may occasionally lead to new interpretations of the text, but that he did not make them for this reason. Rather, they result from consistently applied techniques.

6.3.3 Consistency as a criterion for literalism

So far, we have seen that Manetti took care to make his version more consistent than the Vulgate, and that a choice for (non-)consistent renderings can have implications for the interpretation of the text. But it is as yet unclear if Manetti's consistent renderings are an indication of a literalist method. For this to be the case, they would have to either neglect shades of meaning in the source language or to result in an unnatural use of the target language. In what follows, I discuss Manetti's translation of a number of Greek words that cover a wide semantic field and therefore require multiple Latin translations, to know κτίσις ['creation', 'creature'], θυσία ['sacrifice'] and νοῦς ['mind', 'intellect']. I investigate if Manetti did justice to the meaning of these words in their context, or preferred consistent renderings instead.

⁵⁶⁴ Valla made a similar comment in *Disputationes dialecticae* I, 16, 8. Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*, 230.

My first case, the Greek word *κτίσις* [‘creation’] occurs 22 times in the New Testament. In the Vulgate, it is translated mostly as *creatura*. But this translation is problematic: unlike Latin, Greek does not distinguish between the act of creation (Latin: *creatio*) and its result, the created cosmos or the creatures in it (Latin: *creatura*). Valla commented on these two meanings of *κτίσις* in the *Annotationes*:

Quaenam est creatura mundi, id ego non intelligo. At si dicatur *a creatione mundi*, manifestum erit, hoc est, a factione mundi [...]. Quod autem graecum hoc nomen, quod hic transfertur creatura, *κτίσεως*, possit transferri creatione, locus ille epistolae ad Hebraeos probat: Peramplius et perfectius tabernaculum non manufactum, id est non huius creationis, *κτίσεως* [Hebrews 9: 11]. (Valla, *Annotationes*, at Romans 1: 20)

[I do not understand what sort of thing the *creature of the world* is. But if it said *from the creation of the world* it would be clear, namely, from the making of the world [...]. And that this Greek noun that is here rendered by *creatura*, *κτίσις*, can be rendered by *creatio*, is proved by this place in the letter to the Hebrews: *a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation*]

Manetti changed the translation of the Vulgate, *creatura*, into *creatio* twice: at Romans 1: 20 and 2 Peter 3: 4. This example shows that Manetti did not always translate consistently: he acknowledged the difference between source language and target language, in this case probably at Valla’s suggestion.

My second case is the Greek word *θυσία*, which is usually translated as *hostia* in the Vulgate and sometimes as *sacrificium*. *Hostia* refers to the victim, the animal being sacrificed, whereas *sacrificium* is a more general term, which includes the ritual act or procedure of sacrifice. Valla commented on this word:

Hostiam et sacrificium uno nomine appellat Grecus, ut in Luca [Luke 2: 24]: Et ut darent hostiam, secundum quod dictum est in lege Domini (Valla, *Collatio* at Matthew 9: 13)⁵⁶⁵

[The Greek has one word for *hostia* and *sacrificium*, as in Luke: *and to offer a sacrifice in keeping with what is said in the Law of the Lord*]

Manetti used both *hostia* and *sacrificium* as translations of *θυσία*, but not always in the same way as the Vulgate. Especially in the book of Hebrews, which frequently refers to ritual practice under the old and the new covenant, he interpreted *θυσία* differently: he replaced *hostia* with *sacrificium* ten times in this book, for example at Hebrews 7: 27:

⁵⁶⁵ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 40.

... qui non haberet necessitatem afferendi quotidie sacrificia [Vulgate: hostias] pro peccati propriis, quemadmodum pontifices, prius, deinde pro populo; nam hoc fecit semel cum semetipsum obtulit. (Manetti's New Testament, Hebrews 7: 27)⁵⁶⁶

[Unlike the other high priests, he does not need to offer sacrifices day after day, first for his own sins, and then for the sins of the people. He sacrificed for their sins once for all when he offered himself.]⁵⁶⁷

The case of *θυσία* reveals an important difference between Valla's notes and Manetti's translation – which is a matter of genre rather than principle. Whereas Valla in his notes commented on the Vulgate's inconsistent renderings of *θυσία*, emphasizing that these were based on a single Greek term, Manetti had to use more than one equivalent to do justice to the meaning of the Greek. Conversely, whereas Valla in his annotations could point to the multiple meanings of a Greek term in one passage, Manetti did not have this freedom: he could only use one equivalent at a time. Unlike Valla, Manetti had to choose between reflecting the source text by rendering the Greek word consistently, or to convey the variety of meanings in a way understandable to the Latin reader.

My last example concerns the Greek word *νοῦς* ['mind', 'intellect']. In the Vulgate, this word is translated mostly as *sensus* or *mens*, and once as *intellectus*. It occurs 22 times in the New Testament. Valla commented repeatedly on the various renderings of *νοῦς* in the Vulgate:

Quod autem idem sit *mens* et *sensus animi*, patet: quia quod nunc dicitur *mens*, *νοῦς*, idem paulo post ab interprete transfertur *sensus*. (Valla, *Annotationes* at 1 Corinthians 14: 14-15)

[But it is obvious that *mens* and *sensus animi* are the same thing: for the same word that is now rendered by *mens*, *νοῦς*, is translated shortly afterwards by *sensus* by the translator.]

According to Valla, the various translations in the Vulgate all go back to one Greek word, and therefore mean the same thing. Manetti, by contrast, varies his renderings of *νοῦς* according to the context in which the word appears. He preserved the generic *sensus* only twice, preferring

⁵⁶⁶ Manetti replaced *hostia* with *sacrificium* also at Hebrews 8: 3, Hebrews 9: 9, Hebrews 9: 23, Hebrews 9: 26, Hebrews 10: 1, Hebrews 10: 5, Hebrews 10: 8, Hebrews 10: 11, and Hebrews 10: 26. This category seems to include sacrifices made before the instalment of the Mosaic law, as appears from Hebrews 11: 4, which refers to the offerings of Cain and Abel.

⁵⁶⁷ None of these alterations in Hebrews were suggested by Valla.

the more specific translations *mens* [‘mind, mentality, disposition’] and *intellectus* [‘intellect, understanding’], which he used ten times.

By choosing to translate νοῦς either as *intellectus* or *mens*, Manetti *interpreted* the text, for example in the following cases, where the Vulgate has *sensus* every time:

Tunc aperuit eis mentem ut intelligerent scripturas. (Manetti’s New Testament, Luke 24: 45)

[Then he opened their minds so they could understand the Scriptures. (NIV)]

Et pax Dei, que superat omnem intellectum, custodiet corda uestra (Manetti’s New Testament, Philippians 4: 7)

[And the peace of God, which transcends all understanding, will guard your hearts (NIV)]

Nos autem mentem Christi habemus. (Manetti’s New Testament, 1 Corinthians 2: 16)

[But we have the mind of Christ. (NIV)]

The examples of κτίσις, θυσία and νοῦς show that Manetti varied his renderings in order to do justice to the meaning of the Greek words in context.

At the end of this section on consistency, we can draw several conclusions. Generally speaking, Manetti’s translation is more consistent than the Vulgate. He avoided inconsistency when he could: where the Vulgate used different translations for one Greek word, Manetti generally reduced the alternatives. He even took care to eliminate inconsistent renderings in a later stage of the writing process.

On the other hand, Manetti’s aim at consistency is not an indication of a literalist translational norm. In many cases the Greek term that was rendered consistently by Manetti actually coincides with its Latin equivalent. In such cases, consistent translation is entirely legitimate, even for non-literalist translators. After all, both the meaning of the source text and the rules of the target language are respected. In other cases, Manetti used non-consistent renderings to do justice to the variety of meanings of the Greek words.

6.4 TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES

In the final section of this chapter, I will investigate some translation techniques that Manetti uses in his version. Vinay and Darbelnet

mention borrowings as typical of a literal translation method.⁵⁶⁸ A free translation method, by contrast, is characterized by transpositions, a technique ‘involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message’ and modulations, i.e. variations ‘of the form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view.’⁵⁶⁹ I add periphrastic renderings as a typically ‘free’ technique. In what follows, I will first discuss techniques that concern the translation of individual words – borrowings and periphrastic renderings. I then move on to techniques on sentence-level. Again, Manetti’s practice will be compared with Valla’s.

6.4.1 Borrowings

Borrowings are words that are taken over unaltered from the source language, in this case Greek.⁵⁷⁰ Valla repeatedly expresses his disapproval of the use of Graecisms in his notes, for example when he comments on the use of *hypocrita* [‘mime, hypocrite’] in the Vulgate:

Nescio cur non transferatur *histrion*, siue aliud quippiam. Sed nonnunquam interpretem delectat graeca uox: ut *ethniscus* pro *gentilis*, et *thronus* pro *sedes*, et alia multa. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 6: 2)

[I do not know why it is not translated as *histrion* [‘actor’], or something else. But the translator likes a Greek word every now and then: like *ethniscus* for *gentilis* [‘gentile’] and *thronus* for *sedes* [‘seat’], and many others.]

Valla disapproves of the use of a Graecism here because there is a good Latin equivalent available. His remark resembles Bruni’s criticism of the medieval versions of Aristotle, where Greek terminology was often transliterated rather than rendered by a Latin word.⁵⁷¹

Manetti did not mention borrowings in *Apologeticus*, but he seems to have avoided Graecisms to some extent in his version of the New Testament. At Matthew 6: 2, he ignored Valla’s suggestion to replace *hypocrita* with *histrion*, but he did replace *ethniscus* with *gentilis* once, and *thronus* with *sedes*

⁵⁶⁸ Vinay and Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*, 31–32.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 36.

⁵⁷⁰ For my study of Graecisms in Manetti’s New Testament I draw on W. E. Plater and H. J. White, *A Grammar of the Vulgate* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926), 31–33.

⁵⁷¹ Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 43–44. Likewise, Chrysoloras’ anonymous student avoided Graecisms in his notes on Lucian and Ciriaco d’Ancona made an effort to find Latin equivalents for Greek technical terms in Pseudo-Aristotle’s *De virtutibus*. Berti, “Alla scuola di Manuele Crisolora,” 60; Cortesi, “Ciriaco traduttore dal greco,” 208–209.

several times.⁵⁷² Elsewhere, he replaced the Greek word *σαγήνη* [‘fishing-net’], which is rendered by *sagena* (or *sagina*) in the Vulgate, with *uerriculum*, probably also at Valla’s suggestion. Valla commented on this word:

Sagenam quoque maluissem dicere *uerriculum*. Nam *sagena* graecum est, ut Ulpianus quoque testatur. *Verriculum* uero latinum, a uerrendo mari dictum, quod est genus illud retis grande, quod procul in mari iactum longissimis funibus a turba piscatorum e littore trahitur. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 13: 47)

[I would also rather say *uerriculum* than *sagena*. *Verriculum* is in fact a Latin word, named after *uertere mare* [‘to sweep the sea’], which is a large kind of net that is thrown far into the sea and pulled back on long ropes by a group of fishers from the shore.]

Valla seems to have been concerned with Graecisms especially in the *Collatio* and less so in the *Annotationes*. There are several notes on the subject that appear only in the earlier redaction, such as this one on *encenia* [‘the feast of the dedication’]:

Que causa fecit ut quodam modo necesse habuerit uti nomine greco, cum non deesset latinum: non enim tam commode dici uidetur ‘facta est autem dedicatio’ ut ‘fiebat autem dedicatio’, nisi velis ‘encenia’ pro festo dedicationis accipere. (Valla, *Collatio* at John 10: 22)⁵⁷³

[For what reason or how did he need to use a Greek word, while there was a Latin one at hand: for it seems just as easy to say ‘for the dedication was made’ or ‘the dedication took place’, if you do not want to borrow *encenia* for the feast of the dedication.]

Valla also commented on *anathemizo* [‘to anathemize’] and *anathema* [‘anathema’] at Mark 14: 71 in the *Collatio*, not in the *Annotationes*.⁵⁷⁴ Manetti preserved the Vulgate renderings of these words, possibly because Valla’s comments in the *Collatio* were absent from the version of Valla’s work that he consulted.⁵⁷⁵

Valla objected to the use of Graecisms especially where the Greek text has a different word, as in the case of *parapsis* at Matthew 26: 23, where the Greek reads *τῶβλιον* [‘bowl’], and *discolus* at 1 Peter 2: 18, where the Greek reads *σκολιός* [‘perverse’]. Manetti replaced these Vulgate

⁵⁷² Interestingly, Manetti replaced *ethnicus* with *gentilis* only in Matthew 6, where Valla made a comment on the word. He preserved *ethnicus* at Matthew 18: 17. This suggests that Manetti changed the word in Matthew 6 at Valla’s suggestion.

⁵⁷³ Valla did not comment on this word in the *Annotationes*. Manetti preserved *Encenia*.

⁵⁷⁴ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 89–90. Not in the *Annotationes*: Valla, *Opera omnia*, 828.

⁵⁷⁵ For the status of Valla’s text when Manetti consulted it, see above, pp. 19ff. and 48ff.

renderings with new ones, as Valla suggested.⁵⁷⁶ Examples of new renderings not based on Valla are *falsus christus* for *pseudochristus* (ψευδόχριστος; ‘false Christ’), *falsus propheta* for *pseudopropheta* (ψευδοπροφήτης; ‘false prophet’), *novitium* for *neophytus* (νεόφυτος; ‘neophyte’) and *revelatio* for *apocalypsis* (ἀποκάλυψις; ‘revelation’). Valla did not mention these words.

Although there appears to be a tendency to avoid Graecisms in Manetti’s version as well as in Valla’s *Collatio/Annotationes*, many borrowings were left unaltered by both. Some of these concern religious or technical terms, such as *parasceue* [‘preparation day’], *gazophylacium* [‘treasury’] and *phylacterium* [‘box for Scripture text, worn on the forehead’]; others could be read as proper names (*Lithostrotus*). These words do not have a Latin equivalent, but Valla could have commented on their meaning. Other words, such as *botrus* [‘grape’], *colaphus* [‘fist’], *hydria* [‘jar’], *melota* [‘sheepskin’] and *nauclerius* [‘helmsman’] could have been rendered by a Latin equivalent or by a periphrastic translation. That these words and are passed over in silence by both Valla and Manetti could be an indication that their meaning was unclear to them.

6.4.2 Periphrastic renderings

In some cases where Greek words lack a Latin equivalent, Manetti used periphrastic renderings. For example, the Greek word λατρεία or λατρεύω [‘to serve’] has no exact equivalent in Latin. Valla commented on it at Matthew 4:

λατρεύσεις, hoc graeco uerbo non utuntur nostri, sed nomine quod est *latría*, uolentes hunc actum soli deo deberi. Is et si frequenter deo exhibetur, non tamen semper. Nam quantum ego sentio, magis ad homines pertinebat. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 4: 10)

[λατρεύσεις: we do not use this Greek word, but we do use the noun, *latría*, when we want to express that this act is only owed to God. Even if this is often applied to God, it is not always. For to my feelings it rather applies to men.]

Valla comments on this word again at Luke 2: 37, Luke 4: 8, Romans 1: 9, Romans 9: 4, Romans 12: 1, Philippians 3: 3 and Hebrews 8: 5.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Valla suggests *catinus* and *prauis* or *malignus*. Manetti uses *catinus* and *iniquus*.

⁵⁷⁷ At Hebrews 8: 5; he referred also to 9: 1, 6, 9, 14 and 10: 2. Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 244–245. He did not comment on this word in the *Annotationes*.

One of the authors who understood *λατρεία* specifically as service to God was Augustine, who commented on this word in *De civitate Dei* V, 15. Manetti wrote *latría* here in the margin of his copy of Augustine's text.⁵⁷⁸ He changed the Vulgate renderings of *λατρεία* in his new version. When *λατρεία* referred to the worship of God, he added *diuini cultus* ['of divine worship'] to the translation of the Vulgate, for instance at John 16: 2:

ἀλλ' ἔρχεται ὥρα ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ὑμᾶς δόξῃ λατρεῖαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ

sed uenit hora, ut omnis, qui interficit uos, arbitretur obsequium se praestare eo (Vulgate, John 16: 2)

[the time is coming that whoever kills you will think that he offers God service]

sed uenit hora ut omnis qui interfecerit uos arbitretur se obsequium diuini cultus offerre deo (Manetti, *New Testament*, John 16: 2)⁵⁷⁹

[the time is coming that whoever kills you will think that he offers God service of divine worship]

Likewise, at Hebrews 9: 9, Manetti changed the translation of *λατρεύοντα*, which was rendered by *seruientem* in the Vulgate. He added *diuino cultui*:

...que est parabola ad tempus instans secundum quod et dona et sacrificia offerebantur: que non possunt secundum conscientiam perficere diuino cultui seruientem

[It was symbolic for the present time in which both gifts and sacrifices are offered which cannot make him who performed the service of divine worship perfect in regard to the conscience]

Manetti translated *λατρείας* as *diuini cultus* (Vulgate: *culture*) at Hebrews 9: 1 and *λατρεύοντας* as *diuino cultui administrantes* (Vulgate: *cultores*) at Hebrews 10: 2.⁵⁸⁰ At Romans 9: 4, he rendered the Greek *λατρεία* as *obsequium cultus*:

Israelite quorum adoptio est filiorum et gloria et testamentum et legislatio et obsequium cultus et promissiones (Manetti, *New Testament*, Romans 9: 4)

[who are Israelites, to whom pertain the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the service of God, and the promises]

⁵⁷⁸ Pallat.196, fol. 41v.

⁵⁷⁹ Valla made no comments on this particular passage.

⁵⁸⁰ Interestingly, at Hebrews 10: 11 he translated the Greek *λειτουργῶν* as *diuino cultui ministrans* (Vulgate: *ministrans*).

I see two possible explanations for Manetti's double rendering of *λατρεία* in this verse: he either translated *λατρεία* twice, once as *obsequium* and once as *cultus*, intending to settle on one of these renderings later on, or he meant *cultus* to be a genitive, leaving out *divini* this time.

Manetti also used periphrastic renderings elsewhere, often independently from Valla. The Greek *ἐπιστέλλω* can mean 'to send (a letter)', 'to write a letter' or 'to assign'. The word occurs three times in the New Testament. In the Vulgate, it is translated as *scribo* ['to write'], which does not quite cover the semantic range of *ἐπιστέλλω*. Manetti's translations, by contrast, convey both the component of letter-writing and the specific type of communication that suits each context. At Hebrews 13: 22, he translated *ἐπιστέλλω* as *misi epistolam* ['I have sent a letter']; at Acts 15: 20, he wrote *per epistolam admoneantur* ['that they are reminded by letter'], and at Acts 21: 25 *per epistolam significauimus* ['we have pointed out by letter']. Other examples of periphrastic renderings are Manetti's translation of *φρεναπάται* ['soul-deceivers'] as *mentium deceptores* in Titus 1: 10, and *τὸ φανταζόμενον* ['what was imagined'] as *quod per fantasiam uidebatur* in Hebrews 12: 21. None of these renderings are mentioned by Valla.

The Greek word *μέλλω* ['to be destined to, to be about to'] also lacks a Latin equivalent. In the Vulgate, it is mostly translated with a future tense. This is also the most common solution in Manetti's version. However, in quite a few cases, an alternative translation with *incipio* (or *coepi*) ['to begin'] is used in the Vulgate.

Non solum autem haec periclitatur nobis pars in redargutionem uenire, sed et magnae deae Dianae templum in nihilum reputari, et destrui incipiet maiestas eius, quam tota Asia et orbis colit (Vulgate, Acts 19: 27)

[So not only is this trade of ours in danger of falling into disrepute, but also the temple of the great goddess Diana may be despised and her magnificence will begin to be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worship.]

The words *et destrui incipiet* ['will begin to be destroyed'] are a translation of the Greek *μέλλειν* (or *μέλλει*) *τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι*.

Translations such as these, with *incipio* or *coepi*, are never used by Manetti. In ten cases, they are replaced with a future tense or a gerundive. For example, this is Manetti's translation of Acts 19: 27:

Verum maiestas insuper sua destruenda est quam tota Asia et orbis terrarum ueneratur (Manetti's New Testament, Acts 19: 27)

It is not quite clear how these new translations should be read. Unlike the translator of the Vulgate, Manetti evidently did not take μέλλω to mean ‘to begin’. He may have used the gerundives as an alternative for the future tense. This use of the gerundive (*amandus* = *qui amabitur*) is found already in Priscian, and it features in Valla’s *Elegantie*.⁵⁸¹ But Manetti’s use of gerundives may also point to a connotation of necessity, for in one case he used a form of *debeo*:

‘Magister, quando igitur hec erunt, et quod signum erit cum hec fieri debent?’ (Manetti’s New Testament, Luke 21:7)

[‘Teacher, but when will these things be? And what sign *will there be* when these things have to take place?’]

The words *cum hec fieri debent* are a translation of the Greek ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, which are rendered by *cum fieri incipient* [‘when these things will begin to take place’] in the Vulgate. These examples indicate that Manetti did not translate according to a literalist norm.

6.4.3 Transpositions and modulations

So far, we have seen examples of the way Manetti rendered individual words. We now turn to Manetti’s use of transpositions and modulations to provide ‘natural’ equivalents in Latin for typically Greek syntax.

On an elementary level, Manetti was quite sensitive to the demands of Latin usage. Like Valla, he rejected overly literal renderings, in which even the cases of the Greek were preserved against the rules of the Latin language. At Romans 2: 15, for example, the Vulgate has two participles in the genitive case, corresponding to the Greek source text.

οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γρασπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ μεταξύ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων

⁵⁸¹ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 33. See also: Kristian Jensen, “De emendata structura latini sermonis: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 114–115; Kristian Jensen, *Rhetorical Philosophy and Philosophical Grammar* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1990), 72; Silvia Rizzo, “L’Insegnamento del latino nelle scuole umanistiche,” in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: Confronti e relazioni: Atti del convegno internazionale* (Ferrara, Palazzo Paradiso, 20-24 Marzo 1991), ed. Mirko Tavoni (Ferrara: Panini, 1996), 12.

qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis, testimonium simul reddente illis conscientia ipsorum, et inter se invicem cogitationum accusantium aut etiam defendentium (Vulgate, Romans 2: 15)⁵⁸²

[who show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and between themselves *their* thoughts accusing or else excusing *them* (NKJV)]

Valla commented in the *Annotationes*:

Illud fuit [interpretis vitium], quod cum incipiat transferre genitium graecum per ablativum, relinquit reliquos genitivos contra rationem linguae latinae, cum fuerit dicendum cogitationibus accusantibus, aut etiam defendentibus. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Romans 2: 15)

[This was the fault of the translator, that he began to render the Greek genitive by an ablative, but preserved the remaining genitives, against the rules of the Latin language, because it should have said *cogitationibus accusantibus*, or even *defendentibus*.]

Manetti changed the text of the Vulgate in accordance with Valla's suggestion.

Similarly, at Matthew 3: 8, the Vulgate reads *fructum dignum penitentiae* ['fruit in keeping of repentance']. Valla suggested changing the genitive *penitentiae*, a literal rendering of the Greek μετανοίας, into the ablative *penitentia*, which is more natural in Latin.⁵⁸³ Manetti made the same change.

Manetti also changed Latin cases in verses Valla did not comment on. At Romans 14: 9, he changed the Vulgate reading *ut vivorum et mortuorum dominetur* ['to be Lord both of the living and of the dead'] into *ut vivis et mortuis dominetur*, a more correct rendering – the Latin *dominor* rules the dative, whereas the Greek κυριεύω rules the genitive. Likewise, he changed a case at Matthew 10: 25, where the Vulgate reads:

sufficit discipulo ut sit sicut magister eius et servus sicut dominus eius
(Vulgate, Matthew 10: 25)

The Vulgate translation is a faithful reflection of the Greek, where the grammatical construction is similar:

⁵⁸² Pal.lat.18, fol. 352v. Manetti may have found the ablative absolute in other manuscripts of the Vulgate.

⁵⁸³ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 21; Valla, *Opera omnia*, 807; Cortesi, "Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata," 281.

ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ. (Matthew 10: 25)

Manetti, however, changed the translation: he wrote *et seruo sicut dominus eius*, a more elegant reading.

In the above cases, it is clear that Latin grammar requires a different construction than the Greek. But in other cases this is not so obvious. In Greek, assimilation of case in the main clause is very common. The Vulgate often preserves such constructions, contrary to Latin usage. At John 14: 24, however, the Vulgate follows the Latin rules, not the Greek:

ὁ μὴ ἀγαπῶν με τοὺς λόγους μου οὐ τηρεῖ· καὶ ὁ λόγος ὃν ἀκούετε οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός.

Qui non diligit me sermones meos non seruat et sermonem quem audistis... (Vulgate, John 14: 24)

[He who does not love Me does not keep My words; and the word which you hear is not Mine but the Father's who sent Me. (NKJV)]

The Latin *sermonem* is a translation of the Greek λόγος, but whereas the Greek has a nominative, the Latin has an accusative. Valla referred to this passage in the *Elegantie*, where he defended the Vulgate rendering *sermonem*.

Tale est in Euangelio: *Sermonem quem uos audistis, non est meus*. Quod in Graeco, hoc est, in fonte, est *sermo*, non *sermonem*; unde interpret noster transferens maluit Latine, quam Graece loqui. (Valla, *Elegantie* III, 19)⁵⁸⁴

[This is how it is written in the Gospel, *sermonem quem uos audistis non est meus*. In Greek, that is, in the source text, it says *sermo*, not *sermonem*. So our translator preferred translating it into Latin to speaking Greek.]

When Valla commented on this passage in the *Collatio*, he pointed out that *sermo quem audistis*, an alternative reading found in some Vulgate manuscripts, is closer to the Greek source text:

Melius legitur in iis editionibus, que habent *sermo quem audistis* et ita grece legitur... (Valla, *Collatio* at John 14: 24)⁵⁸⁵

[The better reading is in those texts that have *sermo quem audistis* and this is also the Greek reading]

In the *Annotationes*, Valla defended *sermo* again, referring to Virgil and a passage in the Psalms.⁵⁸⁶ In the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*, he was stricter than in the *Elegantie*.

⁵⁸⁴ Valla, *De linguae latinae elegantia*, vol. 1, 330. See also *Antidotum primum* I, 149-150.

⁵⁸⁵ Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 139.

⁵⁸⁶ Valla, *Opera omnia*, 844.

Manetti, in his translation, wrote *sermo quem audistis*, even though his own copy of the Vulgate has *sermonem*.⁵⁸⁷ He apparently preferred a precise rendering of the Greek construction to common Latin usage. He made similar changes at Matthew 7: 24, John 17: 5, 1 John 2: 27, Revelation 13: 2 and Revelation 14: 2.

Generally speaking, Manetti avoided transpositions and modulations, unless the rules of the Latin language were clearly violated. If possible, he preferred to maintain the word class of the Greek. At Luke 11: 46, for example, the Greek word *δυσβάστακτος* ['unbearable'], which lacks a Latin equivalent, was rendered by a periphrastic rendering in the Vulgate: *que portari non possunt* ['that cannot be borne']. Manetti chose a different option, which reflects the word class of the Greek: *difficulter tollerabilibus* ['hard to bear']. Likewise, the Greek word *ἄντλημα* ['bucket for drawing water'], which occurs at John 4: 11, is rendered in the Vulgate by the clause *in quo haurias*. Manetti's translation is *instrumentum hauriendi*.

At Mark 7: 4, the Vulgate has a converse translation, i.e. a transposition in which the subject and object in the source language are switched in the target language. The Greek reads:

...καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ἐστὶν ἃ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν (Mark 7: 4).

[And many other things there be, which they have received to hold]

In the Vulgate, this becomes:

...et alia multa sunt que tradita sunt illis seruare (Mark 7: 4).⁵⁸⁸

Manetti's translation maintains the Greek construction:

...et alia multa sunt que ad obseruandum acceperunt (Mark 7: 4).

Gerunds

Illustrative for Manetti's tendency to preserve the Greek construction is his use of the gerund and the gerundive. He made an effort to render Greek infinitives by gerunds whenever he could. He may have done this at Valla's suggestion. Valla wrote in the *Annotationes*:

⁵⁸⁷ Pal.lat.18, fol. 350r.

⁵⁸⁸ In Manetti's Vulgate: Pal.lat.18, fol. 332r. There is a variant reading in the Vulgate tradition: 'que acceperunt seruanda.' Manetti may have based his translation on a different manuscript, or made it on his own account.

... pro [...] gerundio, quod non habent, graeci utuntur infinitiuo; ita nos eorum infinitiuum debemus, cum opus est, transferre per gerundium. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 13: 9)

[...instead of the gerund, which they do not have, the Greeks use the infinitive; we must therefore render their infinitive, when necessary, by a gerund.]

Manetti also uses gerunds to translate infinitives with objects, even though in classical Latin a gerundive is more common in these cases. In the following example, the Greek τὸ γινῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν [‘to know your faith’] was rendered by a gerundive in the Vulgate:

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ μηκέτι στέγων ἔπεμψα εἰς τὸ γινῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν, μή πως ἐπείρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ πειράζων καὶ εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν. (1 Thessalonians 3: 5)

Propterea et ego amplius non sustinens nisi ad cognoscendam fidem vestram, ne forte tentaverit vos is, qui tentat, et inanis fiat labor noster (Vulgate, 1 Thessalonians 3: 5)

[For this reason, when I could no longer endure it, I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter had tempted you, and our labor might be in vain. (NKJV)]

Manetti replaced *ad cognoscendam fidem uestram* with a gerund:

Propter hoc et ego, non amplius sustinens, misi ad cognoscendum fidem uestram [etc.] (Manetti’s New Testament, 1 Thessalonians 3: 5)⁵⁸⁹

In nine cases, gerundives in the Vulgate were replaced with gerunds in Manetti’s translation. By using a gerund rather than a gerundive, Manetti could maintain the grammatical function and case of the Greek infinitive.

Indirect speech

In some cases Manetti’s tendency to preserve the grammatical structure of the Greek resulted in a rendering that compromised the rules of the Latin language. The most striking example of this is the way he translated indirect speech. In the Greek language, there is no sharp distinction between direct and indirect speech. Reported words may be introduced by a conjunction (ὅτι [‘that’] εἰ [‘if’]) but remain otherwise unaltered. The person, tense or mode of the verb need not change. In Latin, by contrast, indirect speech is reported in a subordinate clause. The difference between the Greek and the Latin way of expressing indirect speech becomes visible in the following example:

⁵⁸⁹ Pal.lat.18, fol. 366r.

τότε διεστέλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός, (Matthew 16: 20)

Tunc praecepit discipulis ut nemini dicerent quia ipse esset Christus (Vulgate, Matthew 16: 20)

[Then He commanded His disciples that they should tell no one that He was Jesus the Christ. (NKJV)]

In the Vulgate translation, the Greek construction is adapted to Latin usage. Manetti, in such cases, renders the Greek word for word, thus violating the rules of Latin grammar:

Tunc precepit discipulis suis ut nemini dicerent quod ipse est Iesus Christus. (Manetti's New Testament, Matthew 16: 20)

The awkwardness of Manetti's literal rendering is even more apparent in cases such as these:

εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός (Matthew 27: 43)

[For He said that he was the Son of God]

Dixit enim: 'Dei filius sum' (Vulgate, Matthew 27: 43)

[For He said: 'I am the Son of God']

Dixit enim quod 'Filius dei sum.' (Manetti's New Testament, Matthew 27: 43)

[For He said that 'I am the Son of God']

These constructions appear less frequently in the later books of Manetti's New Testament, but that is mainly because there is more dialogue in the Gospels than in the epistles.

Imperfect tense

By preserving the structure of the Greek, Manetti did not only violate the rules of Latin grammar, he also occasionally ignored shades of meaning in the Greek text. The clearest example that I found concerns the Greek imperfect tense, which can denote the habitual or inchoative aspect of an action. At Mark 15: 6, the Greek has:

Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμον

In the Vulgate, these words are translated as follows:

Per diem autem festum dimittere solebat illis unum ex uinctis.

[Now at the feast he used to release for them any one prisoner]

Dimittere solebat is the Vulgate's rendering of ἀπέλυνεν. In Manetti's translation, the verse reads:

Per festiuitatem autem dimittebat unum uinctum.

[Now at the feast he released for them one prisoner]

Manetti's translation loses the habitual aspect of the Greek imperfect.

I have found two other places where Manetti's version, unlike the Vulgate, does not express the aspect of the Greek imperfect. At Luke 15: 28, Manetti replaced the Vulgate's *cepit rogare* ['began to plead'] for παρεκάλει with *hortabatur* ['entreated']. At Acts 26: 1, he replaced *cepit rationem reddere* ['began his defence'] for ἀπελογεῖτο with *se defendebat* ['made his defence']. These translations are a matter of interpretation: in most modern (English) Bible translations, the inchoative aspect is left out at Luke 15: 28, but made explicit at Acts 26: 1.⁵⁹⁰ All in all, Manetti seems to have preferred literal renderings of Greek syntax over free translations that would do more justice to the meaning of the Greek and to Latin usage.

6.4.4 Case study 3: Luke 2: 35

The choice between free versus literal renderings is not a neutral one: it may affect the interpretation of a passage. An example of this is Luke 2: 35, where the Greek has a construction that is less common in Latin:

καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελύσεται ῥομφαία, ὥπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί. (Luke 2: 35)

et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius, ut reuelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes (Vulgate, Luke 2: 35)

[a sword will pierce through your own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed (NKJV)]

Valla initially accepted the Vulgate rendering *et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius*:

grece est tui, sed ne contra latinitatem esset si tui transferretur, interpretes recte transtulit tuam (Valla, *Collatio* at Luke 2: 35)

[The Greek has *tui*, but to avoid going against the rules of Latin by rendering it by *tui*, the translator has correctly translated it as *tuam*.

⁵⁹⁰ Valla made no comment on the aspect of the Greek imperfect in these places.

However, this modulation in the Vulgate led to misinterpretations of the verse, as Valla noted later in the *Annotationes*:

Sed ratio linguae latine non fert, ut dicamus animam tui, quemadmodum in elegantius tradidi, sed animam tuam, cui illud ipsius tanquam genitivo applicatur, ut stultissime accipiant, qui exponunt hunc locum referentes ipsius ad Christum: καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν (Valla, *Annotationes* at Luke 2: 35)

[But the system of the Latin language does not allow us to say *animam tui*, as I discussed in the *Elegantie*, but we say *animam tuam*, and this *ipsius* was added in the genitive, which is misunderstood by those who foolishly interpret this passage as if *ipsius* referred to Christ]

In the *Elegantie*, Valla had written more explicitly about the error of theologians who based their exegesis on the Latin translation of this verse:

Nec desunt quidam imperite docti, qui conantur illud exponere, *tuam ipsius animam*, aliud esse quam *tui*, si *tui* dicere liceret. Homines ignaros non solum theologie, sed etiam literatum. Interrogent Grecos et reperient penes eos, unde nos sumpsimus, *tui* esse non *tuam*, quum illi non habeant in his tribus pronomibus, quam nos, elegantiam. (Valla, *Elegantie* II, 1)⁵⁹¹

[And of course there are some ignorant ‘experts’, who try to interpret this, that *tuam ipsius animam* is something else than *tui*, if *tui* may be written. These people are ignorant of theology as well as letters. Let them question the Greeks and they will find that in their text, on which ours is based, it says *tui* not *tuam*; because they do not have the precision that we have in these three pronouns.]

In accordance with Valla’s suggestion, Manetti wrote *tui ipsius animam*.

This example shows that in Valla’s and Manetti’s time, it was common for exegetes to take the language of the Latin version literally. The translator’s choice for a free rendering is therefore not just a matter of style; it determines the interpretation of the passage. This may be one reason for fifteenth-century translators like Valla and Manetti to preserve the structure of the Greek even at the expense of the Latin language.

6.4.5 A counterexample: John 15: 26

The above case studies all indicate that Manetti’s translation choices were not motivated by theology, but rather based on philological arguments.

⁵⁹¹ Quoted from Cortesi, “Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo e la Vulgata,” 282.

This holds true for his general method. However, there are also translation choices in Manetti's New Testament that could be theologically informed, such as his decision to preserve the *comma Johanneum* against the Greek evidence.⁵⁹² An even more striking example is Manetti's rendering of John 15: 26, a verse that concerns the Holy Trinity, where Christ is speaking of the Holy Spirit:

Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ (John 15: 26)

Cum autem uenerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam uobis a Patre, Spiritum ueritatis, qui a Patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me (Vulgate, John 15: 26)

[But when the Helper comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, He will testify of Me. (NKJV)]

Manetti, in his translation, leaves out the words *a patre*:

Cum autem uenerit paraclitus, quem ego mittam uobis, spiritum ueritatis etc.

Manetti's translation is significant in light of the Filioque controversy, the question whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, as the Western Church teaches, or from the Father only, which is the position of the Eastern Church. This issue had been at stake at the Council of Florence in 1439, where a reconciliation between the two Churches was attempted. It is possible that Manetti left out the words *a patre* on purpose, underlining the prominent role of the Son. At any rate, his decision was not supported by his manuscripts: they are generally present in all Greek and Latin traditions, and both Pal.lat.18 and Pal.gr.171 include the words.⁵⁹³

It is not clear, however, if Manetti left out *a patre* intentionally. Throughout his translation of the New Testament, there are many readings that are not supported by the manuscript tradition.⁵⁹⁴ The greater part of these are omissions; I have counted almost one hundred cases where Manetti left out one or more words that are generally present in the Greek and Latin manuscripts. Most of them appear to be unintentional. In John 12-16, Manetti left out the following Vulgate readings, all of which are supported by the Greek tradition:

⁵⁹² See above, p. 71.

⁵⁹³ Pal.lat.18, fol. 350r; Pal.gr.171, fol. 76v.

⁵⁹⁴ See above, pp. 72f.

Table 7: omissions in John 12: 16

| <i>Verse</i> | <i>Omitted words</i> |
|--------------|--|
| John 12: 34 | quis est iste Filius hominis |
| John 13: 34 | sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem |
| John 14: 12 | qui credit in me |
| John 14: 14 | si quid petieritis me in nomine meo hoc faciam |
| John 14: 26 | et suggeret uobis omnia |
| John 14: 27 | pacem relinquo uobis |
| John 15: 16 | in nomine meo |
| John 15: 26 | a patre |
| John 16: 14 | et annuntiatur uobis |
| John 16: 20 | sed tristitia uestra uertetur in gaudium |
| John 16: 21 | puerum |

In light of the theological significance of John 15: 26, it is difficult to believe that Manetti's translation of the verse is just another writing error – but it could be. If Manetti changed the text on purpose here, this is an example of a theologically motivated translation, but as far as I can tell, it the exception rather than the rule.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this chapter, we can conclude that Manetti's translation practice corresponds to his theory as we find it in *Apologeticus*: according to the first three criteria, segmentation, word order and quantitative representation, he kept the middle way between literalism and unnecessary freedom. This picture is confirmed by other criteria as well. Manetti avoided literalist procedures such as borrowings (Graecisms) and case for case translations. He used periphrastic renderings for words that lack a Latin equivalent. His version is more consistent than the Vulgate, but not at the expense of meaning.

Manetti's avoidance of transpositions, on the other hand, could be labelled literalist. In some cases, he followed the syntax of the Greek so scrupulously that the rules of the target language were violated. An explanation for this literalism could be that Manetti's method was informed by contemporary habits of religious reading. If exegetes take

meaning literally, that is, if they assign meaning to every individual word and its place in the sentence, a free translation method will unavoidably lead to interpretations that are incompatible with the Greek. This is why Valla, at the end of the day, recommended a literal rendering of Luke 2: 35, even if the free rendering of the Vulgate was more natural in Latin.

We have also seen that most of Manetti's translation choices, even if they have theological implications, were motivated by philological arguments rather than theological ones. This appears from the case studies presented above: Manetti either made his translation choices because he followed a general rule, or because for him, the meaning of the Greek overruled traditional interpretations of the Latin text.

Conclusions

In the above chapters, Manetti's translation of the New Testament has been analyzed from various angles. The first purpose of my study was to make Manetti's translation accessible for future generations of scholars and to contribute to Manetti scholarship. We have seen above that his New Testament adds to our knowledge of Manetti's manuscripts and writing habits. Connections with other works have been brought to light: the version of the New Testament was in all likelihood produced after Manetti wrote *Adversus Iudaeos*; influence of Valla's *Collatio/Annotationes* was suspected in previous studies, but has now been further substantiated. That Manetti consulted a version of Valla's work closer to the *Annotationes* than to the *Collatio* is relevant for the dating of both Valla's project and Manetti's translation. It remains uncertain if Manetti considered his New Testament as a finished work.

My second purpose was to investigate the nature of Manetti's Biblical scholarship in order to situate it in the history of the Bible. For this purpose, I have reconstructed the writing process of the text and analyzed Manetti's practice of textual criticism and translation method. I have compared his practice with his theory, with special attention for the role of theology. Furthermore, I have compared Manetti's work with Valla's. I did this not only to determine to what degree Manetti was influenced by his more famous contemporary, but also to evaluate the quality of their scholarship. This way, I could contribute to a fair judgment of both humanists.

We have seen that textual genetics was a useful approach in this case: Manetti's manuscripts and annotations are a rich source of information. They show that Manetti relied on the Greek text rather than on the Latin, and on his own sources rather than on other authorities. Traces of the writing process in Manetti's working copy indicate that his translation method developed over time: whereas early on he limited himself to correcting inaccuracies in the Vulgate and incorporating Greek variant readings, his revision slowly took the form of a new translation, closer to classical usage in lexicon, syntax and word order than the Vulgate.

When Manetti's translation practice is compared with Valla's, the latter still comes out as the more perceptive and original scholar. The majority of innovations in Manetti's version are derived from Valla's work. Yet, we have also seen that Manetti made decisions independently from Valla,

and that Valla's text-critical decisions are not always better founded than Manetti's.

As for Manetti's translation theory, we have seen that this corresponds to his practice: in accordance with what he wrote in his treatise *Apologeticus*, Manetti avoided both literalism and unnecessary freedom. His ideal of correct translation differed from that of early humanists such as Petrarch and Salutati, who advocated free translation for stylistic reasons. Their purpose was to promote the Latin language, whereas Manetti's rejection of overly literal translation was motivated by an ideal of fidelity; word for word renderings distort the meaning of the original, because no two languages have the same structure. Manetti borrowed this view from Jerome. Like Bruni, his other example, he recommended various translation strategies, depending on the genre of the source text.

However, even if Manetti distinguished between genres, his approach to the Bible did not essentially differ from that to other texts. His discussion of the inspiration of the Septuagint, his exposition on translation strategies for various genres – including Scripture – and his strategies to legitimize his new Bible translation, indicate that his view of the sacred text was representational: meaning is found in the text itself, not determined by external factors. Here again, Manetti's translation practice corresponds to his theory: translation choices that are theologically significant do not differ from his usual equivalents.

Manetti's approach to the sacred text is relevant for his place in the history of Biblical scholarship. His work, like Valla's, can be seen as part of a new movement that would come to maturity in the sixteenth century. Valla was explicit about his programme of reform through language, whereas Manetti was less ambitious. But they both treated Scripture as a literary text that could be studied, interpreted and translated by grammarians not theologians. This was a breach with tradition, and as such it was controversial: both Valla and Manetti took care to legitimize their projects. On the other hand, Manetti's project was encouraged – possibly even commissioned – by Pope Nicholas V. Manetti's biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, had no qualms about mentioning the new Bible translations in connection with the Pope, and Manetti himself felt free to do the same in his biography of Nicholas V. If there was opposition against Manetti's project, it did not come from this side of the Church.

With these concluding remarks, the final word about Manetti's New Testament has of course not been spoken. The historical significance of

the translation would be thrown into more relief if it would be compared with similar projects in other periods, especially the late middle Ages and the early sixteenth century. Manetti's translation method could be compared with that of his contemporaries or with medieval practice – not to mention his own new versions of Aristotle, which have not yet been studied in depth. This study can thus be taken as a stepping stone for future research, whether it be on Manetti, fifteenth-century humanism or the history of the Bible.

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Samenvatting

De Latijnse vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament van Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) heeft to nu toe weinig aandacht gekregen in de wetenschappelijke literatuur. Tot op heden is dit werk niet in druk verschenen. Manetti's Nieuwe Testament heeft nauwelijks gecirculeerd en geen invloed gehad op de bijbelkritiek na zijn tijd, maar als product van de humanistische ideeën over taal en vertaling en als eerste experiment om een alternatief voor de Vulgaat te leveren is Manetti's vertaling meer dan het bestuderen waard.

De vertaling is overgeleverd in twee handschriften, die tegenwoordig allebei worden bewaard in de Vaticaanse bibliotheek. Manetti maakte zijn vertaling aan het Vaticaanse hof in de jaren vijftig van de vijftiende eeuw. In dezelfde periode schreef hij een encyclopedisch werk over het christendom, *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*, en maakte hij een nieuwe Latijnse vertaling van de Psalmen. Naar aanleiding van het laatste werk schreef hij een traktaat waarin hij zijn vertaalproject verdedigde, *Apologeticus* (1458).

In Manetti's vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament is de invloed van een aantal tijdgenoten zichtbaar. Manetti was oorspronkelijk afkomstig uit Florence, waar hij zich in de *studia humaniora* bekwaamde. Daar ging hij om met Leonardo Bruni, en hij was bekend met diens Latijnse vertalingen en traktaat over vertaaltheorie, *De interpretatione recta*. Daarnaast was Manetti bevriend met Tommaso Parentucelli, de latere paus Nicolaas V. Manetti verliet Florence in 1454, nadat zijn positie onhoudbaar was geworden door conflicten met de familie de'Medici, en hij vertrok naar het Vaticaanse hof. Daar bekleedde hij een positie als pauselijk secretaris. In deze periode begon hij aan zijn nieuwe Latijnse Bijbelvertaling, waarvan hij alleen de Psalmen en het Nieuwe Testament voltooide. Zijn vertaling is beïnvloed door het werk van Lorenzo Valla en mogelijk Kardinaal Bessarion, die zich rond dezelfde tijd met bijbelkritiek bezighielden.

SCHRIJFPROCES

Het schrijfproces van Manetti's vertaling is tot op zekere hoogte te reconstrueren op basis van de handschriften in zijn bibliotheek. Eén van de twee handschriften waarin Manetti's tekst is overgeleverd was zijn eigen exemplaar, geschreven door een anonieme kopiist. Manetti heeft in

dit handschrift zelf verbeteringen aangebracht, mogelijk geassisteerd door zijn zoon Agnolo. Uit de correcties in het handschrift is op te maken dat Manetti's vertaalmethode zich ontwikkelde: in de eerste boeken van het Nieuwe Testament en met name in Matteus koos hij vooral voor ad-hoc-vertaaloplossingen. In de latere boeken was hij consequenter. Daarnaast is te zien dat hij zich in een later stadium meer bezighield met syntax en woordvolgorde: die wijken steeds meer af van de Vulgaat en de Griekse brontekst. Het is niet duidelijk of Manetti zijn vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament als een voltooid werk beschouwde. Hij heeft geen voorwoord of opdracht voor het werk geschreven en hij bleef de tekst bewerken, maar dat was niet uitzonderlijk: ook zijn andere werken bleef hij redigeren, ook al hadden ze al jaren gecirculeerd.

Manetti heeft bij het maken van zijn vertaling een aantal bronnen geraadpleegd. Onder de handschriften in zijn collectie bevinden zich exemplaren van het Nieuwe Testament in de Vulgaatvertaling (Pal.lat.18) en in de Griekse brontekst (Pal.gr.171, 189 en 229). De Griekse handschriften behoren alle drie tot de Byzantijnse tekstfamilie. Dat Manetti zijn vertaling op deze handschriften heeft gebaseerd, blijkt uit schrijffouten of zeldzame varianten die in de vertaling zijn overgenomen. Daarnaast heeft Manetti in zijn Vulgaathandschrift aantekeningen in de marge gemaakt die refereren aan vertaalkeuzes in zijn Nieuw Testament.

In Manetti's vertaling is de invloed van het werk van Lorenzo Valla zichtbaar. Valla schreef een serie aantekeningen bij het Nieuwe Testament die hij door de jaren heen bleef bewerken. Er zijn twee redacties van dit werk overgeleverd: een vroege versie die Valla schreef rond 1443 aan het Napolitaanse hof en een latere versie die dateert uit zijn tijd aan het Vaticaan, in de jaren vijftig. De laatste versie, nu meestal aangeduid als de *Annotationes*, werd in 1505 uitgegeven door Erasmus; de eerste, de *Collatio*, is pas sinds 1970 in druk beschikbaar. Een vergelijking van Manetti's vertaling met de twee redacties van Valla's aantekeningen laat zien dat vooral de eerste boeken van Manetti's vertaling sterk door Valla's werk zijn beïnvloed. In Matteus, het eerste boek van het Nieuwe Testament, heeft Manetti de vertaalsuggesties die in zowel de *Collatio* als de *Annotationes* voorkomen bijna zonder uitzondering overgenomen in zijn vertaling. In Markus is dit beeld al iets minder duidelijk. In de latere boeken Romeinen en Handelingen treffen we nog steeds veel van Valla's vertaalsuggesties aan, maar Manetti kiest daar veel vaker voor andere oplossingen. Manetti's vertaalkeuzes in Matteus lijken terug te gaan op een versie van Valla's aantekeningen die dichter bij de latere *Annotationes* stond dan bij de eerdere *Collatio*.

Deze inzichten over het schrijfproces van de vertaling maken het mogelijk om Manetti's Nieuwe Testament te dateren ten opzichte van een ander werk van zijn hand uit dezelfde periode: *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*. Dit werk bevat een grote hoeveelheid citaten uit het Nieuwe Testament in een Latijnse vertaling die niet overeenkomt met de Vulgaat. Maar Manetti heeft ze duidelijk niet aan zijn eigen vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament ontleend. *Adversus Iudaeos* moet eerder geschreven zijn: in de citaten is geen invloed van Valla's aantekeningen zichtbaar en ze zijn niet aangepast op grond van de Griekse tekst. Ook ontbreken vertaalkeuzes die Manetti consequent doorvoerde in een later stadium van zijn vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament.

TEKSTKRITIEK

Dat Manetti's belangrijkste bronnen bekend zijn, helpt bij het duiden van zijn vertaalkeuzes. Verschillen tussen Manetti's vertaling en de Vulgaat gaan in de meeste gevallen terug op variantlezingen in de Griekse tekst. Manetti verliet zich meer op de Griekse traditie dan op de Latijnse, maar zijn tekstkritische methode is niet altijd eenduidig. In sommige gevallen handhaafde hij Latijnse lezingen die conflicteerden met zijn Griekse bronnen. Ook liet hij Latijnse lezingen naast Griekse staan in zijn vertaling – meestal verwijderde hij dan de Latijnse lezing in een latere redactie. Manetti's tekstkritische beslissingen lijken niet te zijn beïnvloed door het traktaat van Kardinaal Bessarion over corrupties in de Vulgaattekst, *In illud: sic eum uolo manere*. Hij volgt weliswaar Bessarion's voorgestelde lezing in Johannes 21: 20 – de woorden waar het traktaat zijn titel aan ontleent – maar deze lezing vinden we ook in Valla's aantekeningen. Andere lezingen die Bessarion behandelt in *In illud* zijn niet aangepast in Manetti's tekst, of ze komen overeen met zijn bronteksten. Valla's invloed op Manetti's tekstkritische beslissingen is eveneens moeilijk aantoonbaar, omdat de handschriften die Valla gebruikte hoogstwaarschijnlijk tot dezelfde families behoorden als Manetti's bronnen.

De kwaliteit van Manetti's tekstkritiek is moeilijk te beoordelen, omdat hij zijn keuzes niet heeft verantwoord in een voorwoord of aantekeningen. Hij was vaak inconsequent en onkritisch, maar hetzelfde kan gezegd worden van Valla, die vaak inferieure lezingen handhaafde waar Manetti de Vulgaattekst wel aanpaste.

VERTAALTHEORIE

Manetti's opvattingen over correct vertalen kennen we uit zijn traktaat *Apologeticus*, dat hij schreef naar aanleiding van zijn vertaling van de Psalmen. In dit werk verdedigt hij zijn beslissing om de Psalmen van een nieuwe Latijnse vertaling te voorzien. In de eerste vier boeken gaat hij in op de bestaande Latijnse vertalingen en hun voorgeschiedenis. Het Oude Testament, waartoe de Psalmen behoren, werden oorspronkelijk in het Hebreeuws opgetekend en in de Hellenistische tijd in het Grieks vertaald. De Griekse vertaling (Septuagint) werd door de christenen beschouwd als de standaardtekst van het Oude Testament. Hiëronymus vertaalde in de vijfde eeuw het Oude Testament uit het Grieks in het Latijn. Maar omdat hij naast het Grieks ook het Hebreeuws beheerste en er steeds meer van overtuigd raakte dat de Hebreeuwse versie authentiek was dan de Griekse, maakte hij ook een vertaling uit het Hebreeuws. De Psalmvertaling uit het Grieks is bekend geworden als de *Versio Gallicana*, die uit het Hebreeuws als de *Hebraica Veritas*. In Manetti's tijd was de *Versio Gallicana* in algemeen gebruik. In *Apologeticus* I-IV bespreekt hij de verschillen tussen de beide tradities en gaat hij in op de status van het Grieks als brontekst. Hij geeft het debat weer tussen Augustinus, die geloofde in de inspiratie van de Septuagint, en Hiëronymus, die betoogde dat een Latijnse vertaling uit het Grieks een vertaling uit de derde hand was. Manetti kiest geen positie in het debat, maar net als Hiëronymus verwerpt hij de boeken van het Oude Testament die buiten de Hebreeuwse canon vallen. Bovendien vertaalde hij zelf de Psalmen uit het Hebreeuws, dat voor hem dus blijkbaar gezaghebbender was.

In het vijfde en laatste boek van *Apologeticus* zet Manetti zijn opvattingen over correct vertalen uiteen. Zijn vertaaltheorie staat in een traditie die teruggaat tot de klassieke Oudheid. In het eerste deel van *Apologeticus* V neemt Manetti vooral veel over uit het traktaat *De interpretatione recta* van Leonardo Bruni. Net als Bruni somt hij de eisen op waaraan een goede vertaler moet voldoen. In het tweede deel van *Apologeticus* V onderscheidt Manetti drie vertaaltijlen: *ad verbum* (woord voor woord), *ad sensum* (zin voor zin, in overeenstemming met de strekking) en vrij. In navolging van klassieke voorbeelden als Cicero en Horatius verwerpt Manetti vertalen *ad verbum*. Om zijn punt te ondersteunen citeert hij uitvoerig uit Hiëronymus' *De optimo genere interpretandi*, waarin letterlijk vertalen eveneens wordt afgekeurd. Maar waar Hiëronymus een vertaling van een theologische tekst besprak en een uitzondering maakte voor het vertalen van de Bijbel, die volgens hem juist wel letterlijk vertaald moest worden, past Manetti Hiëronymus' argumenten toe op de heilige Schrift.

Manetti's standpunt dat woord-voor-woordvertalen een ongeschikte methode is voor alle genres, inclusief de Bijbel, was in zijn tijd uitzonderlijk. Zijn tijdgenoten Pier Candido Decembrio en Georgius Trapezuntius waren over het algemeen geen voorstanders van letterlijk vertalen, maar voor de Bijbel maakten zij een uitzondering. Manetti behandelt de Bijbel in principe niet anders dan andere teksten in 'serieuze' genres, zoals filosofische en theologische werken. Voor deze categorie teksten beveelt hij een *ad-sensum*-methode aan: in de vertaling moet de betekenis behouden blijven. De vertaler moet het origineel niet woordelijk volgen, maar kan zich ook geen al te grote vrijheden permitteren. De vertalers van de Septuagint hebben zich volgens Manetti niet aan deze regel gehouden.

Hoewel *Apologeticus* is geschreven als verantwoording voor Manetti's nieuwe vertaling van de Psalmen, voert de auteur geen argumenten aan om zijn vertaalproject te verdedigen. Maar zijn visie op het vertalen van de bijbel lijkt op die van Hiëronymus en Valla, twee auteurs die vergelijkbare projecten ondernamen en die Manetti bewonderde. Beide auteurs betoogden dat een bijbelvertaling het origineel niet kan vervangen en ook niet dezelfde status heeft: een vertaling is altijd mensenwerk en daarom feilbaar. Dat Manetti er ook zo over dacht blijkt indirect uit zijn bespreking van de Septuagint en zijn vertaaltheorie in *Apologeticus*.

MANETTI'S VERTAALMETHODE

Manetti's ideeën over vertalen komen overeen met zijn vertaalmethode in de praktijk. In de eerste plaats zien we dat hij ernaar streefde niet te letterlijk, maar ook niet te vrij te vertalen. Een aantal idiomatische uitdrukkingen is in zijn vertaling minder letterlijk vertaald dan in de Vulgaat. Hij week af van de Griekse woordvolgorde om zijn zinnen in het Latijn soepeler te laten lopen, vooral in de latere boeken van het Nieuwe Testament. Hij vertaalde concordant waar mogelijk – en hij was daarin consequenter dan de vertaler van de Vulgaat – maar varieerde zijn vertalingen als de context daarom vroeg. Hij vermeed Griekse leenwoorden en gebruikte soms omschrijvende vertalingen voor Griekse woorden waar het Latijn geen equivalent voor heeft. In een aantal gevallen doet zijn vertaling geen recht aan de betekenis van het Grieks, of heeft hij constructies gebruikt die niet eigen zijn aan het Latijn. In de tweede plaats lijkt het erop dat Manetti zijn vertaalproject vooral filologisch benaderde: zijn vertaalkeuzes zijn niet ingegeven door een

theologische agenda. Sommige veranderingen die hij aanbracht ten opzichte van de Vulgaatvertaling hebben weliswaar theologische implicaties, maar zij komen meestal voort uit een consequent toegepaste vertaalregel.

Manetti's vertaalproject maakt, net als het werk van Valla, deel uit van de aanloop naar het bijbels humanisme dat in de zestiende eeuw tot volle wasdom zou komen. Valla was explicieter over zijn ambitie om het christendom te hervormen door middel van taal, maar beide humanisten benaderden de Bijbel als een literaire tekst die niet alleen door theologen, maar ook door *grammatici* bestudeerd kon worden. Een halve eeuw later zou de controverse over deze benadering in volle hevigheid losbarsten, maar in het midden van de vijftiende eeuw kreeg ze binnen de muren van het Vaticaan nog de ruimte.

Giannozzo Manetti's
New Testament

PART II – TEXT

Note on the text

The manuscripts of Manetti's translation of the New Testament and its writing process have been described in detail in Part I, Chapter Two. My edition follows Pal.lat.45, Manetti's own copy of the translation (described below as manuscript A). Since Manetti's New Testament is a translation in progress, full of alterations and corrections by the author, I have chosen to meddle with the text as little as possible. This way, readers can study Manetti's *modus operandi* for themselves.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

A = Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 45. Chart., mm. 195 x 284, ff. 172, s. XV, cont. *Novi Testamenti noua translatio* (ff. 1-166v).

This well-preserved manuscript is a fine copy of Manetti's version of the New Testament, written in humanist cursive minuscule by an anonymous scribe. It belonged to the collection of the Manetti family until it was sold to the German collector Ulrich Fugger in the mid-sixteenth century. Manetti used this manuscript as a working copy.

The text of the translation is preceded by five folios that are mostly blank. They contain the signature of the Vatican Library ('Pal.lat.45', f. IIr) and of Fugger's collection ('108', f. IIv). A table of contents was written by Giannozzo or Agnolo (IIv), and one of them wrote the title of the work, 'Noua totius testamenti noui' on the verso side of the next folio (IIIv). The last pages of the manuscript (ff. 167-170v) are ruled but empty; the final folio (172) is not ruled and contains a watermark (a pair of scissors).

The first capital on the first page (1r) is written in blue and decorated in red. The titles of the books are written alternately in red and blue, chapter numbers are written in red in the outer margin. The text contains numerous corrections by expunction and *in rasura*. Most of these were made by Giannozzo himself and possibly by his son Agnolo.

Bibl: Henry Stevenson jr., *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Rome: Ex typographeo Vaticano, 1886), 8; Giuseppe M. Cagni, "I Codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini Appartenuti alla Biblioteca di

Giannozzo Manetti,” *La Bibliofilia: Raccolta di scritti sull’arte antica in libri, stampe, manoscritti, autografi e legature* 62, no. 1 (1960): 35, n. 3.

B = Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 6. Membran., 380x225, ff. 258, s. XV, cont. *Novi Testamenti traductio de graeca in latinam linguam* (ff. 1v-256v).

This manuscript is a richly decorated copy of Manetti’s translation for Federico da Montefeltro’s library. The title of the work is written in a circle on the verso side of the first folio: ‘IN HOC ORNATISSIMO CODICE CONTINENTVR TESTAMENTVM NOVVM TRADVCTVM EX GRECO SECVNDVM IANOTIVM MANETTVM CIVEM FLORENTINVM.’ Around it, the names of the evangelists and the titles of the other books are written in small circles (EPISTOLE PAVLI, ACTVS APOSTOLORVM, EPISTOLE CANONICE, APOCALIPSIS IOHANNIS). The next page (2r) contains the opening lines of Matthew, decorated with flowers, putti and the pictures of the evangelists and of Giannozzo Manetti, the translator. The arms of Federico as papal *Gonfaloniere* (with pontifical keys and tiara) appear down the page. Initials are decorated with pictures or flowers and written in gold, red and blue. The name of the copyist is written in the back (f 256v): ‘Ioannes Franciscus Martius Geminianensis transcripsit feliciter.’ The first page (1r) and the last pages (257-258) of the manuscript are ruled but empty. Page 259 is not ruled or numbered and contains a watermark (French lily). The numeration of the pages is erroneous (two folios are numbered 190r).

The text of this manuscript is full of corrections by expunction, additions between the lines and in the margins, all of them in the hand of the scribe. It contains numerous obvious writing errors and omissions.

Bibl. Cosimo Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales Latini* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1902), 9–11.

RATIO EDENDI

Manetti’s New Testament is presented as a reading text, which means that I have made some adaptations in order to render it more easily accessible to the modern reader. Since the punctuation of Pal.lat.45 is very scanty and often puzzling by today’s standards, I have added punctuation marks, drawing on the punctuation of the *Nova Vulgata*. Capitalisation is not consistent in Pal.lat.45 (e.g. pharisei but Sadducei). I have used it only for proper names and a few *nomina sacra* (Deus,

Christus). Spelling has been standardized, with the exception of proper names, which follow the spelling of Pal.lat.45.

Manetti's translation follows the order of the books in the Vulgate, that is, Gospels, Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), Acts, canonical Epistles, Revelation. This order differs from that of his Greek source, Pal.gr.171: Gospels, Acts, Canonical Epistles, Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), Revelation. Chapter headings in my edition follow Pal.lat.45, which occasionally diverges from modern editions.

As for the apparatus, I distinguish between the hand of the scribe of Pal.lat.45 (A) and that of Manetti (A2), but not between Giannozzo and Agnolo Manetti, who probably worked together. Variants and corrections in Urb.lat.6 (B) are all included, with one exception: in B, the *e candata* is used for *ae*, often erroneously (e.g. for *ipse* in the nominative). These cases have been left out of the apparatus.

I have made 114 emendations to Manetti's text. Most of these concern misspelt words or omissions. It is relatively easy to reconstruct what Manetti meant to write by consulting the Vulgate and his Greek source text. However, in many cases it is not possible to distinguish between writing errors and deliberate changes: Manetti may have purposely left out one or more words for text-critical reasons, or corrected what he believed was a writing error in the Vulgate. I have inserted omitted words only when it is clear that they were unintentionally skipped, that is, when the text is nonsensical without them (e.g. at Galatians 5: 3 and Acts 4: 24). As for slight divergences (one or two letters) from the Vulgate, these were not emended when they appeared more than once (*non* not *nonne*, *uide* not *uidi*). Double translations of one or more words or flawed syntax have been preserved, because they result from the writing process of Manetti's translation. In case of doubt, I have followed Manetti's manuscript, Pal.lat.45.

Matthew

A1r

B2r

1 Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid filii Abraham. Abraham genuit Isach, Isach autem genuit Iacob, Iacob autem genuit Iudam et fratres eius, Iudas autem genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar, Phares autem genuit Esrom, Esrom autem genuit Aram, Aram autem genuit Aminadab, Aminadab autem genuit Nason, Nason autem genuit Salmon, Salmon autem genuit Booz de Raab, Booz autem genuit Obeth ex Ruth, Obeth autem genuit Iesse, Iesse autem genuit Dauid regem. Dauid autem rex genuit Salomonem ex ea que fuit Urie, Salomon autem genuit Roboam, Roboam autem genuit Abia, Abia autem genuit Asa, Asa autem genuit Iosaphath, Iosaphath autem genuit Ioram, Ioram autem genuit Oziam, Ozias autem genuit Ioatham, Ioatham autem genuit Acaz, Acaz autem genuit Ezechiam, Ezechias autem genuit Manassem, Manasses autem genuit Amon, Amon autem genuit Iosiam, Iosias autem genuit Ieconiam et fratres eius in transmigracione Babillonis. At post transmigracionem Babillonis Ieconias genuit Salathiel, Salathiel autem genuit Zorobabel, Zorobabel autem genuit Abiud, Abiud autem genuit Eliachin, Eliachin autem genuit Azre, Azre autem genuit Sadoch, Sadoch autem genuit Achim, Achim autem genuit Eliud, Eliud autem genuit Eleazar, Eleazar autem genuit Mathan, Mathan autem genuit Iacob, Iacob autem genuit Ioseph uirum Marie, de qua genitus est Iesus, qui dicitur Christus. Omnes igitur generationes ab Abraham usque ad Dauid generationes quatuordecim; et a Dauid usque ad transmigracionem Babillonis generationes quatuordecim; et a transmigracione Babillonis usque ad Christum generationes quatuordecim. Christi autem generatio sic erat. Cum enim esset desponsata mater eius Maria ipsi Ioseph, priusquam ii conuenirent inuenta est pregnans de spiritu sancto. Ioseph autem uir eius, iustus existens et nolens eam exemplum facere, uoluit clanculum dimittere eam. Sed cum hec ipse animaduerneret, ecce angelus domini in somnis apparuit ei dicens: Ioseph fili Dauid, ne timeas accipere Mariam coniugem tuam. Quod enim in ea factum est, de spiritu sancto est; pariet autem filium et uocabis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim

5

10

15

20

25

30

B2v

2 Abraham¹] autem *add. A exp. fort. A1* 3 Iudam] Iuda B 5 Esrom¹] Esron B 9 rex] *om. A ins. A1* | Salomonem] *ex Salmonem corr. fort. A1* 15 eius] *ex suos corr. A2* 18 Azre¹] -zr- *i. r. fort. A1* Azrem B 24 et...25 quatuordecim] *om. B* 26 Maria] Marias AB 27 ii] *om. B* 28 eius] *i. r. A2* 29 Sed...ipse] *i. r. A1* | animaduerneret] -ret *i. r. A1*

saluabit populum suum a peccatis eorum.’ Hoc autem totum factum est ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a domino per prophetam dicentem: ‘Ecce, uirgo concipiet et pariet filium et uocabunt nomen eius Emanuel,’ quod est interpretatum ‘nobiscum Deus.’ Exurgens autem Ioseph a somno fecit sicut preceperat ei angelus domini et accepit coniugem suam; et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum. Et uocauit nomen eius Iesum.

A1v

2 Cum uero genitus esset Iesus in Bethleem Iudee in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt Hierosolimam dicentes: ‘Vbi est qui natus est, rex Iudeorum? Vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente et uenimus ut adoremus eum.’ Quod cum audisset Herodes rex turbatus est et omnis Hierosolima cum illo; et congregans omnes pontifices et scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt ei: ‘In Bethleem Iudee. Sic enim scriptum est per prophetam: *Et tu, Bethleem terra Iuda, nequaquam minima es in principibus Iuda; ex te enim egredietur dux, qui regat populum meum Israel.*’ Tunc Herodes, clam uocatis magis, de tempore stelle que apparuerat eis ab illis exquisiuit; et mittens eos in Bethleem dixit: ‘Profecti diligenter inuestigate de puero. Cum uero inueneritis renuntiate mihi, ut et ego ueniens adorem eum.’ Illi autem cum audissent regem abierunt. Et ecce stella quam uiderant in oriente antecedebat eos, quousque procedens staret supra ubi erat puer. Videntes autem stellam gauisi sunt gaudio magno ualde. Et accedentes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius; et cadentes adorauerunt eum. Et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera, aurum thus et myrram. Et admoniti in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem, per aliam uiam reuersi sunt in regionem suam. Cum autem recessissent, ecce angelus domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph dicens: ‘Experrectus accipe puerum et matrem eius et fuge in Egyptum, et esto ibi usque quo dicam tibi; futurum est enim ut Herodes perdendi causa querat puerum.’ Ille autem experrectus accepit puerum et matrem eius noctu et secessit in Egyptum, et erat ibi usque ad obitum Herodis, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a domino per prophetam dicente: *Ex Egypto uocaui filium meum.* Tunc Herodes, uidens quod illusus esset a

B3r

10 eius] *i. r. A2* 11 ut...eum] *ex adorare eum corr. A2* 13 ei] *om. B* 14 prophetam] *propheta B* 18 diligenter] *i. r. A2* | Cum uero] *i. r. A2* 23 eius] *i. r. A2* | cadentes] *ex procidentibus corr. A2* procidentibus *B* 27 Experrectus] *i. r. A2* | eius] *i. r. A2* 29 experrectus] *i. r. A2* 30 matrem eius] *-m eius i. r. A2* 32 dicente] *ex dicentem corr. A2*

quod illusus esset a magis, iratus est ualde et mittens occidit omnes
 pueros in Bethleem et in omnibus finibus eius commorantes a bimatu et
 inferius, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis. Tunc adimpletum
 est quod dictum est per Hieremiam prophetam dicentem: *Vox in Rama*
audita est, planctus ploratus et ululatus multus, Rachel plorans filios suos et noluit 5
consolari quia non sunt. Defuncto autem Herode, ecce angelus domini in
 somnis apparuit Ioseph in Egypto dicens: ‘Surge et accipe puerum et
 matrem eius et uade in terram Israel; defuncti sunt enim qui querebant
 animam pueri.’ Qui consurgens accepit puerum et matrem eius et uenit
 in terram Israel. Audiens autem quod Archelaus regnaret in Iudea pro 10
 Herode patre suo, timuit illuc ire. Admonitus autem in somnis secessit in
 partes Galilee; et ueniens habitauit in ciuitate que dicitur Nazareth, ut
 adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetas quod *Nazareus uocabitur.*

3 In diebus illis uenit Ioannes Baptista predicans in deserto Iudee et
 dicens: ‘Penitentiam agite; appropinquauit enim regnum celorum.’ 15

Hic est enim de quo dictum est per Esaia dicens: *Vox clamantis*
in deserto: Parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius. Ipse autem Ioannes
 habebat uestimentum suum de pilis cameli et zonam pelliceam circa
 lumbos suos. Nutrimentum autem suum erat locuste et mel siluestre.
 Tunc exibat ad eum omnis Hierosolima et omnis Iudea et omnis regio 20
 circa Iordanem; et baptizabantur ab eo in Iordane confitentes peccata
 sua. Videns autem multos phariseorum et saduceorum uenientes ad
 baptismum suum dixit eis: ‘Progenies uiperarum, quis demonstrauit
 uobis ut fugeretis a futura ira? Facite ergo fructum dignum penitentia; et
 ne uideamini dicere intra uosipsos: “Patrem habemus Abraham.” Dico 25
 enim uobis quod Deus potest de lapidibus istis suscitare filios ipsi
 Abrahe. Iam uero et securis ad radicem arborum posita est: omnis ergo
 arbor non faciens fructum bonum exciditur et in ignem iacitur. Ego
 quidem baptizo uos in aqua ad penitentiam; qui autem post me uenit 30
 ualentior me est, cuius non sum dignus calciamenta portare. Ipse uos
 baptizabit in spiritu sancto, cuius uentilabrum in manu sua, et
 permundabit aream suam et congregabit triticum suum in horreum;
 paleam autem comburet igni inextinguibili.’ Tunc uenit Iesus a Galilea
 super Iordanem ad Ioannem ut baptizaretur ab eo. Ioannes autem

2 eius] *i. r. A2* 5 filios] filios *B* 8 eius] *i. r. A2* 9 eius] *i. r. A2* 11 illuc] -uc *i. r. A2*
 13 quod?] *i. r. A2* 18 cameli] camili *A* 23 ut fugeretis] *ex* fugere *corr. A2* 24 penitential]
ex penitentie *corr. A2* 25 enim uobis] *i. r. A2*

ab eo. Ioannes autem prohibebat eum dicens: ‘Ego necessitatem habeo baptizandi abs te, et tu uenis ad me?’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit ei: ‘Sine modo, sic enim decens est nobis implere omnem iustitiam.’ Tunc dimisit eum. Et baptizatus Iesus confestim ascendit de aqua; et ecce
 5 aperti sunt ei celi et uidit spiritum Dei descendentem quasi columbam et uenientem super eum. Et ecce uox de celis dicens: ‘Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo bene complacui.’

4 Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a spiritu ut tentaretur a diabolo. Et cum ieiunasset quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus,
 10 postea esuriit. Et accedens ad eum tentator dixit: ‘Si filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.’ Qui respondens ‘Scriptum est,’ inquit, ‘*non in solo pane uiuet homo, sed in omni uerbo procedente ab ore Dei.*’ Tunc assumit eum diabolus in sanctam ciuitatem et statuit eum supra pinnaculum templi et dicit ei: ‘Si filius Dei es, iace te ipsum deorsum. Scriptum est
 15 enim quod *angelis suis mandabit de te et in manibus tollent te ne quando offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.*’ Ait ei Iesus: ‘Iterum scriptum est: *Non tentabis dominum Deum tuum.*’ Rursus assumit eum diabolus in montem excelsum ualde et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi et gloriam eorum. Dicit ei: ‘Hec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraueris me.’ Tunc dicit ei Iesus: ‘Abi post
 20 me Satana. Scriptum est enim: *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et ei soli seruiēs.*’ Tunc dimittit eum diabolus, et ecce angeli accesserunt et ministrabant ei. Cum autem audisset Iesus quod Ioannes traditus esset, secessit in Galileam. Et reliquit Nazareth et accedens habitauit Capharnaum maritimam in finibus Zabulon et Nephtalim, ut
 25 adimpleretur quod dictum est per Esaïam prophetam dicentem: *Terra Zabulon et terra Nephtalim, uie maris trans Iordanem, Galilea gentium; populus sedens in tenebris uidit lucem magnam, et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta est eis.* Exinde cepit Iesus predicare et dicere: ‘Penitentiam agite; appropinquauit enim regnum celorum.’ Ambulans autem iuxta mare
 30 Galilee, uidit duos fratres, Simonem, qui dicitur Petrus, et Andream fratrem eius, iacentes iacularia retia in mare; erant enim piscatores. Et dicit: ‘Venite post me, et faciam uos piscatores hominum.’ At illi continuo, relictis retibus, secuti sunt eum. Et procedens inde uidit duos

A2v

B4v

9 diebus] -bus i. r. A2 | noctibus] -ibus i. r. A2 12 uiuet] -e- i. r. A2 uiuit B 14 ei] om. A ins. fort. A1 | teipsum] om. A ins. fort. A1 | quod] ex quia corr. fort. A2 18 ei] om. A ins. fort. A1 19 adoraueris] ex adoraueris corr. B1 | me] iter. B 25 dictum] -m i. r. fort. A1 | est per] i. r. fort. A1 28 predicare] eis praem. A exp. fort. A1 30 eius] i. r. A2

sunt eum. Et procedens inde uidit duos alios fratres, Iacobum Zebedei et Ioannem fratrem eius, in naue cum Zebedeo patre suo reficientes retia sua, et uocauit eos. Illi autem statim, relictis naui et patre suis, secuti sunt eum. Et circuibat totam Galileam Iesus docens in synagogis eorum et predicans euangelium regni et curans omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem in populo. Et abiit fama sua in totam Syriam; et attulerunt ad eum omnes male habentes, uariis morbis et languoribus comprehensos, ac demonia habentes, et lunaticos et paralyticos, et curauit eos. Et secute sunt eum turbe multe de Galilea et Decapoli et de Hierosolimis et de Iudea et de regione trans Iordanem.

B5r

A3r

5 Videns autem turbas, ascendit in montem; et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli sui. Et aperiens os suum docebat eos dicens: 'Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur. Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur. Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt. Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Beati estis cum maledixerint uobis homines et persecuti uos fuerint et dixerint omne malum uerbum aduersus uos mentientes, propter me. Gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces uestra copiosa est in celis; sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas, qui fuerunt ante uos. Vos estis sal terre; si autem sal infatuatum fuerit, in quo sallietur? Ad nihilum ualet ultra, nisi ut proiciatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus. Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest ciuitas abscondi supra montem posita; neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt. Sic luceat lux uestra coram hominibus, ut uideant opera uestra bona et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in celis est. Ne putetis quod ueni ut soluerem legem uel prophetas; non ueni ut soluerem, sed ut adimplerem. Amen quippe dico uobis: Donec transeat celum et terra, iota unum aut unus apex non preteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant. Qui ergo soluerit unum de mandatis istis

2 naue] nauī B 6 sua] ex eius corr. A2 7 languoribus] angoribus AB 9 Decapoli] de Capoli B 10 de regione] om. A i. m. A2 23 prophetas] et praeem. A exp. fort. A1
25 proiciatur] ex proicitur corr. A1 30 ut soluerem¹] ex soluere corr. A2 | ut soluerem²] ex soluere corr. A2 | ut³...31 adimplerem] ex adimplere corr. A2

- ergo soluerit unum de mandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines, minimus uocabitur in regno celorum; qui autem fecerit et docuerit, hic magnus uocabitur in regno celorum. Dico enim uobis quod nisi abundauerit iustitia uestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non
- 5 intrabitis in regnum celorum. Audistis quod dictum est antiquis: *Non occides*; qui autem occiderit, reus erit iudicio. Ego autem dico uobis quod qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio; qui autem dixerit fratri suo: ‘*racha*,’ reus erit concilio; qui autem dixerit: ‘*fatue*,’ reus erit in gehennam ignis. Si ergo offeres munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus
- 10 fueris quod frater tuus habet aliquid aduersus te, relinque munus tuum ante altare et uade primum reconciliare fratri tuo, et tunc ueniens offeres munus tuum. Esto consentiens aduersario tuo cito, dum es in uia cum eo, ne quando tradat te aduersarius iudici, et iudex tradat te ministro, et in carcerem iaciaris. Amen dico tibi: Non egredieris inde, donec reddas
- 15 ultimum quadrantem. Audistis quod dictum est: *Non mechaberis*. Ego autem dico uobis quod omnis qui uiderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam mechatus est eam in corde suo. Si autem oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te; confert enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, ne totum corpus tuum proiciatur in
- 20 gehennam. Et si dextera manus tua scandalizat te, abscinde eam et proice abs te; confert enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, ne totum corpus tuum iaciatur in gehennam. Dictum est autem quod *quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam, det ei libellum repudii*. Ego autem dico uobis quod quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam sine causa fornicationis, facit eam
- 25 mechari; et qui dimissam duxerit, adulterat. Iterum audistis quod dictum est antiquis: *Non periurabis. Reddes autem domino iuramenta sua*. Ego autem dico uobis: Ne iuretis omnino, nec per celum, quia solium Dei est, neque per terram, quoniam scabellum est pedum suorum, neque per Hierosolimam, quia ciuitas est magni regis; neque per caput tuum iuraueris, quoniam non potes unum capillum album uel nigrum facere.
- 30 Sit autem sermo uester: “Ita, ita,” “Non, non”; quod autem his abundantius est, a malo est. Audistis quod dictum est: *Oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente*. Ego autem dico uobis: Ne resistatis malo; sed si quis te

B5v

A3v

B6r

5 antiquis] non mechaberis *praem. B exp. B1* 11 primum] -mum *i. r. fort. A1* 12 cito] *om. A ins. A2* 15 ultimum] ult- *i. r. A2* | quod] *i. r. fort. A2* 23 uxorem suam] *ex uxorem corr. A2* 25 quod] *i. r. fort. A2* 27 Ne iuretis] *i. r. A2* | solium] *i. r. A2* solum *B* 28 pedum suorum] *ex pedum corr. A2* 32 quod] *i. r. fort. A2*

percusserit in dexteram maxillam, conuerte ei et alteram; et uolenti tecum iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam tollere, dimitte ei et pallium; et quicumque te coegerit per unum miliarium, uade cum eo duo. Cuicumque abs te postulanti da, et uolenti a te mutuari ne auertaris. Audistis quod dictum est: *Diliges proximum tuum et oderis inimicum tuum.* 5
Ego autem dico uobis: Diligite inimicos uestros, benedicite maledicentibus uobis, benefacite eis qui uos oderunt, et orate pro calumniantibus et persequentibus uos, ut efficiamini filii patris uestri, qui solem suum oriri facit super malos et bonos et pluit super iustos et iniustos. Si enim diligitis eos qui uos diligunt, quam mercedem habetis? 10
Nonne et publicani idem faciunt? Si amicos uestros solum salutaueritis, quid amplius facitis? Nonne et publicani sic faciunt? Estote ergo uos perfecti, sicut pater uester celestis perfectus est. Abstinete ne elemosynam uestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut uideamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem uestram non habetis apud patrem uestrum qui in 15
celis est. Cum igitur facis eleemosynam, ne tubicineris ante te, sicut hypocrite faciunt in synagogis et in uicis, ut glorificentur ab hominibus. Amen dico uobis: Receperunt mercedem suam. Cum autem facis eleemosynam, nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua, ut sit eleemosyna tua in abscondito, et pater tuus, qui uidet in abscondito, ipse 20
reddet tibi in propatulo.

6 Et cum oras, non eris sicut hypocrite, quoniam amant in synagogis et in angulis platearum stantes orare, ut appareant hominibus. Amen dico uobis: Recipiunt mercedem suam. Tu autem cum oras, 25
intra in cubiculum tuum et, clauso ostio tuo, ora patrem tuum in abscondito; et pater tuus, qui uidet in abscondito, reddet tibi in propatulo. Orantes autem ne multiloquio utemini sicut gentiles: putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. Ne igitur similes estote eis; nouit enim pater uester quorum necessitatem habetis antequam petatis eum. Sic igitur orabitis uos: Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur 30
nomen tuum, adueniat regnum tuum; fiat uoluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie; et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris; et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Quia tuum est regnum et

13 est] Here ends Matthew 5 in the Vulgate.

3 coegerit per] *i. r. A2* 5 quod] *i. r. fort. A2* 32 supersubstantialem] supersubstalem
B | hodie] *om. A ins. A2*

A4r

B6v

- tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Quia tuum est regnum et potestas et gloria in secula, amen. Si enim non dimiseritis hominibus peccata sua, neque pater uester dimittet uobis peccata uestra. Cum autem ieiunatis, ne efficiamini sicut hypocrite tristes; deformant enim facies suas, ut utique
- 5 appareant hominibus ieiunantes. Amen dico uobis quod recipiunt mercedem suam. Tu autem cum ieiunas, unge caput tuum et faciem tuam laua, ne uidearis hominibus ieiunans sed patri tuo, qui uidet in abscondito; et pater tuus, qui uidet in abscondito, reddet tibi. Ne thesaurizetis uobis thesauros in terra, ubi erugo et tinea demolitur, et ubi
- 10 fures effodiunt et furantur; thesaurizate autem uobis thesauros in celo, ubi neque erugo neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur; ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum. Lucerna corporis est oculus. Si igitur oculus tuus simplex fuerit, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit; si autem oculus tuus nequam fuerit, totum corpus
- 15 tuum tenebrosus erit. Si igitur lumen quod in te est tenebre sunt, tenebre quante! Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire: aut enim unum oderit et alterum diligit, aut unum sustinebit et alterum contemnet; non potestis Deo seruire et mammoni. Ideo dico uobis: Ne solliciti sitis anime uestre quid manducetis et quid bibatis, aut corpori uestro quid
- 20 induamini. Nonne anima plus est quam alimentum? Et corpus plus quam uestimentum? Inspicite ad uolatilia celi, quoniam non serunt neque metunt neque congregant in horrea, et pater uester celestis alit ea. Nonne uos magis differtis ab eis? Quis autem uestrum excogitans potest adicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum? Et de uestimento quid solliciti estis?
- 25 Considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt: non laborant neque nent. Dico enim uobis quod neque Salomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis. Si autem fenum agri, hodie existens et cras in clibanum proiectum, Deus sic uestit, nonne multo magis uos, modice fidei? Ne igitur solliciti sitis dicentes: “Quid manducabimus?” aut “Quid bibemus?” aut “Quo operiemur?” Hec enim omnia gentes inquirunt; scit enim pater uester quod his omnibus indigetis. Querite autem primum regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et hec omnia adicientur uobis. Ne ergo solliciti sitis in crastinum; crastinus enim dies sollicitus erit sibi ipsi. Sufficit diei malignitas sua.

B7r

A4v

7 Ne iudicate, ut non iudicemini; in quo enim iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabimini, et in qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur uobis.

Quid autem uides festucam in oculo fratris tui, et trabem que est in oculo tuo non consideras? Vel quo modo dices fratri tuo: “Sine eicias festucam de oculo tuo”, et ecce trabs est in oculo tuo! Hypocrita, eice
5
primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc uidebis ut eicias festucam de oculo fratris tui. Ne date sanctum canibus, neque iacite margaritas uestras coram porcis, ne quando conculcent eas pedibus suis et conuersi dirumpant uos. Petite, et dabitur uobis; querite, et inuenietis; pulsate, et
10
aperietur uobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit; et qui querit, inuenit; et pulsanti aperietur. Aut quis est ex uobis homo quem si petierit filius suus panem, numquid lapidem porriget ei? Et si piscem petierit, numquid serpentem porriget ei? Si ergo uos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona dona dare filiis uestris, quanto magis pater uester qui in celis est, dabit bona
15
petentibus se? Omnia ergo quecumque faciunt uobis homines, ita et uos facite ipsis; sic enim est lex et prophete. Intrate per angustam portam, quia lata est porta et spatiosa uia que ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt qui intrant per eam; quam angusta porta et arcta uia que ducit ad uitam, et pauci sunt qui inueniant eam! Cauete a falsis prophetis, qui ueniunt ad
20
uos in uestimentis ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. A fructibus suis cognoscetis eos: numquid colligunt de spinis uuam aut de tribulis ficum? Sic omnis arbor bona bonos fructus facit, mala autem arbor fructus malos facit: non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere, neque arbor mala fructus bonos facere. Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum exciditur et in ignem iacitur. Igitur ex fructibus suis
25
cognoscetis eos. Non omnis qui dicit mihi: “Domine domine”, intrabit in regnum celorum, sed quicumque facit uoluntatem patris mei qui in celis est. Multi dicent mihi in illa die: “Domine, domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus, et in nomine tuo demonia eiecimus, et in nomine tuo uirtutes multas fecimus?” Tunc confitebor eis quod Numquam cognoui
30
uos; discedite a me, qui operamini iniquitatem. Omnem ergo quicumque audit uerba mea hec et facit ea, assimilabo eum uiro prudenti, qui edificauit domum suam supra petram. Et descendit pluuiam, et uenerunt flumina, et flauerunt uenti et irruerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit;

13 Si... uestris] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here and wrote it in the margin afterwards.

5 Hypocrita] *ex ypocrita corr. fort. A1* **6** ut eicias] *ex eicere corr. A2* **13** Si... uestris] *om. B i. m. B1 | dona] i. r. fort. A2* **30** quod] *i. r. fort. A2*

B7v

A5r

irruerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit; fundata enim erat supra petram. Et omnis qui audit uerba hec et non facit ea, assimilabitur uiro stulto, qui edificauit domum suam super harenam. Et descendit pluuia, et uenerunt flumina, et flauerunt uenti et irruerunt in domum illam, et cecidit, fuitque ruina eius magna.’ Et factum est cum consummasset Iesus uerba hec, admirabantur turbe in doctrina eius; erat enim docens eos uelut potestatem habens et non sicut scribe.

B8r

8 Cum autem ipse descendisset de monte, secute sunt eum turbe multe. Et ecce leprosus ueniens adorabat eum dicens: ‘Domine, si uelis, potes me mundare.’ Et extendens manum, tetigit eum Iesus dicens: ‘Volo munderis.’ Et confestim mundata est lepra sua. Et dicit ei Iesus: ‘Vide nemini dixeris; sed uade, ostende teipsum sacerdoti, et offer munus quod precepit Moyses in testimonium ipsis.’ Cum autem introisset Capharnaum, accessit ad eum centurio rogans eum et dicens: 15 ‘Puer meus iacet in lecto paralyticus et grauiter torquetur.’ Et dicit ei Iesus: ‘Ego ueniens curabo eum.’ Et respondens centurio ait: ‘Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum, sed solum dic uerbo, et sanabitur puer meus. Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate, habens sub me milites, et dico huic: ‘Vade,’ et uadit, et alii: ‘Veni,’ et uenit, et seruo 20 meo: ‘Fac hoc,’ et facit. Audiens autem Iesus, miratus est et sequentibus dixit: ‘Amen dico uobis: Non inueni tantam fidem in Israel. Dico autem uobis quod multi ab oriente et occidente uenient et recumbent cum Abraham, Izach et Iacob in regno celorum; filii autem regni eicientur in tenebras exteriores; ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.’ Et dixit Iesus 25 centurioni: ‘Vade, et sicut credidisti fiat tibi.’ Et sanatus est puer eius in illa hora. Et reuersus centurio in domum suam, puerum suum in ea ipsa hora conualescentem reperit. Et ueniens Iesus in domum Petri, uidit socrum eius prostratam ac febricitantem; et tetigit manum eius, et dimisit eam febris; et surrexit et ministrabat ei. Sero autem facto, 30 obtulerunt ei multos demonia habentes; et eiciebat spiritus uerbo et omnes male habentes curauit, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per Esaiam prophetam dicentem: *Ipse infirmitates nostras accepit et egrotationes portauit*. Videns autem Iesus turbas multas circum se, iussit eis ut

B8v

5 consummasset] *vid. corr. B1* 6 admirabantur] *ex administrabantur corr. B1* | in] *i. r. A2*
 | eius] *i. r. A2* 14 Capharnaum] *i. r. A1* 15 paralyticus] *ex paraliticus corr. fort. A1*
 25 eius] *om. A ins. A2* 28 eius¹] *i. r. A2* | eius²] *i. r. A2* | eam] *eum B* 29 Sero] *i. r. A2* 32 Videns...11,1 circum] *i. r. fort. A1*

A5v

Iesus turbas multas circum se, iussit eis ut transgrederentur. Et accedens unus scriba dixit ei: ‘Magister, sequar te quocumque ieris.’ Et dicit ei Iesus: ‘Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet.’ Alter autem discipulorum suorum ait ipsi: ‘Domine, permitte me primum abire et sepelire patrem meum.’ Iesus 5 autem dixit ei: ‘Sequere me et dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos.’ Et ascendentem in nauim secuti sunt eum discipuli sui. Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut nauis operiretur fluctibus; ipse autem dormiebat. Et profecti discipuli suscitauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Domine, salua nos, perimus!’ Et dicit eis: ‘Quid timidi estis, modice fidei?’ Tunc 10 surgens imperauit uentis et mari, et facta est tranquillitas magna. Homines autem mirabantur dicentes: ‘Qualis est iste, quod et uenti et mare obediunt ei?’ Et in regionem Gerassenorum transgresso, occurrerunt duo demonia habentes, de monumentis exeuntes, seue nimis, ita ut nemo posset transire per uiam illam. Et ecce clamauerunt 15 dicentes: ‘Quid nobis et tibi, Iesu fili Dei? Venisti huc ante tempus ut torques nos?’ Erat autem procul ab eis grex porcorum multorum pascens. Demones autem rogabant eum dicentes: ‘Si eicis nos, permitte nos abire in gregem porcorum.’ Et ait eis: ‘Ite.’ At illi exeuntes abierunt in gregem porcorum; et ecce magno impetu abiit totus grex porcorum 20 preceps in mare, et mortui sunt in aquis. Pastores autem fugerunt et uenientes in ciuitatem nuntiauerunt omnia et que demonia habentibus euenerant. Et ecce uniuersa ciuitas exiit obuiam Iesu, et uidentes ipsum rogabant eum ut transiret a finibus suis.

B9r

9 Et ascendens in nauim transfretauit et uenit in ciuitatem propriam. 25 Et ecce offerebant ei paralyticum prostratum in lecto. Et uidens Iesus fidem eorum, dixit paralytico: ‘Confide, fili; remittuntur tibi peccata tua.’ Et ecce quidam ex scribis dicebant intra se: ‘Hic blasphemat.’ Et uidens Iesus cogitationes eorum, dixit: ‘Vt quid uos cogitatis mala in cordibus uestris? Quid enim est facilius, dicere: 30 “Dimittuntur peccata tua,” an dicere: “Surge et ambula”? Vt autem sciatis quod filius hominis habet potestatem dimittendi peccata,’ – tunc ait paralytico: “Tolle lectum tuum et uade in domum tuam.” Et surgens

1 ut transgrederentur] ex transgredi corr. A2 4 ipsi... 5 permittet] i. r. fort. A1 16 ut... 17 torques] ex torquere corr. A2 23 uniuersa] i. r. A2 26 paralyticum] ex paraliticum corr. fort. A1 27 paralytico] ex paralitico corr. fort. A1 29 eorum] ex suas corr. A2 32 paralytico] ex paralitico corr. fort. A1

- et uade in domum tuam.’ Et surgens abiit in domum suam. Videntes autem turbe mirate sunt et timuerunt et glorificauerunt Deum, qui dedit talem potestatem hominibus. Et cum transiret inde Iesus, uidit hominem sedentem in teloneo, Mattheum nomine, et ait illi: ‘Sequere me.’ Et
- 5 surgens secutus est eum. Et factum est, discumbente eo in domo, et ecce, multi publicani et peccatores uenientes discumbebant cum Iesu et cum discipulis eius. Et uidentes pharisei dicebant discipulis eius: ‘Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat magister uester?’ Iesus autem audiens ait eis: ‘Non est opus ualentibus medico sed male habentibus.
- 10 Euntes autem discite quid est: *Misericordiam uolo et non sacrificium*. Non enim ueni ut uocarem iustos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam.’ Tunc accedunt ad eum discipuli Ioannis dicentes: ‘Quare nos et pharisei ieiunamus frequenter, discipuli autem tui non ieiunant?’ Et dixit eis Iesus: ‘Non possunt filii sponsi lugere quamdiu cum ipsis est sponsus. Venient
- 15 autem dies cum auferetur ab eis sponsus, et tunc ieiunabunt. Nemo autem immittit commissuram panni rudis in uestimentum uetus; tollit enim plenitudinem eius a uestimento, et peior scissura fit. Neque mittunt uinum nouum in utres ueteres, alioquin rumpuntur utres, et uinum effunditur, et utres pereunt; sed uinum nouum in utres novos mittunt, et
- 20 ambo conseruantur.’ Hec ipso loquente eis, ecce princeps unus accedens adorabat eum dicens quod ‘Filia mea modo defuncta est; sed ueniens impone manum tuam super eam, et uiuet.’ Et surgens Iesus sequebatur eum et discipuli sui. Et ecce mulier, fluxum sanguinis duodecim annos perpessa, accessit retro et tetigit fimbriam uestimenti eius. Dicebat enim
- 25 intra se: ‘Si tetigero tantum uestimentum suum, sanabor.’ Iesus autem conuersus et uidens eam dixit: ‘Confide, filia; fides tua te saluauit.’ Et saluata est mulier ex illa hora. Et cum uenisset Iesus in domum principis et uidisset tibicines et turbam tumultuantem, dicit eis: ‘Recedite; non enim mortua puella, sed dormit.’ Et deridebant eum. Cum autem eiecta
- 30 esset turba, intrauit et tenuit manum eius, et surrexit puella. Et exiit fama hec in totam terram illam. Et transeunte inde Iesu, secuti sunt eum duo ceci clamantes et dicentes: ‘Miserere nostri, fili Daud!’ Cum autem

A6r

B9v

4 teloneo] Tholoneo B 7 eius¹] i. r. A2 suis B | discipulis²] cum *praem.* A exp. fort. A2 eius²] i. r. A2 9 opus] om. A ins. A2 11 ut uocarem] ex uocare corr. A2 13 eis] om. A ins. fort. A1 16 immittit commissuram] commissuram immittit B tr. B1 17 eius] i. r. A2 20 ipso] -ps- i. r. fort. A2 24 eius] i. r. A2 25 Iesus autem] i. r. A2 26 saluauit] ex saluam facit corr. A2 27 saluata] ex saluam facta corr. A2 29 mortua] est add. B 30 eius] i. r. A2 31 totam] i. r. A2

uenisset domum, accesserunt ad eum ceci, et dicit eis: ‘Creditis quod possum hoc facere?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Vtique, domine.’ Tunc tetigit oculos eorum dicens: ‘Secundum fidem uestram fiat uobis.’ Et aperti sunt oculi eorum. Et comminatus est eis Iesus dicens: ‘Videte ne quis sciat.’ Illi autem abeuntes diuulgauerunt eum in tota terra illa. Egressis autem illis, 5 ecce attulerunt hominem mutum, demonium habentem. Et eiecto demonio, locutus est mutus. Et mirate sunt turbe dicentes: ‘Numquam apparuit sic in Israel!’ Pharisei autem dicebant: ‘In principe demoniorum eicit demonia.’ Et circuibat Iesus ciuitates omnes et castella, docens in synagogis eorum et predicans euangelium regni et curans omnem 10 languorem et omnem infirmitatem in populo, et multi secuti sunt eum. Videns autem turbas, misertus est eis, quia erant uexati et iactati quasi oues non habentes pastorem. Tunc dicit discipulis suis: ‘Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci; rogate igitur dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.’ 15

B10r A6v

10 Et conuocatis duodecim discipulis suis, dedit eis potestatem spirituum immundorum, ut eicerent eos et curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem. Duodecim autem apostolorum nomina sunt hec: primus Simon, qui dicitur Petrus, et Andreas frater eius, Iacobus Zebedei et Ioannes frater eius, Philippus et 20 Bartholomeus, Thomas et Mattheus publicanus, Iacobus Alpei et Lebbeus qui cognominatus est Thaddeus, Simon Cananeus et Iudas Scariotes, qui et tradidit eum. Hos duodecim misit Iesus et precepit eis: ‘In uiam gentium ne abieritis et in ciuitates Samaritanorum ne intraueritis; sed ite potius ad oues que perierunt domus Israel. Euntes 25 autem predicate dicentes quod appropinquauit regnum celorum. Infirmos curate, leprosos mundate, demones eicite; gratis accepistis, gratis date. Ne possideatis aurum neque argentum neque es in zonis uestris, non peram in uia neque duas tunicas neque calciamenta neque uirgas; dignus est enim operarius alimento suo. In quamcumque 30 ciuitatem uel castellum intraueritis, exquirite quis in ea dignus sit; et ibi manete donec exeatis. Intrantes autem in domum, salutate eam, dicentes: “Pax huic domui.” Et si quidem fuerit domus digna, ueniat pax uestra

3 eorum] *i. r. A2* 4 eorum] *i. r. A2* 5 Egressis] *ex egressiss corr. B1* 6 eiecto] *iecto B*
 10 eorum et] *i. r. A2* | predicans] *pre- i. r. A2* | omnem ... 12 eis] *i. r. A1* 17 eicerent]
ex eicerentur corr. B1 19 eius ... 21 publicanus] *i. r. A1* 25 domus] *domos B* | quod] *i.*
r. A2 28 duas] *ex dua corr. A1*

- digna, ueniat pax uestra super eam; si autem non fuerit digna, pax uestra ad uos reuertatur. Et quicumque non receperit uos et non audierit sermones uestros, exeuntes de domo uel de ciuitate illa, excutite puluerem de pedibus uestris. Amen enim dico uobis: Tolerabilius erit
- 5 terre Sodomorum et Gomorreorum in die iudicii quam illi ciuitati. Ecce ego mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum; estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe. Cauete autem ab hominibus; tradent enim uos in concilia, et in synagogis suis flagellabunt uos; et ad presides et ad reges ducemini propter me in testimonium illis et gentibus.
- 10 Cum autem tradent uos, ne solliciti sitis quomodo aut quid loquamini. Non enim uos estis, qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris uestri, qui loquitur in uobis. Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium; et insurgent filii in parentes et necabunt eos. Et eritis odio omnium propter nomen meum; qui autem perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluabitur.
- 15 Cum autem persequentur uos in ciuitate ista, fugite in aliam; amen dico uobis: Non consumabitis ciuitates Israel, donec ueniat filius hominis. Non est discipulus super magistrum neque seruus super dominum suum. Sufficit discipulo ut fiat sicut magister suus, et seruo sicut dominus eius. Si patremfamilias Belzebud uocauerunt, quanto magis domesticos eius!
- 20 Ne ergo timeatis eos. Nihil est enim opertum quod non reueletur, et occultum quod non sciatur. Quod dico uobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine; et quod in aure auditis, predicate super tecta. Et ne timeatis eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere; sed potius eum timeate qui potest animam et corpus perdere in gehenna. Nonne duo
- 25 passeresset asse ueneunt? Et unus ex ipsis non cadet in terram sine patre uestro. Vestri autem pili capitis omnes numerati sunt. Ne igitur timeatis; multis passeribus prestatis uos. Omnis ergo qui confitebitur in me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego in ipso coram patre meo qui in celis est; quicumque autem negauerit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum
- 30 coram patre meo qui in celis est. Ne putetis quod uenerim ut mitterem pacem in terram; non ueni ut mitterem pacem sed gladium. Veni enim ut separarem hominem aduersus fratrem suum, et filium aduersus matrem suam, et nurum aduersus socrum suam, et inimici hominis domestici sui. Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus; et qui

B10r

A7r

B11r

10 ne...sitis] *i. r. A2* 13 necabunt] *i. r. A2* 18 seruo] seruus B 19 eius] *i. r. A2*
 27 confitebitur] -tur *i. r. fort. A1* | in me] *i. r. fort. A1* 31 terram...gladium] *i. r. fort. A1* | ut²...32 separarem] *ex separare corr. A2* 33 sui] *i. r. fort. A2*

amat filium aut filiam super me, non est me dignus; et qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur post me, non est me dignus. Qui inuenerit animam suam, perdet eam; et qui perdiderit animam suam propter me, inueniet eam. Qui recipit uos, me recipit; et qui me recipit, recipit eum qui me misit. Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophete, mercedem 5 prophetae accipiet; et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet. Et quicumque potum dederit uni ex paruulis istis calicem aque frigide tantum in nomine discipuli, amen dico uobis: Nequaquam perdet mercedem suam.’

11 Et factum est cum finisset Iesus precipiens duodecim discipulis suis, transiuit inde, ut doceret et predicaret ciuitatibus eorum. 10

Ioannes autem, cum audisset in uinculis opera Christi, mittens duos de discipulis suis ait illi: ‘Tu es qui uenturus es, an alium expectamus?’ Et respondens Iesus dixit eis: ‘Ite, renuntiate Ioanni que auditis et uidetis: ceci uident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi 15 audiunt, mortui resurgunt, pauperes euangelizantur; et beatus est qui non fuerit scandalizatus in me.’ Illis abeuntibus, cepit Iesus dicere ad turbas de Ioanne: ‘Quid existis in desertum ut uideretis? Arundinem a uento agitatum? Sed quid existis ut uideretis? Hominem cum mollibus uestimentis indutum? Ecce, qui mollia ferunt, in domibus regum sunt. 20 Sed quid existis ut uideretis? Prophetam? Vtique, dico uobis, et plus quam prophetam. Hic est enim de quo scriptum est: *Ecce, ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui preparabit uiam tuam coram te*. Amen dico uobis: Non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Ioanne Baptista; qui autem minor est in regno celorum, maior est illo. A diebus autem Ioannis Baptiste usque modo regnum celorum uiolatur, et uiolenti diripiunt ipsum. Omnes enim prophete et lex usque ad Ioannem prophetauerunt; et si uultis recipere, ipse est Helias, qui uenturus est. Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat. Cui autem assimilabo generationem istam? Similis est puerulis sedentibus in foro, et ad sodales suos compellantibus et 30 dicentibus: “Citarizauius uobis, et non saltastis; plorauius uobis, et non planxistis.” Venit enim Ioannes neque manducans neque bibens, et

1 super...2 suam] *om. B i. m. B1* 8 Nequaquam] -aque *i. r. fort. A1* 17 Ioanne] *ex Iohanne corr. fort. A2* 18 desertum] -m *i. r. A2* | ut¹] *i. r. A2* | uideretis] -tis *i. r. A2* | ut²...19 uideretis] *ex uidere corr. A2* 20 ut uideretis] *ex uidere corr. A2* 23 coram] *i. r. A2* 26 uiolenti] -ol- *i. r. fort. A1* 27 Helias] -he- *i. r. A2* 28 aures...audiendum] *i. r. A2* 29 ad] *ex a corr. B1* 30 compellantibus] *i. r. A2* 31 uobis] *om. A ins. A2* | Ioannes] *ex Iohannes corr. fort. A2*

- manducans neque bibens, et dicunt: “Demonium habet.” Venit filius hominis manducans et bibens, et dicunt: “Ecce homo uorax et ebriosus, publicanorum et peccatorum amicus.” Et iustificata est sapientia a filiis suis.’ Tunc cepit exprobrare ciuitatibus in quibus facte sunt plurime
- 5 uirtutes sue, quod non egissent penitentiam: ‘Ve tibi, Corazim! Ve tibi, Bethsaida! Quod si in Tyro et Sidone facte fuissent uirtutes que facte sunt in uobis, olim in cilicio et cinere penitentiam egissent. Verumtamen dico uobis: Tyro et Sidoni remissius erit in die iudicii quam uobis. Et tu, Capharnaum, que usque in celum exaltata es, usque ad infernum
- 10 deduceri! Quoniam si in Sodomis facte fuissent uirtutes que facte sunt in te, mansissent usque in hunc diem. Verumtamen dico uobis quod terre Sodomorum remissius erit in die iudicii quam tibi.’ In illo tempore respondens Iesus dixit: ‘Confiteor tibi, pater, domine celi et terre, quod
- 15 abscondisti hec a sapientibus et intelligentibus et reuelasti ea paruulis. Ita, pater, quia sic placuit in conspectu tuo. Omnia tradita sunt a patre meo; et nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius et cui uoluerit filius reuelare. Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego quietabo uos. Tollite iugum meum super uos et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris.
- 20 Iugum enim meum suaue et onus meum leue est.’

B12r

- 12** In illo tempore iuit Iesus per sata sabato; discipuli autem sui cum esurirent, ceperunt uellere spicas et manducare. Pharisei autem uidentes dixerunt ei: ‘Ecce discipuli tui faciunt quod non licet facere in sabato.’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Nonne legistis quid fecerit
- 25 Daud, quando esuriit, ipse et qui cum eo erant? Quomodo intrauit in domum Dei et panes propositionis comedit, quos non licebat ei comedere neque illis qui cum eo erant, nisi solis sacerdotibus? Aut non legistis in lege quod in sabatis sacerdotes templum Dei uiolant? Dico autem uobis quod templo maior est hic. Si autem sciretis quid est:
- 30 *Misericordiam uolo et non sacrificium*, non utique condemnassetis innocentem. Filius enim hominis est dominus etiam sabati.’ Et cum inde transisset, <uenit> in synagogam eorum; et ecce manum habens aridam, et interrogabant eum dicentes si ‘Licet sabato curare?’, ut accusarent

A8r

4 suis] *i. r. A2* | exprobrare] *ex* exprobare *corr. A2* 5 sue] *i. r. A2* 11 Verumtamen dico] *i. r. A1* 24 sabato] *ex* sabbato *corr. fort. A2* 25 cum...erant] *i. r. A2* | in] *om. B* domum] *om. B ins. B1* 27 cum...erant] *i. r. A2* 28 uiolant] uiolat *A* 31 sabati] *ex* sabbati *corr. fort. A2* | uenit] *om. AB*

'Licet sabato curare?', ut accusarent eum. Ipse autem dicit eis: 'Quis erit
 ex uobis homo qui habebit ouem unam et, si hec ceciderit sabatis in
 foueam, nonne tenebit eam et alleuabit? Quantum igitur differt homo ab
 ove! Itaque licet sabatis benefacere.' Tunc dicit homini: 'Extende manum
 tuam.' Et extendit, et constituta est ualida sicut altera. Pharisei consilium 5
 ceperunt aduersus eum ut ipsum perderent. Iesus autem sciens secessit
 inde. Et secute sunt eum turbe multe, et curauit eos omnes et increpuit
 eos ne se manifestum facerent, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per
 Esaia prophetam dicentem: *Ecce puer meus quem elegi, dilectus meus, in quem*
complacuit anima mea; ponam spiritum meum super eum, et iudicium gentium 10
nuntiabit. Non contendet neque clamabit, neque aliquis in plateis audiet uocem eius.
Arundinem conquassatam non confringet et linum fumigans non extinguet, donec
eiciat ad uictoriam iudicium; et in nomine suo gentes sperabunt. Tunc oblatus est
 ei demonium habens, cecus et surdus, et curauit eum, ita ut cecus et
 surdus et loqueretur et uideret. Et stupebant omnes turbe et dicebant: 15
 'Numquid hic est filius Dauid?' Pharisei autem audientes dixerunt: 'Hic
 non eicit demonia nisi in Belzebud, principe demoniorum.' Sciens autem
 Iesus cogitationes eorum dixit eis: 'Omne regnum in seipsum diuisum
 desolabitur, et omnis ciuitas uel domus contra se diuisa non stabit. Et si
 Satan as Satanam eicit, aduersus seipsum diuisus est; quomodo igitur 20
 stabit regnum suum? Et si ego in Belzebud eicio demonia, filii uestri in
 quo eiciunt? Ideo ipsi iudices uestri erunt. Si autem ego in spiritu Dei
 eicio demonia, igitur peruenit in uos regnum Dei. Aut quomodo potest
 quis intrare in domum fortis et uasa eius diripere, nisi prius alligauerit
 fortem? Et tunc domum eius diripiet. Qui non est mecum, contra me est; 25
 et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit. Ideo dico uobis: Omne peccatum et
 blasphemia remittetur hominibus, blasphemie autem spiritus non
 remittetur hominibus. Et quicumque dixerit uerbum contra filium
 hominis, remittetur ei; quicumque autem dixerit contra spiritum sanctum,
 non remittetur ei neque in presenti seculo neque in futuro. Aut facite 30
 arborem bonam et fructum eius bonum, aut facite arborem malam et
 fructum eius malum; ex fructu enim arbor cognoscitur. Progenies
 uiperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali? Ex abundantia

1 sabato] ex sabbato corr. fort. A2 2 sabatis] ex sabbatis corr. fort. A2 3 eam] om. A ins.
 A2 | alleuabit] ex leuabit corr. A2 eam add. A exp. fort. A2 11 eius] i. r. A2 17 eicit]
 deicit B 20 quomodo] ex quomod corr. A1 24 eius] i. r. A2 25 eius] i. r. A2
 27 blasphemia] ex blasfemia corr. A2 | hominibus] et quicumque dixerit add. B exp. B1
 blasphemie] -e i. r. A2

B12v

B13r

A8v

enim cordis os loquitur. Bonus homo de bono thesauro profert bonum, et malus homo de malo thesauro profert malum. Dico autem uobis quod omne uerbum otiosum quodcumque locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii: ex uerbis enim tuis iustificaberis, et ex
 5 uerbis tuis condemnaberis.’ Tunc responderunt ei quidam de scribis et phariseis dicentes: ‘Magister, uolumus a te signum uidere.’ Qui respondens dixit eis: ‘Generatio mala et adultera signum querit, et signum non dabitur ei nisi signum Ione prophete. Sicut enim Ionas fuit in uentre cetus tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, sic erit et filius hominis in
 10 corde terre tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Viri Niniuite surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabunt eam, quia penitentiam egerunt in predicatione Ione; et ecce plus <quam> Iona hic! Regina austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam, quoniam uenit de finibus terre ut audiret sapientiam Salomonis; et ecce
 15 plus Salomone hic! Cum autem immundus spiritus exierit ab homine, ambulat per loca arida querens requiem et non inuenit. Tunc dicit: “Reuertar in domum meam unde exiui”; et ueniens inuenit eam uacantem, scopis mundatam et ornatam. Tunc uadit et assumit septem alios spiritus nequiores se, et intrantes habitant ibi; et fiunt ultima
 20 hominis illius peiora prioribus. Sic erit et generationi huic male.’ Adhuc autem eo loquente turbis, ecce mater sua et fratres stabant foris querentes ut loquerentur ei. Respondens autem dicenti sibi ait: ‘Que est mater mea, et qui sunt fratres mei?’ Et extendens manum suam super discipulos suos dixit: ‘Ecce mater mea et fratres mei. Quicumque enim
 25 fecerit uoluntatem patris mei qui in celis est, hic et meus frater et soror et mater est.’

B13^v

13 In illa autem die exiens Iesus de domo sedebat secus mare; et congregatae sunt ad eum turbe multe, ita ut in nauim ascendens sederet, et omnis turba stabat in litore. Et locutus est eis in
 30 parabolis multa: ‘Ecce exiit qui seminat, ut seminaret semen suum. Et dum seminat, quedam ceciderunt secus uiam, et uenerunt uolucres et comederunt illa. Alia autem ceciderunt super petrosa, ubi non habebant terram multam, et continuo exorta sunt, quia non habebant altitudinem terre; sole autem orto, estuauerunt et, quia non habebant radicem,

3 otiosum] occiosum B 9 et²] om. A i. m. A2 11 penitentiam] non add. B 12 quam] om. AB 14 ut audiret] ex audire corr. A2 21 sua] i. r. A2 22 ut loquerentur] ex loqui corr. A2 30 ut seminaret] ex seminare corr. A2

A9r

orto, estuauerunt et, quia non habebant radicem, aruerunt. Alia autem ceciderunt super spinas, et creuerunt spine et suffocauerunt ea. Alia autem ceciderunt super terram bonam et dabat hoc quidem centum, illud uero sexaginta, aliud autem triginta. Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Accedentes discipuli dixerunt ei: ‘Quare in parabolis loqueris eis?’ 5

‘Ipse autem respondens dixit eis: ‘Quia uobis datum est ut cognoscatis mysteria regni celorum, illis autem non est datum. Qui enim habet, dabitur ei, et abundabit; qui autem non habet, et id quod habet, auferetur ab eo. Ideo in parabolis loquor eis, quia uidentes non uident et audientes non audiunt, nec intelligunt ut intelligatur. In eis prophetia Esaie dicentis: *Audit uideatis et non intelligetis et cernentes cernetis et non uidebitis. Incrassatum est enim cor populi huius, et auribus grauiter audierunt et oculos suos clauferunt, ne quando uideant oculis et auribus audiant et corde intelligant et conuertantur, et sanem eos.* Vestri autem beati oculi, qui uident, et aures uestre, que audiunt. 10

B14r

Amen quippe dico uobis quod multi prophete et iusti cupierunt uidere que uidetis, et audire que auditis. Vos ergo audite parabolam seminantis. Omnis qui uerbum regni audit et non intelligit, uenit malus et rapit quod seminatum est in corde eius; hic est, qui secus uiam seminatus est. Quid autem seminatus est super petrosa, hic est qui uerbum audit et continuo cum gaudio suscipit illud, non habet in seipsum radicem, sed est 20 temporalis; facta autem tribulatione et perturbatione propter uerbum, continuo scandalizatur. Qui autem in spinis seminatus est, hic est qui uerbum audit, et sollicitudo huius seculi et fallacie diuitiarum suffocant uerbum, et sine fructu efficitur. Qui autem super terram bonam seminatus est, hic est qui uerbum audit et intelligit, et fructum affert et 25 facit hoc quidem centum, aliud autem sexaginta, aliud uero triginta. Simile est regnum celorum homini qui seminat bonum semen in agro suo. Cum autem dormirent homines, uenit inimicus eius et super seminauit zizania in medio tritici et abiit. Cum autem creuisset herba et fructum fecisset, tunc apparuerunt et zizania. Accedentes autem serui 30 patrisfamilias dixerunt ei: “Domine, nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo? Vnde ergo habet zizania?” Ipse autem ait eis: “Inimicus homo hoc fecit.” Serui autem dixerunt ei: “Vis igitur profecti colligamus ea?” Ipse autem ait: “Non; ne quando colligentes zizania eradicetis simul cum

6 datum...cognoscatis] i. r. A2 7 mysteria] ex mysteria corr. fort. A2 13 uideant] ex uideantur corr. B1 18 eius] i. r. A2 20 gaudio] -au-i. r. A2 28 eius] i. r. A2 31 nonne] -ne i. r. A2 32 Ipse...Inimicus] i. r. A1 34 Ipse...Non] i. r. A1

- eis et triticum, sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem.” Et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania et alligate ea in fasciculos ut comburantur, triticum autem congregate in horreum suum.’
- Aliam parabolam proposuit eis dicens: ‘Simile est regnum celorum grano
- 5 sinapis, quod accipiens homo seminavit in agro suo. Quod minus quidem est omnibus seminibus; cum autem creuerit, maius est omnibus
- oleribus, et fit arbor, ita ut uolucres celi ueniant et habitent in ramis eius.’
- Aliam parabolam locutus est eis: ‘Simile est regnum celorum fermento, quod accipiens mulier abscondit in farine sata tria, usque quo
- 10 fermentaretur totum.’ Hec omnia locutus est Iesus in parabolis et sine parabola non loquebatur eis, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: *Aperiam in parabolis os meum. Eructabo abscondita a constitutione mundi.* Tunc dimissis Iesus turbis uenit in domum, et accesserunt ad eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Edissere nobis parabolam
- 15 zizaniorum agri.’ Ipse autem respondens ait eis: ‘Qui seminat bonum semen est filius hominis; ager autem est mundus; bonum semen, hi filii sunt regni; zizania autem filii sunt malignantis; inimicus autem, qui seminat ea, est diabolus; messis uero consummatio seculi est, messores autem angeli sunt. Sicut ergo zizania colliguntur et igni comburuntur, sic
- 20 erit in consummatione huius seculi: mittet filius hominis angelos suos, et colligent ex regno suo omnia scandala et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem, et mittent eos in caminum ignis; ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris sui. Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat. Rursus simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro,
- 25 quem inueniens homo abscondit et pre gaudio suo uadit et omnia quecumque habet uendit, et emit agrum illum. Iterum simile est regnum celorum homini negotiatori querenti bonas margaritas. Inuenta autem una pretiosa margarita, abiit et uendidit omnia quecumque habuit, et emit eam. Iterum simile est regnum celorum uerriculo iacto in mare et ex
- 30 omni genere congreganti; quod cum impletum esset, educentes ipsum et secus litus sedentes collegerunt bona in uasa, mala autem foras eiecerunt. Sic erit in consummatione seculi: exhibunt angeli et separabunt malos de medio iustorum et mittent ipsos in caminum ignis; ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Intellexistis hec omnia?’ Dicunt ei:

A9v

B14v

B15r

1 et] *om. B ins. B1* 7 eius] *ex suis corr. A2* 17 malignantis] *-ignantis i. r. A2* 29 simile] *- e i. r. A2* 30 ipsum] *i. m. fort. A1* 31 collegerunt] *colligerunt B*

‘Vtique, domine.’ Ipse autem ait eis: ‘Ideo omnis scribe edoctus ad regnum celorum similis est homini patrifamilias, qui profert de thesauro suo noua et uetera.’ Et factum est cum consummasset Iesus parabolas istas, transiit inde. Et ueniens in patriam suam, docebat eos in synagoga sua, ita ut mirarentur et dicerent: ‘Vnde huic sapientia hec et uirtus? 5 Nonne hic est fabri filius? Nonne mater eius dicitur Maria, et fratres eius Iacobus et Ioseph et Simon et Iudas? Et sorores eius nonne omnes apud nos sunt? Vnde igitur huic hec omnia?’ Et scandalizabantur in eo. Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et in domo sua.’ Et non fecit ibi uirtutes multas propter incredulitatem eorum. 10

A10r

14 In illo tempore audiuit Herodes tetrarcha famam Iesu et ait pueris suis: ‘Hic est Ioannes Baptista; ipse surrexit a mortuis, et ideo uirtutes operantur in eo.’ Herodes enim tenuerat Ioannem et alligauerat eum et posuerat in carcerem, propter Herodiam uxorem Philippi fratris sui. Dicebat enim ei Ioannes: ‘Non licet tibi habere eam.’ 15 Et uolens ipsum occidere, timuit populum, quia uelut prophetam eum habebant. Cum autem natalia Herodis agerentur, saltauit filia Herodiadis in medio et placuit Herodi, unde cum iuramento pollicitus est ei dare quodcumque postulasset. At illa, premonita a matre sua, ‘Da mihi’, inquit, ‘in catino caput Ioannis Baptiste.’ Et indoluit rex, sed propter 20 iuramenta et propter discumbentes iussit dari et misit et decollauit Ioannem in carcere; et allatum est caput eius in catino et datum est puelle, et tulit matri sue. Et accedentes discipuli sui tulerunt corpus eius et sepelierunt illud et uenientes nuntiauerunt Iesu. Cum autem audisset Iesus, secessit inde per nauiculam in desertum locum seorsum; et cum 25 audissent, turbe secute sunt eum pedestres de ciuitatibus. Et exiens Iesus uidit turbam multam et misertus est eis et curauit languidos eorum. Sero autem facto, accesserunt ad eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Desertus est locus et hora iam preteriit; dimitte turbas, ut abeuntes in castella emant sibi escas.’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Non habent necessitatem abeundi; date 30 eis uos ad manducandum.’ Hi autem dicunt ei: ‘Non habemus hic nisi quinque panes et duos pisces.’ Et ait illis: ‘Afferte mihi ipsos huc.’ Et

B15v

1 eis] i. r. A2 | edoctus] ex doctus corr. B1 6 eius¹] i. r. A2 | eius²] i. r. A2 7 eius] i. r. A2 15 tibi] om. B 17 natalia] natalitia AB 22 eius] i. r. A2 27 Sero] i. r. A1 30 necessitatem... 31 manducandum] i. r. A1

iussit turbis ut discumberent super herbas, et accipiens quinque panes et duos pisces, respiciens in celum benedixit et fregit et dedit discipulis panes, discipuli autem turbis. Et manducauerunt omnes et saturati sunt, et tulerunt reliquias fragmentorum duodecim cophinos. Qui autem
 5 manducauerunt fuerunt circiter quinque milia uirorum, preter feminas et pueros. Et statim coegit Iesus discipulos suos ut introirent in nauim et prederent trans fretum, donec dimitteret turbas. Et dimissis turbis, ascendit in montem seorsum ut oraret. Sero autem facto, solus erat ibi. Nauis autem iam in medio maris fluctibus iactabatur; erat enim uentus
 10 contrarius. Quarta autem uigilia noctis uenit ad eos Iesus ambulans supra mare. Et uidentes eum discipuli supra mare ambulantem, turbati sunt, dicentes quod ‘Phantasma est!’, et pre timore clamauerunt. Statim uero locutus est eis Iesus dicens: ‘Confidite, ego sum. Ne timete.’ Respondens autem Petrus dixit: ‘Domine, si tu es, iube me uenire ad te.’ Ipse autem
 15 dixit: ‘Veni!’ Et descendens Petrus de nauis ambulabat super aquas ut ueniret ad Iesum. Videns autem uentum ualidum timuit et, cum cepisset mergi, clamauit dicens: ‘Domine, salua me!’ Et continuo Iesus extendens manum apprehendit eum et ait illi: ‘Modice fidei, quare dubitasti?’ Et cum ipsi in nauim ascendissent, cessauit uentus. Qui autem in nauim
 20 uenerant adorauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Vere filius Dei es!’ Et cum transfretassent, uenerunt in terram Genesareth. Et cum cognouissent eum uiri loci illius, miserunt in totam regionem illam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes, et rogabant eum ut solum tangerent fimbriam uestimenti sui; et quicumque tetigerunt saluati sunt.

A10v

B16r

25 **15** Tunc accesserunt ad eum a Hierosolymis scribe et pharisei dicentes: ‘Quare discipuli tui transgrediuntur traditionem seniorum? Non enim lauant manus suas cum panem manducant.’ Ipse autem respondens ait ipsis: ‘Quare et uos transgredimini mandatum Dei propter traditionem uestram? Nam Deus
 30 mandauit, dicens: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem*, et: *Qui maledixerit patri uel matri, morte moriatur*. Vos autem dicitis: “Quicumque dixerit patri uel matri: Munus quodcumque ex me commodum ceperis, et non honorauerit patrem uel matrem suam”; et irritum fecistis mandatum Dei

1 turbis] -is i. r. A2 | ut] i. r. A2 | discumberent] -nt i. r. A2 | super] i. r. A2
 5 preter] -r i. r. fort. A1 6 ut...in] i. r. A2 | nauim] n- i. r. A2 7 prederent] -nt i. r. A2
 8 ut oraret] ex orare corr. A2 | Sero] i. r. A1 17 salua me] fort. ex saluum me fac corr. fort. A2 22 eum] i. r. A2 | totam] i. r. A2 25 a] om. B 30 morte...31 matri] om. B i. m. B1

irritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditionem uestram. Hypocrite!
 Bene prophetauit de uobis Esaias dicens: *Appropinquat populus hic ore suo ac*
labris me honorat, cor autem eorum longe abest a me; frustra autem colunt me,
docentes doctrinas et mandata hominum. Et conuocatis turbis, dixit eis: ‘Audite
 et intelligite: non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod 5
 procedit de ore, hoc coinquinat hominem!’ Tunc accedentes discipuli sui
 dixerunt ei: ‘Scis quod pharisei, audito uerbo, scandalizati sunt?’ Ipse
 autem respondens ait: ‘Omnis plantatio quam non plantauit pater meus
 celestis eradicabitur. Sinite ipsos: duces sunt ceci cecorum. Cecus autem
 si cecum duxerit, ambo in foueam cadunt.’ Respondens autem Petrus 10
 dixit ei: ‘Edissere nobis parabolam hanc.’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Adhuc et
 uos sine intellectu estis? Nondum intelligitis quod omne quod intrat in
 os, in uentrem uadit et in secessum emittitur? Que autem procedunt de
 ore, de corde exeunt, et illa coinquant hominem. De corde enim exeunt 15
 cogitationes male, homicidia, adulteria, fornicationes, furta, falsa
 testimonia, blasphemie. Hec sunt que coinquant hominem; illotis
 autem manibus manducare non coinquinat hominem.’ Et exiens inde
 Iesus, secessit in partes Tyri et Sidonis. Et ecce mulier Cananea a finibus
 illis egressa clamauit dicens ei: ‘Miserere mei domine, fili Dauid! Filia mea
 a demonio male uexatur.’ Ipse autem non respondit ei uerbum. Et 20
 accedentes discipuli sui interrogabant eum dicentes: ‘Dimitte eam,
 quoniam clamat post nos.’ Ipse autem respondens dixit: ‘Non sum
 missus nisi ad oues que perierunt domus Israel.’ Ipsa autem ueniens
 adorabat eum dicens: ‘Domine, adiuua me.’ Ipse autem respondens dixit:
 ‘Non est bonum ut sumatur panis filiorum et iaciatur canibus.’ At illa 25
 dixit: ‘Vtique, domine, et enim canes edunt de micis que cadunt de
 mensa dominorum suorum.’ Tunc Iesus respondens ait illi: ‘Mulier,
 magna est fides tua! Fiat tibi sicut uis.’ Et sanata est filia eius ex illa hora.
 Et cum transisset inde, Iesus uenit secus mare Galilee et ascendens in
 montem sedebat ibi. Et accesserunt ad eum turbe multe habentes secum 30
 surdos, claudos, cecos, debiles et alios multos et proiecerunt eos ad
 pedes eius, et curauit eos, ita ut turbe mirarentur uidentes surdos
 loquentes, debiles ualidos, claudos ambulantes, cecos uidentes. Et

1 Dei] *i. r. A1* 8 autem] *om. A i. m. A1* | respondens ait] *i. r. A1* 9 autem] *iter. B*
 16 hominem] *animam praem. B exp. B1* 17 autem] *iter. B exp. B1* | coinquinat]
 coinquant B 25 bonum ut] *-m ut i. r. A2* | sumatur] *-atur i. r. A2* | panis] *-is i. r.*
A2 | iaciatur] *-atur i. r. A2* 31 surdos] *loquentes add. B exp. B1* 32 eius] *i. r. A2*

B16v

A11r

glorificabant Deum Israel. Iesus autem conuocatis discipulis suis dixit: 'Misereor super turbam, quia triduo iam perseuerant mecum et non habent quid manducant; et dimittere eos ieiunos nolo, ne quando deficient in uia.' Et dicunt ei discipuli sui: 'Vnde nobis in deserto tot
 5 panes ut tanta turba saturetur?' Et dicit eis Iesus: 'Quot panes habetis?' At illi dixerunt: 'Septem, et paucos pisciculos.' Et precepit turbis ut discumberent super terram; et accepit septem panes et pisces et cum gratias egisset, fregit, et dedit discipulis suis, discipuli autem turbe. Et comederunt omnes et saturati sunt; et superfluum fragmentorum
 10 tulerunt septem sportas plenas. Erant autem qui manducauerunt quatuor milia uirorum absque mulieribus et paruulis. Et dimissis turbis, ascendit in nauiculam et uenit in fines Magdalo.

B17r

16 Et accesserunt ad eum pharisei et saducei tentantes et rogauerunt eum ut signum de celo ostenderet eis. At ille
 15 respondens ait eis: 'Sero facto dicitis: "Serenitas erit, rutilat enim celum"; et mane: "Hodie tempestas, rutilat enim triste celum." Hypocrite! Faciem quidem celi diiudicare nostis, signa autem temporum non potestis scire. Generatio mala et adultera signum querit, et signum non dabitur eis nisi signum Ione prophete.' Et relictis illis abiit. Et
 20 accedentes discipuli trans fretum, obliti sunt panes accipere. Iesus autem dixit eis: 'Videte et cauete a fermento phariseorum et saduceorum.' At illi cogitabant intra se dicentes quod 'Panem non accepimus!' Sciens autem Iesus dixit eis: 'Quid cogitatis intra uosipsos, modice fidei, quod panes
 25 quinque milium, et quot cophinos sumpsistis? Neque septem panum quatuor milium, et quot sportas sumpsistis? Quomodo non intelligitis quod non de pane dixi uobis ut caueretis a fermento phariseorum et saduceorum?' Tunc intellexerunt quod non dixerat ut cauerent a fermento panis, sed a doctrina phariseorum et sadduceorum. Veniens
 30 autem Iesus in partes Cesaree Philippi interrogabat discipulos suos dicens: 'Quem me dicunt esse homines filium hominis?' At ipsi dixerunt: 'Nonnulli quidem Ioannem Baptistam, alii autem Heliam, alii Hieremiam, uel unum ex prophetis.' Dicit eis: 'Vos autem quem me esse dicitis?' Respondens autem Simon Petrus dixit: 'Tu es Christus, filius Dei uiui.'

A11v

B17v

9 comederunt] comederunt B 11 ascendit] ascentis B 15 Sero facto] i. r. A1
 22 quod] ex quia corr. fort. A2 26 quod] ex quia corr. fort. A2 27 Tunc...29
 sadduceorum] om. A i. m. A1

autem Simon Petrus dixit: ‘Tu es Christus, filius Dei uiui.’ Et respondens Iesus dixit ei: ‘Beatus es, Simon Bariona, quia caro et sanguis non reuelauit tibi, sed pater meus qui est in celis. Et ego dico tibi quod tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam; et porte inferni non preualebunt ei. Et dabo tibi clauēs regni celorum; et quodcumque ligaueris in terra erit ligatum et in celis, et quodcumque solueris in terra erit solutum et in celis.’ Tunc precepit discipulis suis ut nemini dicerent quod ipse est Iesus Christus. Et exinde cepit Iesus ostendere discipulis suis quod oportet eum ire Hierosolimam et multa pati a senioribus et pontificibus et scribis et occidi et tertia die resurgere. Et assumens eum Petrus cepit increpare eum dicens: ‘Propitius tibi, domine, non erit tibi hoc.’ Ipse autem conuersus dixit Petro: ‘Vade post me, Satana! Scandalum mihi es, quia non sapis ea que sunt Dei, sed ea que sunt hominum!’ Tunc Iesus dixit discipulis suis: ‘Si quis uult post me uenire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me. Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluare, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me, inueniet eam. Quid enim prodest homini, si uniuersum mundum lucretur, anime uero sue detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua? Filius enim hominis uenturus est in gloria patris sui cum angelis suis, et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera eius. Amen dico uobis: Sunt quidam de hic stantibus qui non gustabunt mortem, donec uideant filium hominis uenientem in regno suo.’

B18r

17 Et post dies sex assumit Iesus Petrum, Iacobum et Ioannem fratrem eius, ducit eos in montem excelsum seorsum. Et transfiguratus est coram eis; et splenduit facies sua sicut sol, uestimenta autem suafacta sunt alba sicut lux. Et ecce apparuerunt eis Moyses et Helias cum eo colloquentes. Respondens autem Petrus dixit Iesu: ‘Domine, bonum est nos hic esse. Si uis, faciemus hic tria tabernacula: tibi unum et Moysi unum et Helie unum.’ Adhuc autem eo loquente, ecce nubes lucida obumbravit eos; et ecce uox de nube dicens: ‘Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo bene complacui; ipsum audite.’ Et audientes discipuli ceciderunt in faciem suam et timuerunt ualde. Et

A12r

19 hominis... 20 et] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here and wrote it in the margin afterwards.

3 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 4 inferni] *infern B* 9 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2*
 19 hominis... 20 et] *om. B i. m. B1*

- in faciem suam et timuerunt ualde. Et accedens Iesus tetigit eos et dixit: ‘Surgite et ne timete.’ Leuantes autem oculos suos, neminem uiderunt nisi Iesum solum. Et descendantibus ipsis de monte, precepit Iesus dicens: ‘Nemini dixeritis uisionem, donec filius hominis a mortuis
- 5 resurgat.’ Et interrogauerunt eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Quid igitur scribe dicunt quod oportet Heliam primum uenire?’ Iesus autem respondens dixit eis: ‘Helias quidem ueniet primum et constituet omnia. Dico autem uobis quod Helias iam uenit, et non cognouerunt eum, sed fecerunt ei quecumque uoluerunt; sic et filius hominis passurus est ab
- 10 eis.’ Tunc intellexerunt discipuli quod de Ioanne Baptista dixit eis. Et cum ipsi ad turbam uenissent, accessit homo ad eum genuflectens et dicens: ‘Domine, miserere filio meo, quia lunaticus est et male patitur; sepe enim cadit in ignem et crebro cadit in aquam. Et obtuli eum discipulis tuis, et non potuerunt ipsum curare.’ Respondens autem Iesus
- 15 dixit: ‘O generatio incredula et peruersa, quousque ero uobiscum? Vsque quo patiar uos? Afferte huc illum ad me.’ Et increpauit eum Iesus, et exiuit ab eo demonium, et curatus est puer ex illa hora. Tunc accedentes discipuli ad Iesum seorsum dixerunt: ‘Quare nos non potuimus eicere illum?’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Propter incredulitatem uestram. Amen
- 20 enim dico uobis: Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic: “Transi hinc illuc!” et transibit, et nihil impossibile erit uobis. Hoc autem genus non egreditur nisi per orationem et ieiunium.’ Conuersantibus autem ipsis in Galilea, dixit eis Iesus: ‘Filius hominis tradendus est in manus hominum, et interficient eum, et tertia die
- 25 resurget.’ Et contristati sunt uehementer. Venientibus autem ipsis in Capharnaum, accesserunt qui didragma accipiebant ad Petrum et dicebant: ‘Magister uester non soluit didragma?’ Dicit: ‘Vtique.’ Et cum intrasset in domum, preuenit eum Iesus dicens: ‘Quid tibi uidetur, Simon? Reges terre a quibus accipiunt tributa uel census? A filiis suis uel
- 30 ab alienis?’ Dicit ei Petrus: ‘Ab alienis.’ Dixit ei Iesus: ‘Ergo liberi sunt filii. Vt autem non scandalizemus eos, profectus ad mare mitte hamum; et piscem ascendentem primum tolle, et aperto ore eius inuenies staterem. Illum sumens da eis pro me et pro te.’

B18v

3 ipsis] *ex istis corr. fort. A2* 17 curatus est] *est curatus B tr. B1* 23 ipsis] *ex istis corr. fort. A2* 25 ipsis] *ex istis corr. fort. A2* 32 eius] *i. r. A2* 33 staterem] *stateram AB*

18 In illa hora accesserunt discipuli ad Iesum dicentes: ‘Quis igitur
 maior est in regno celorum?’ Et aduocans Iesus paruulum,
 statuit eum in medio eorum et dixit: ‘Amen dico uobis: Nisi
A12v conuersi fueritis et efficiamini uelut paruuli, non intrabitis in regnum
 celorum. Quicumque igitur humiliauerit seipsum uelut paruulus iste, hic 5
B19r est maior in regno celorum. Et quicumque susceperit unum paruulum
 talem in nomine meo, me suscipit. Qui autem scandalizauerit unum de
 paruulis istis qui credunt in me, expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in
 collum suum et demergatur in profundum maris. Ve mundo a scandalis!
 Necesse est enim ut ueniant scandala; ue tamen homini illi per quem 10
 scandala ueniunt! Si autem manus tua uel pes tuus scandalizat te,
 abscinde ea et proice abs te: bonum est tibi ad uitam ingredi claudum uel
 herniosum, quam duas manus uel duos pedes habentem mitti in ignem
 eternum. Et si oculus tuus scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te:
 bonum est tibi luscum intrare in uitam, quam duos oculos habentem 15
 mitti in gehennam ignis. Videte ne contemnatis unum de his paruulis;
 dico enim uobis quod angeli eorum in celis semper uident faciem patris
 mei qui in celis est. Venit enim filius hominis ut saluaret quod perierat.
 Quid uobis uidetur? Si fuerint alicui homini centum oues, et errauerit una
 ex eis, nonne relinquet nonaginta nouem, et in montibus profectus 20
 requirit eam que errauerit? Et si contigerit ut inueniat eam, amen dico
 uobis quod gaudet super eam magis quam super nonaginta nouem que
 non errauerunt. Sic non est uoluntas coram patre uestro qui in celis est,
 ut pereat unus de paruulis istis. Si autem errauerit in te frater tuus, uade,
 corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum. Si audierit, te lucratus fueris fratrem 25
 tuum; si autem non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum uel duos, ut in
 ore duorum uel trium testium stet omne uerbum; si autem non audierit
 eos, dic ecclesie; si autem ecclesia non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et
 publicanus. Amen dico uobis: Quicumque ligaueritis in terra erunt ligata
 in celo, et quicumque solueritis in terra erunt soluta in celo. Iterum amen 30
B19v dico uobis quod si duo ex uobis consenserunt in terra de omni re
 quamcumque petierint fiet eis a patre meo qui in celis est. Vbi enim sunt
 duo uel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.’ Tunc
 accedens ad eum Petrus dixit: ‘Domine, quotiens peccauerit in me frater

4 Quicumque... 5 humiliauerit] *i. r. A1* 11 ea] *i. r. fort. A2* 12 uel herniosum] *i. r. A2*
 18 ut saluaret] *ex saluare corr. A2* 21 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2*

- meus, et dimittam eum? Vsque septies?’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Non dico tibi usque septies sed usque septuagies septies. Ideo assimilatum est regnum celorum homini regi, qui uoluit rationem ponere cum seruis suis. Et cum cepisset rationem ponere, oblatus est ei unus decem milium talentorum
- 5 debitor. Cum autem non haberet unde redderet, iussit eum dominus suus uenumdari et uxorem eius et filios et omnia que habebat, et reddi. Cadens igitur seruus adorabat eum dicens: ‘Domine, patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi.’ Misertus autem dominus serui illius dimisit eum et debitum dimisit ei. Egressus autem seruus ille inuenit unum de
- 10 conseruis suis, qui debebat ei centum denarios, et tenens suffocabat eum dicens: ‘Redde mihi siquid debes!’ Cadens igitur conseruus eius in pedes suos rogabat eum dicens: ‘Patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi.’ Ipse autem noluit, sed abiit et immisit eum in carcerem, donec redderet debitum. Videntes autem conserui eius que facta erant, contristati sunt
- 15 ualde et uenerunt et manifestauerunt domino suo omnia que facta fuerant. Tunc uocauit eum dominus suus et dixit ei: ‘Serue nequam, omne debitum illud dimisi tibi, quoniam rogasti me; nonne oportuit et te misereri conserui tui, sicut et ego tui misertus sum?’ Et iratus dominus suus tradidit eum tortoribus, donec redderet uniuersum debitum ei. Sic et
- 20 pater meus supercelestis faciet uobis, nisi remiseritis unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus uestris delicta eorum.’

A13r

- 19** Et factum est cum consumasset Iesus sermones istos, migravit a Galilea et uenit in fines Iudee trans Iordanem. Et secute sunt eum turbe multe, et curauit eos ibi. Et accesserunt ad eum
- 25 pharisei tentantes eum et dicentes ei si licet homini dimittere uxorem suam quacumque ex causa. Ipse autem respondens dixit eis: ‘Non legis quod qui fecit ab initio masculum et feminam fecit eos et dixit: *Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adhaerebit uxori sue, et erunt duo in carne una?* Itaque non amplius sunt duo, sed una caro. Quos igitur Deus coniunxit,
- 30 homo non separet.’ Dicunt ei: ‘Quid igitur Moyses mandauit dari libellum repudii et dimittere eam?’ Dicit eis: ‘Quod Moyses ob duritiam cordis uestri permisit uobis ut dimitteretis uxores uestras; ab initio autem non fuit sic. Dico autem uobis quod quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam,

B20r

1 tibi...2 usque¹] *i. r. fort. A2* 2 Ideo] Peo B 6 uxorem] -m *i. r. A2* | eius] *i. r. A2* et²] *om. A ins. A2* | et⁴] *om. A ins. A2* 10 denarios] denarius AB 15 manifestauerunt] manifesta- *i. r. fort. A1* 17 nonne] -e *vid. i. r. A2* 26 quod] *fort. ex quia corr. fort. A2* 31 Quod] *i. r. fort. A2* 32 ut dimitteretis] *ex dimittere corr. A2*

Dico autem uobis quod quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam, nisi ob fornicationem, et aliam duxerit, mechatur, et qui dimissam duxerit mechatur.' Dicunt ei discipuli sui: 'Si sic est causa hominis cum uxore, non expedit nubere.' Iesus autem dixit eis: 'Non omnes capiunt uerbum istud, sed quibus datum est. Sunt enim eunuchi qui de matris utero sic 5 nati sunt; et sunt eunuchi qui facti sunt ab hominibus; et sunt eunuchi qui castrauerunt seipsos propter regnum celorum. Qui potest capere, capiat.' Tunc oblati sunt ei paruuli, ut manus eis imponeret et oraret; discipuli autem sui increpabant eos. Iesus autem ait eis: 'Sinite paruulos et ne prohibite ipsos uenire ad me; talium est enim regnum celorum.' Et 10 cum imposuisset eis manus, abiit inde. Et ecce quis accedens dixit ei: 'Magister bone, quid boni faciam ut habeam uitam eternam?' Iesus autem dixit ei: 'Quid me dicis bonum? Nullus bonus, nisi unus Deus. Si autem uis ad uitam ingredi, serua mandata.' Dicit ei: 'Qualia?' Iesus autem dixit: 'Non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, non falso testificaberis, 15 honora patrem tuum et matrem et diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.' Dicit ei adolescens: 'Hec omnia custodiui a iuuentute mea. Quid amplius deficio?' Ait ei Iesus: 'Si uis perfectus esse, uade et uende que habes et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in celis; et ueni, sequere me.' Cum autem audisset adolescens uerbum, abiit tristis; erat enim habens multas 20 possessiones. Iesus autem dixit discipulis suis: 'Amen dico uobis quod diues difficile intrabit in regnum celorum. Iterum autem dico uobis: Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem intrare in regnum Dei.' Cum autem audissent discipuli sui mirabantur ualde, dicentes: 'Quis ergo potest saluari?' Aspiciens autem Iesus dixit eis: 25 'Apud homines hoc impossibile est, apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt.' Tunc respondens Petrus dixit ei: 'Domine, ecce nos qui reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te. Quid igitur erit nobis?' Iesus autem dixit eis: 'Amen dico uobis quod uos, qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione, cum sederit filius hominis in sede glorie sue, sedebitis et uos super sedes 30 duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel. Et omnis qui reliquerit domum uel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut

A13v

B20v

1 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 4 Iesus] *i. r. fort. A2* 15 Non occides] *ex homicidium facies corr. A2* | furaberis] *i. r. A2* | falso testificaberis] *ex falsum testimonium dices corr. A2*
 20 uerbum] *uer- i. r. fort. A1* 21 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 25 potest saluari] *i. r. A2*
 27 nos] *om. B i. m. B1* 29 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2*

filios aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et uitam eternam possidebit. Multi autem erunt primi ultimi et ultimi primi.

- 20** Simile enim est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias, qui exiit simul primo mane ut conduceret operarios in uineam suam; conuentione autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno, misit eos in uineam suam. Et exiens circa tertiam horam uidit alios stantes in foro otiosos et dixit illis: “Ite et uos in uineam meam; et quod iustum fuerit dabo uobis.” Ipsi autem abierunt. Iterum exiens circa sextam et nonam horam fecit eodem modo. Circa undecimam uero horam exiit et inuenit alios stantes otiosos et dicit eis: “Quid hic stetistis tota die otiosi?” Dicunt ei: “Quia nemo nos conduxit.” Dicit ipsis: “Ite et uos in uineam meam et quodcumque iustum fuerit accipietis.” Cum autem serum factum esset, dicit dominus uinee procuratori suo: “Voca operarios et redde illis mercedem incipiens ab ultimis usque ad primos.” Cum uenissent qui circa undecimam horam uenerant, acceperunt et ipsi singulos denarios. Venientes autem primi arbitrati sunt quod plus essent accepturi; et acceperunt et ipsi singulos denarios. Accipientes autem murmurabant aduersus patremfamilias dicentes quod “Hi ultimi una hora operati sunt, et pares ipsos nobis fecisti, qui portauimus pondus diei et estum!” Ipse autem respondens dixit uni eorum: “Amice, non facio tibi iniuriam; nonne ex denario conuenisti mecum? Tolle quod tuum est, et uade; uolo huic ultimo dare sicut et tibi. An non licet mihi facere quod uolo in rebus meis? Si oculus tuus malus est quia ego bonus sum?” Sic erunt ultimi primi et primi ultimi. Multi enim sunt uocati, pauci uero electi.’ Et ascendens Iesus Hierosolimam assumpsit duodecim discipulos seorsum in uia et ait eis: ‘Ecce ascendimus Hierosolimam, et filius hominis tradetur pontificibus et scribis et condemnabunt eum morte et tradent ipsum gentibus ad illudendum, flagellandum et crucifigendum, et tertia die resurget.’ Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum Zebedei cum filiis suis, adorans et petens aliquid ab eo. Ipse autem dixit ei: ‘Quid uis?’ Dicit ei: ‘Dic ut sedeant hi duo filii mei unus a dextris tuis et unus a sinistris tuis in regno tuo.’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit: ‘Nescitis quid

B21r

A14r

B21v

2 ultimi¹ ... ultimi²] *i. r. A1* 3 enim est] *i. r. fort. A2* 4 ut conduceret] *ex conducere corr. fort. A2* 9 otiosos...10 dicit] *i. r. A1* 14 ab ultimis] *fort. ex a nouissimis corr. A1*
 18 quod] *om. A ins. A1* | ultimi] *fort. ex a nouissimis corr. A1* 19 estum] *i. r. A1*
 21 ultimo] *fort. ex a nouissimo corr. A1* 22 in ... meis] *i. r. A1* 23 ultimi] *fort. ex a nouissimis corr. A1* 24 ultimi] *fort. ex a nouissimis corr. A1* 25 eis] *i. r. fort. A2* 29 ad eum] *om. B i. m. B1*

Respondens autem Iesus dixit: ‘Nescitis quid petatis; potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum aut baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizari?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Possumus.’ Et dicit ipsis: ‘Calicem quidem meum bibetis et baptismum quo ego baptizor baptizabimini; sedere autem a dextris meis et a sinistris meis non est meum dare uobis, sed quibus 5 paratum est a patre meo.’ Et audientibus decem indignati sunt de duobus fratribus. Iesus autem uocauit eos et dixit: ‘Scitis quod principes gentium dominantur eis, et qui magni sunt potestatem exercent in eas. Non ita erit inter uos, sed quicumque uoluerit inter uos magnus fieri sit minister uester, et quicumque uoluerit inter uos primus esse sit uester seruus; sicut 10 filius hominis non uenit ut ministraretur sed ut ministraret, et daret animam suam redemptionem pro multis.’ Et egredientibus illis a Ierico, secute sunt eum turbe multe. Et ecce duo cecum sedentes secus uiam audierunt quod Iesus transiret et clamauerunt dicentes: ‘Miserere nostri, domine fili Dauid!’ Turba autem increpabat eos ut tacerent; ipsi uero 15 maius clamabant dicentes: ‘Miserere nostri, fili Dauid!’ Et stetit Iesus et uocauit eos et dixit: ‘Quid uultis ut faciam uobis?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Domine, ut aperiantur oculi nostri.’ Misertus autem eorum Iesus tetigit oculos eorum; et confestim uiderunt oculi eorum, et secuti sunt eum.

21 Cum appropinquassent Hierosolimam et uenissent Bethphage, ad 20 montem Oliueti, tunc Iesus misit duos discipulos dicens eis: ‘Ite in castellum quod contra uos est, et statim inuenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea; soluite et adducite mihi. Et si quis uobis aliquid dixerit, dicite quod Dominus his opus habet. Confestim autem dimittet eos.’ Hoc autem totum factum est ut adimpleretur quod dictum 25 est per prophetam dicentem: *Dicite filie Syon: Ecce, rex tuus uenit tibi mansuetus et sedens super asinam et pullum filium subiuugalium*. Euntes autem discipuli fecerunt sicut precepit eis Iesus, et adduxerunt asinam et pullum, et imposuerunt super eos uestimenta sua, et eum desuper sedere fecerunt. Plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia; alii autem 30 cedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in uia. Turbe autem, que precedebant et que sequebantur, clamabant dicentes: ‘Osanna filio Dauid! Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini! Osanna in altissimis.’ Et

1 Nescitis... 4 autem] *i. r. A1* 7 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 8 eis] *i. r. A1* 10 primus] magnus fieri *praem. B exp. B1* 11 ut ministraretur] *ex ministrari corr. A2* | ut ministraret] *ex ministrare corr. A2* | daret] *ex dare corr. A2* 14 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 19 eorum¹] *i. r. A2* 24 quod] *fort. ex quoniam corr. fort. A2* 25 est²] *iter. A exp. fort. A1*

B22r

A14v

qui uenit in nomine domini! Osanna in altissimis.’ Et cum intrassent Hierosolimam, commota est uniuersa ciuitas dicens: ‘Quis est hic?’ Turbe autem dicebant: ‘Hic est Iesus propheta a Nazareth Galilee.’ Et ingressus est Iesus in templum Dei et eiciebat omnes uendentes et ementes in
5 templo, et mensas nummulariorum ac sedes uendentium columbas euertit, et dicit eis: ‘Scriptum est: *Domus mea domus orationis uocabitur*. Vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.’ Et accesserunt ad eum claudi et ceci in templo, et curauit eos. Videntes autem pontifices et scribe mirabilia que fecit Iesus, et pueros clamantes in templo et dicentes:
10 ‘Osanna filio Daud,’ indignati sunt et dixerunt ei: ‘Audis quid isti dicunt?’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Vtique; numquam legistis: *Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem*?’ Et relictis illis, abiit foras extra ciuitatem in Bethaniam ibique mansit. Mane autem reuertens Iesus in ciuitatem, esuriit. Et uidens ficum unam in uia, uenit ad eam; et nihil inuenit in ea
15 nisi folia tantum, et ait ei: ‘Non amplius ex te fructus nascatur in sempiternum.’ Et arefacta est continuo ficus. Et uidentes discipuli mirati sunt dicentes: ‘Quomodo continuo aruit?’ Respondens autem Iesus ait eis: ‘Amen dico uobis: Si habueritis fidem et non hesitaueritis, non solum de ficu facietis, sed et si huic monti dixeritis: “Tolle te et iacta te in
20 mare”, fiet. Et omnia quecumque petieritis in oratione credentes, accipietis.’ Et cum uenisset in templum, accesserunt ad eum docentem pontifices et seniores populi dicentes: ‘In qua potestate hec facis? Et quis tibi dedit hanc potestatem?’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit eis: ‘Interrogabo uos et ego unum sermonem, quem si dixeritis mihi, et ego
25 uobis dicam in qua potestate hec facio: Baptismus Ioannis unde erat? Ex celo an ex hominibus?’ At illi cogitabant intra se dicentes: ‘Si dixerimus: “Ex celo”, dicet nobis: “Quare ergo non credidistis ei”; si autem dixerimus: “Ex hominibus”, timemus turbam; omnes enim habent Ioannem tamquam prophetam.’ Et responderunt ad Iesum et dixerunt:
30 ‘Nescimus.’ Et ait illis ipse: ‘Neque ego dico uobis in qua potestate hec facio. Quid uobis uidetur? Homo quidam habebat duos filios. Et accedens ad primum dixit: “Fili, uade operare hodie in uineam meam.” Ille autem respondens ait: “Nolo”; postea autem penitentia motus abiit. Accedens autem ad alterum dixit eodem modo. Ipse autem respondens

B22v

A15r

1 altissimis] *i. r. A1* 5 sedes] *ex cathedras corr. A2* 6 eis] *om. A ins. fort. A1* 15 amplius] *-us i. r. A2* | *ex te] i. r. A2* 21 docentem] *i. r. A2* 32 operare] *-e i. r. A2*

B23r

dixit: “Ergo, domine”; et non iuit. Quis ex duobus fecit uoluntatem patris?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Primus.’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Amen dico uobis quod publicani et meretrices precedent uos in regnum Dei. Venit autem ad uos Ioannes in uia iustitie, et non credidistis ei; publicani autem et meretrices crediderunt ei. Vos autem uidentes non penitentiam habuistis ut postea 5 crederetis ei. Aliam parabolam audite. Homo erat paterfamilias, qui plantauit uineam et sepem circundedit ei et fodit in ea torcular et edificauit turrim et locauit eam agricolis et peregre profectus est. Cum autem tempus fructuum appropinquasset, misit seruos suos ad agricolas, ut acciperent fructus eius. Et agricole, apprehensis seruis suis, hunc 10 quidem uerberauerunt, illum autem occiderunt, alium uero lapidauerunt. Iterum misit alios seruos plures prioribus, et fecerunt illis eodem modo. Postremo autem misit ad eos filium suum dicens: “Verebuntur filium meum.” Agricole autem uidentes filium dixerunt intra se: “Hic est heres. Venite, occidamus eum et habebimus hereditatem suam.” Et 15 apprehensum eum eiecerunt extra uineam et occiderunt. Cum autem uenerit dominus uinee, quid faciet agricolis illis?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Malos male perdet ipsos et uineam dabit aliis agricolis, qui reddent ei fructus temporibus suis.’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Numquam legistis in scripturis: *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli; a domino factus est iste 20 angulus et est mirabilis in oculis nostris?*’ Ideo dico uobis quod auferetur a uobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus eius. Et qui ceciderit super lapidem istum confringetur; super quem non ceciderit, conteret eum.’ Et cum audissent pontifices et pharisei parabolas eius, cognouerunt quod de ipsis diceret; et querentes eum tenere, timuerunt 25 turbas, quia uelut prophetam eum habebant. Et respondens Iesus iterum dixit eis in parabolis dicens:

22 ‘Simile factum est regnum celorum homini regi, qui fecit nuptias filio suo. Et misit seruos suos ut uocarent inuitatos ad nuptias, et nolebant uenire. Iterum misit alios seruos dicens: 30 “Dicite inuitatis: Ecce prandium meum paraui, tauri mei et altilia mea occisa, et omnia parata; uenite ad nuptias.” Illi autem neglexerunt et

26 habebant] Here ends Matthew 21 in the Vulgate.

1 Ergo] *ex eo corr. A2* 2 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 5 habuistis...postea] *i. r. A1*
 11 uerberauerunt] *i. r. A2* 13 Postremo] *i. r. A1* | eos...suum] *i. r. A1* 19 eis] *ei B*
 20 factus²] *ex fatus corr. A1* 24 eius] *i. r. A2* 26 turbas] *i. r. A1* 29 seruos...uocarent]
i. r. fort. A1

- uenite ad nuptias.” Illi autem neglexerunt et abierunt, hic quidem in uillam suam, hic autem in negotiationem suam; reliqui uero tenuerunt seruos suos ac uiolauerunt et occiderunt. Cum rex ille audisset iratus est et, missis exercitibus suis, perdidit homicidas illos et ciuitatem illorum
- 5 succendit. Tunc ait seruis suis: “Nuptie quidem parate sunt, sed qui inuitati fuerant non erant digni; ite igitur ad exitus uiarum et quoscumque inueneritis, uocate ad nuptias.” Et egressi serui sui in uias, congregauerunt omnes quos inuenerunt, et bonos et malos; et implete sunt nuptie discumbentibus. Intrauit autem rex ut uideret discumbentes,
- 10 et uidit ibi hominem non uestitum ueste nuptiali et ait illi: “Amice, quomodo huc intrasti non habens uestem nuptialem?” At ipse obmutuit. Tunc dixit rex ministris: “Ligatis manibus et pedibus suis, mittite eum in tenebras exteriores: ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.” Multi enim sunt uocati, pauci uero electi.’ Tunc abeuntes pharisei consilium acceperunt ut
- 15 ipsum caperent in sermone. Et mittunt ei discipulos suos cum Herodianis dicentes: ‘Magister, scimus quod uerax es et uiam Dei in ueritate doces, et non est tibi cura de aliquo; non enim respicis in faciem hominum. Dic ergo nobis quid tibi uidetur: Licet dare censum Cesari uel non?’ Cognita autem Iesus nequitia eorum, ait: ‘Quid me tentatis,
- 20 hypocrite? Ostendite mihi numisma census.’ Ipsi autem obtulerunt ei denarium. Et dicit eis: ‘Cuius imago hec et superscriptio?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Cesaris.’ Tunc ait illis: ‘Reddite ergo que sunt Cesaris, Cesari, et que sunt Dei, Deo.’ Et audientes mirati sunt et relicto eo abierunt. In illa die accesserunt ad eum saducei, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem, et
- 25 interrogauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Magister, Moyses dixit si quis mortuus est non habens filium, ut frater eius ducat uxorem illius et suscitet semen fratri suo. Erant autem apud nos septem fratres; et primus, uxore ducta, defunctus est et non habens semen reliquit uxorem suam fratri suo; similiter autem secundus et tertius usque ad septem. Postremo autem
- 30 omnium et mulier defuncta est. In resurrectione ergo cuius de septem erit uxor? Omnes enim habuerunt eam.’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit eis: ‘Erratis nescientes scripturas neque uirtutem Dei; in resurrectione enim neque nubent neque nubentur, sed sunt uelut angeli Dei in celo. De resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est uobis a

B23v

A15v

B24r

3 ac uiolauerunt] *ac uiolau-* i. r. A2 7 serui] igitur *praem. A exp. fort. A1* | serui sui] i. r. *fort. A1* 12 suis] i. r. *fort. A2* tuis B 16 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 18 hominum] -um i. r. A2 29 Postremo] i. r. A1 34 quod] *fort. ex quia corr. fort. A2*

Deo dicente: *Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Izach, Deus Iacob?* Non est Deus mortuorum sed uiuentium.’ Et audientes turbe mirabantur in doctrina eius. Pharisei autem audientes quod silentium imposuisset saduceis, conuenerunt in unum. Et interrogauit eum unus ex eis legis doctor tentans eum et dicens: ‘Magister, quod est mandatum magnum in lege?’ 5 Iesus autem dixit ei: ‘Diliges dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua et in tota fortitudine tua: hoc est primum et magnum mandatum. Secundum autem simile huic: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum. In his duobus mandatis tota lex et prophete pendent.’ Congregatis autem phariseis, interrogauit Iesus 10 dicens: ‘Quid uobis uidetur de Christo? Cuius filius est?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Dauid.’ Dicit: ‘Quomodo igitur Dauid in spiritu dominum ipsum uocat dicens: *Dixit dominus domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum?* Si igitur Dauid uocat ipsum dominum in spiritu, quomodo filius eius est?’ Et nemo poterat ei respondere uerbum, nec 15 ausus fuit quisquam ex illa die eum amplius interrogare.

A16r

23 Tunc Iesus locutus est ad turbas et ad discipulos suos dicens: ‘Super cathedra Moysi sederunt scribe et pharisei. Omnia ergo quecumque dixerint uobis ut seruetis, seruete et facite; 20 secundum uero opera eorum ne facite: dicunt enim et non faciunt. Alligant enim onera grauiam et importabilia et imponunt in humeris hominum, digito autem suo nolunt ea mouere. Omnia namque opera sua faciunt ut uideantur ab hominibus: dilatant enim philacteria sua et magnificant fimbrias uestimentorum suorum, amant autem primum recubitus in cenis et primas sedes in synagogis et salutationes in foro et 25 uocari ab hominibus ‘rabi’. Vos autem ne uocemini ‘rabi’; unus est enim magister uester, Christus; omnes autem uos fratres estis. Et patrem uestrum ne uocetis super terram, unus est enim pater uester, qui in celis est. Nec uocemini magistri, unus est enim magister uester, Christus. Qui maior est uestrum erit minister uester. Qui autem sese exaltauerit, 30 humiliabitur, et quicumque seipsum humiliauerit, exaltabitur. Ve autem uobis, scribe et pharisei hypocrite, quia clauditis regnum celorum coram hominibus! Vos enim non intratis nec introeuntes sinitis intrare. Ve uobis, scribe et pharisei hypocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis

B24v

3 eius] *i. r. A2* 9 tota] *i. r. A1* 14 in spiritu] *om. A i. m. A1* 22 namque] *i. r. A2*
 23 philacteria] *ex philateria corr. B1* 25 sedes] *ex cathedras corr. A2* 26 rabi¹] *ex Rabbi corr. fort. A2* | rabi²] *ex Rabbi corr. fort. A2* 30 exaltauerit...32 hypocrite] *i. r. A1*

- pharisei hypocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis unum aduenam, et cum fuerit factus, facitis eum filium gehenne duplum quam uos! Ve uobis, duces ceci, qui dicitis: “Quicumque iurauerit per templum, nihil est; qui autem iurauerit in auro templi, debet.” Stulti et ceci! Quid enim
- 5 maius est: aurum uel templum quod sanctificat aurum? “Quicumque igitur iurauerit in altari, nihil est; qui autem iurauerit in dono quod est super illud, debet.” Ceci! Quid enim maius est: donum uel altare quod sanctificat donum? Qui autem iurat in altari, iurat in eo et in omnibus que sunt super illud; et qui iurat in templo, iurat in illo et in eo qui habitat
- 10 in templo; et qui iurat in celo, iurat in solio Dei et in eo qui sedet super eum. Ve uobis, scribe et pharisei hypocrite, qui decimatis mentam et anethum et cuminum et reliquistis grauiora legis: iudicium et misericordiam et fidem! Hec oportuit facere et illa non omittere. Duces ceci, excolantes culicem, camelum autem glutientes. Ve uobis, scribe et
- 15 pharisei hypocrite, qui mundatis quod extrinsecus est calicis et parapsidis, intrinsecus autem pleni estis ex rapina et immunditia! Pharisei cece, munda prius quod intus est calicis et parapsidis, ut fiat id quod extrinsecus est mundum. Ve uobis, scribe et pharisei hypocrite, qui similes estis sepulchris dealbatis, que extrinsecus quidem apparent
- 20 speciosa, intrinsecus autem plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia! Sic et uos quidem extrinsecus apparetis hominibus iusti, intrinsecus autem pleni estis hypocrisi et iniquitate. Ve uobis, scribe et pharisei hypocrite, qui edificatis sepulchra prophetarum et ornatis
- 25 nostrorum, non fuissemus socii eorum in sanguine prophetarum!” Itaque testimonio estis uobismetipsis quod filii estis eorum qui prophetas occiderunt. Et uos implete mensuram patrum uestrorum. Serpentes, progenies uiperarum, quomodo fugietis a iudicio gehenne? Ideo ecce ego mitto ad uos prophetas et sapientes et scribas; et ex eis occidetis et crucifigetis et ex eis flagellabitis in synagogis uestris et persequemini de ciuitate in ciuitatem, ut ueniat super uos omnis sanguis iustus, qui effusus est super terra a sanguine Abel iusti usque ad sanguinem Zacharie filii

B25r

A16v

1 aduenam] *i. r. A2* 10 solio] *s- i. r. A2* 12 iudicium] *ex iudicio corr. A1* 15 hypocrite] *ex hycrite corr. B1* | quod extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 16 intrinsecus autem] *i. r. A2* 17 quod²...18 est] *i. r. A2* 18 hypocrite] *ex hycrite corr. B1* 19 extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 20 intrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 21 extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 22 intrinsecus] *i. r. A2* | hypocrisi] *hypocresi B* 26 testimonio] *in praem. B exp. B1* | quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 28 progenies] *i. r. A2* | gehenne] *i. r. A2* | ego] *om. B i. m. B1* 29 eis] *i. r. A2*

Barachie, quem occidistis inter templum et altare. Amen dico uobis quod uenient hec omnia super generationem istam. Hierusalem, Hierusalem, occidens prophetas et lapidans eos qui missi sunt ad te, quotiens uolui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alis, et noluisti! Ecce relinquitur uobis domus uestra deserta! Dico enim uobis: Non me uidebitis amodo, donec dicatis: “Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini!””

B25v

24 Et egressus Iesus de templo ibat, et accesserunt ad eum discipuli sui ut ostenderent ei edificationes templi; Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Videtis hec omnia. Amen dico uobis: Non relinquetur hic lapis super lapidem qui non destruat.’ Sedente autem eo in monte Oliueti, accesserunt ad eum discipuli seorsum dicentes: ‘Dic nobis quando hec erunt, et quod signum aduentus tui et consummationis seculi?’ Et respondens Iesus dixit illis: ‘Videte ne quis uos seducat. Multi enim uenient in nomine meo dicentes: “Ego sum Christus”, et multos seducent. Audituri enim estis bella et opiniones bellorum. Videte ne turbemini; oportet enim omnia fieri, sed nondum est finis. Surget enim gens in gentem et regnum in regnum, et erunt pestilentie et fames et terremotus per loca; hec autem omnia initia sunt dolorum. Tunc tradent uos in tribulatione et occident uos, et eritis odio omnibus hominibus propter nomen meum. Et tunc scandalizabuntur multi et inuicem tradent et odio habebunt inuicem; et multi falsi prophete surgent et seducent multos. Et quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum; qui autem perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluabitur. Et predicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso terrarum orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc ueniet consummatio. Cum ergo uideritis abominationem desolationis que dicta est a Daniele propheta stante in loco sancto – qui legit intelligat – tunc qui in Iudea sunt fugiant ad montes; et qui in tecto, non descendat ut tollat aliqua de domo sua; et qui in agro, non reuertatur retro ut tollat uestimenta sua. Ve autem pregnantibus et lactantibus in illis diebus! Orate autem ut non fiat fuga uestra hieme uel sabato: erit autem tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi usque modo neque fiet. Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi,

A17r

B26r

13 consummationis] cosumationis A 14 enim] om. A ins. A2 20 hominibus] -min- i. r. A1 24 saluabitur] -uabitur A1 25 terrarum...in²] i. r. A1 27 abominationem] ex abhominationem corr. fort. A2 28 sunt fugiant] i. r. fort. A2 33 dies...38,1 non] i. r. A1

non utique fieret salua omnis caro; sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi. Tunc si quis uobis dixerit: “Ecce hic Christus”, uel: “Hic”, ne credatis. Surgent enim falsi Christi et falsi prophete et dabunt signa magna et prodigia, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi. Ecce predixi uobis. Si ergo dixerint uobis: “Ecce in deserto est”,
 5 ne exeatis; “Ecce in penetralibus”, ne credatis. Sicut enim fulgur exit ab oriente et apparet usque in occidentem, ita erit et aduentus filii hominis. Vbicumque fuerit corpus, ibi congregabuntur et aquile. Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit
 10 lumen suum, et stelle cadent de celo, et uirtutes celorum mouebuntur. Et tunc apparebit signum filii hominis in celo, et tunc plangent omnes tribus terre et uidebunt filium hominis uenientem in nubibus celi cum potestate et gloria multa; et mittet angelos suos cum tuba magne uocis, et congregabunt electos suos a quatuor uentis, a terminis celorum usque ad
 15 terminos eorum. A ficu autem discite parabolam: cum iam ramus eius tener fuerit et folia nata, cognoscite quod prope est estas; ita et uos, cum uideritis hec omnia, scitote quod prope est in ianuis. Amen dico uobis: Non preteribit generatio hec donec hec omnia fiant. Celum et terra transibunt; uerba autem mea non preteribunt. De die autem illa et hora
 20 nemo scit, neque angeli celorum, nisi pater meus solus. Sicut autem fuit in diebus Noe, ita erit et aduentus filii hominis. Sicut enim erant in diebus ante diluuium comedentes et bibentes, nubentes et nuptum tradentes, usque ad eum diem in quo Noe introiuit in arcam, et non cognouerunt donec uenit diluuium et tulit omnes, ita erit et aduentus filii
 25 hominis. Tunc duo erunt in agro: unus assumitur et unus relinquitur; due molentes in mola: una assumitur et una relinquitur. Vigilate ergo, quia nescitis qua hora dominus uenturus sit. Illud autem scite, quod si sciret paterfamilias qua custodia fur ueniat, uigilasset utique neque siuisset perfodi domum suam. Ideoque et uos estote parati, quia qua hora non
 30 putatis filius hominis uenturus est. Quisnam est fidelis dispensator seruus et prudens, quem constituit dominus super familiam suam ut det illis cibum in tempore? Beatus ille seruus quem cum uenerit dominus suus inuenerit sic facientem. Amen dico uobis quod super omnes facultates suas constituet eum. Si autem dixerit malus ille seruus in corde suo:

B26v

1 electos] *ex electo corr. A1* 15 eius] *i. r. A2* 16 cognoscite] *i. r. A2* 17 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 18 hec²] *om. B* 20 pater... 21 diebus] *i. r. A1* 24 et²] *om. A ins. A2* 27 scite] *ex scitote corr. fort. A2* | quod] *i. r. fort. A2* 33 quod] *ex quoniam corr. fort. A2*

A17v

“Moram facit dominus meus ad ueniendum”, et ceperit percutere conseruos suos, manducet autem et bibat cum ebriosis, ueniet dominus serui illius in die qua non expectat, et hora qua ignorat, et diuidet eum partemque eius ponet cum hypocritis. Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.”

B27r

25 Tunc simile erit regnum celorum decem uirginibus, que 5
accipientes lampades suas exierunt obuiam sponso. Quinque
autem ex eis erant prudentes et quinque fatue. Et quinque
fatue, acceptis lampadibus suis, non sumpserunt oleum secum; prudentes
uero acceperunt oleum in uasis suis cum lampadibus. Moram autem
faciente sponso, dormitauerunt omnes et dormierunt. Media autem 10
nocte clamor factus est: “Ecce, sponsus uenit! Exite obuiam ei!” Tunc
surrexerunt omnes uirgines ille et ornauerunt omnes lampades suas.
Fatue autem sapientibus dixerunt: “Date nobis de oleo uestro, quia
lampades nostre extinguuntur.” Responderunt autem prudentes dicentes:
“Ne quando non sufficiat nobis et uobis, ite potius ad uendentes et emite 15
uobis.” Dum autem irent ut emerent, uenit sponsus, et que parate erant
intrauerunt cum eo ad nuptias; et clausa est ianua. Posterius autem
uenerunt et relique uirgines dicentes: “Domine, domine, aperi nobis!” At
ille respondens ait: “Amen dico uobis: Nescio uos.” Vigilate igitur, quia
nescitis diem neque horam in qua filius hominis uenturus est. Sicut enim 20
homo peregre proficiscens uocauit proprios seruos et tradidit eis
facultates suas. Et uni dedit quinque talenta, huic autem duo, alii uero
unum, unicuique secundum propriam uirtutem, et profectus est. Statim
abiit autem et qui quinque talenta acceperat, et operatus est in eis et
lucratus est alia quinque; eodem modo et qui duo lucratus est alia duo. 25
Qui autem unum acceperat, abiens fodit in terram et abscondit argentum
domini sui. Post multum uero temporis uenit dominus seruorum illorum
et confert rationem cum eis. Et accedens qui quinque talenta acceperat,
obtulit alia quinque talenta dicens: “Domine, quinque talenta tradidisti
mihi; ecce alia quinque lucratus sum in ipsis.” Ait autem ipsi dominus 30
suus: “Probe, serue bone et fidelis. Super pauca fuisti fidelis; super multa
te constituam: intra in gaudium domini tui.” Accedens autem et qui duo

1 meus... ueniendum] *i. r. A2* 4 eius] *i. r. A2* 5 erit] est *praem. B exp. B1* 7 erant
prudentes] *i. r. A1* 16 irent... emerent] *ex irent emere corr. A2* 19 Amen... uos] *i. r.*
A1 | Vigilate] *Vigi- i. m. A1* 21 proprios] *i. r. A2* | seruos] *om. A ins. A1*
30 autem... dominus] *i. r. A1*

- talenta acceperat, ait: “Domine, duo talenta tradidisti mihi; ecce, alia duo talenta lucratus sum in ipsis.” Ait autem ei dominus suus: “Probe, serue bone et fidelis. Super pauca fuisti fidelis; super multa te constituam: intra in gaudium domini tui.” Accedens autem et qui unum talentum
- 5 acceperat, ait: “Domine, noui quod homo durus es: metis ubi non seminasti, et congregas unde non sparsisti; et timens abii et abscondi talentum tuum in terra. Ecce habes quod tuum est.” Respondens autem dominus suus dixit ei: “Serue male et piger! Sciebas quod meto ubi non
- 10 seminaui, et congrego unde non sparsi? Oportuit ergo te committere pecuniam meam nummulariis, et ego ueniens recepissem utique quod meum est cum usura. Tollite igitur ab eo talentum et date ei qui habet decem talenta: omnia enim habenti dabitur, et abundabit; et ei qui non habet, et quod uidetur habere auferetur ab eo. Et inutilem seruum eicite in tenebras exteriores: ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.” Cum autem
- 15 uenerit filius hominis in gloria sua, et omnes angeli eius cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem glorie sue. Et congregabuntur coram eo omnes gentes; et separabit eos ab inuicem, sicut pastor segregat oues ab edis, et statuet oues quidem a dextris suis, edos autem a sinistris. Tunc dicet rex his qui a dextris suis erunt: “Venite, benedicti patris mei; possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esuriui enim, et dedistis mihi ad manducandum; sitiui, et dedistis mihi ad bibendum; hospes eram, et collegistis me; nudus, et cooperuistis me; infirmus, et uisitastis me; in carcere eram, et uenistis ad me.” Tunc respondebunt ei iusti dicentes: “Domine, quando uidimus te esurientem et pauimus te, sitientem et dedimus tibi potum? Quando autem te uidimus hospitem et collegimus te, aut nudum et cooperuimus te? Aut quando te uidimus infirmum aut in carcere et uenimus ad te?” Et respondens rex dicet eis: “Amen dico uobis: Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis.” Tunc dicet et his qui a sinistris suis erunt: “Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem eternum, qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius.
- 20 25 30
- Esuriui enim, et non dedistis mihi ad manducandum; sitiui, et non dedistis mihi ad bibendum; hospes eram, et non collegistis me; nudus

B27v

A18r

2 autem...dominus] *i. r. A1* 3 et...Super] *i. r. A1* 5 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2*
6 unde] -nde *i. r. A2* 7 Ecce] *i. r. A2* 8 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 9 unde non] *i. r. A2* 13 uidetur] *ex uidebitur corr. B1* 16 coram eo] *i. r. A2* 18 statuet] *statuit AB corr. A2* 21 ad manducandum] *ex manducare corr. A2* | ad bibendum] *ex bibere corr. A2*
27 rex] *om. A ins. A2* | eis] *i. r. A2* 28 ex his] *i. r. fort. A2* 30 est] *om. B* | eius] *i. r. A2* 31 ad manducandum] *ex manducare corr. A2* 32 ad bibendum] *ex bibere corr. A2*

B28r

eram, et non cooperuistis me; infirmus et in carcere, et non uisitastis me.” Tunc respondebunt et ipsi dicentes: “Domine, quando uidimus te esurientem aut sitientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infirmum uel in carcere et non ministrauimus tibi?” Tunc respondebit eis dicens: “Amen dico uobis: Quamdiu non fecistis uni ex his minimis, nec mihi fecistis.” 5
Et ibunt hi in supplicium eternum, iusti autem in uitam eternam.’

26 Et factum est cum consummasset Iesus sermones hos omnes, dixit discipulis suis: ‘Scitis quod post biduum pasca erit, et filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur.’ Tunc congregati sunt pontifices et scribe et seniores populi in atrium summi pontificis, qui dicebatur Caiphas, et consilium fecerunt ut Iesum dolo tenerent et occiderent; dicebant autem: ‘Non in festiuitate, ne tumultus fiat in populo.’ Cum autem Iesus esset in Bethania, in domo Simonis leprosi, accessit ad eum mulier habens alabastrum unguenti pretiosi et effudit super caput ipsius recumbentis. Videntes autem discipuli, indignati sunt dicentes: ‘Ad quid perditio hec? Potuit enim istud unguentum uenundari multo et dari pauperibus.’ Sciens autem Iesus ait ipsis: ‘Quid molesti estis huic mulieri? Opus enim bonum operata est in me; pauperes enim semper habetis uobiscum, me autem non semper habetis. Mittens enim hec unguentum hoc in meum corpus, ad sepeliendum me fecit. Amen dico uobis: Vbicumque predicatum fuerit hoc euangelium in toto mundo, dicetur et quod hec fecit in memoriam suam.’ Tunc abiit unus ex duodecim, qui dicebatur Iudas Scariothes, ad pontifices et ait: ‘Quid uultis mihi dare, et ego eum uobis tradam?’ At ipsi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos. Et exinde querebat oportunitatem ut eum traderet. Prima autem Azymorum accesserunt discipuli Iesu ad eum, dicentes ei: ‘Vbi uis paremus tibi ad comedendum Pascha?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Ite in ciuitatem ad quendam et dicite ei: “Magister dicit: Tempus meum prope est; apud te facio Pascha cum discipulis meis.”’ Et fecerunt discipuli sicut precepit illis Iesus, et parauerunt Pascha. Sero autem facto, discumbebat cum duodecim. Et edentibus ipsis, dixit: ‘Amen dico uobis: Vnus ex uobis me traditurus est.’ Et contristati ualde, ceperunt ei singuli dicere: ‘Numquid ego sum, domine?’ Ipse autem respondens ait: ‘Qui intingit

A18v

B28v

1 infirmus] eram *add. B exp. B1* | in...non?] *i. r. A1* 8 quod] *ex quoniam corr. A2*
12 festiuitate] *i. r. A2* 16 enim...multo] *i. r. fort. A1* 20 Vbicumque] *enim add. A exp. fort. A1* 25 autem] *die add. A exp. fort. A1* 26 Vbi] *iter. B* | tibi...comedendum] *ex tibi comedere corr. A2* 28 Pascha] *-ha i. r. A1 ex pasca corr. B1* 30 Sero] *i. r. A2*
31 ipsis] *-ps- vid. i. r. fort. A1*

- domine?’ Ipse autem respondens ait: ‘Qui intingit manum mecum in catino, hic me tradet. Filius enim hominis uadit sicut scriptum est de eo; ue autem homini illi per quem filius hominis tradetur! Bonum erat ei si non fuisset natus homo ille.’ Respondens autem ipsi Iesu, qui tradebat
- 5 eum, ait: ‘Numquid ego sum, rabi?’ Dicit ei: ‘Tu dixisti.’ Comedentibus autem ipsis, accepit Iesus panem et benedixit et fregit deditque discipulis, et ait: ‘Accipite, comedite: hoc est corpus meum.’ Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit et dedit illis dicens: ‘Bibite ex hoc omnes: hic est sanguis meus noui testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem
- 10 peccatorum. Dico autem uobis quod non bibam amodo de hac propagine uitis usque in diem illum, cum ipsum uobiscum bibam nouum in regno patris mei.’ Et hymno dicto, exiuerunt in montem Oliueti. Tunc dicit illis Iesus: ‘Omnes uos scandalizabimini in me in ista nocte.’ Scriptum est enim: *Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oues gregis*. Postquam
- 15 autem resurrexero, precedam uos in Galileam.’ Respondens autem Petrus ait ei: ‘Si omnes scandalizati fuerint in te, ego numquam scandalizabor.’ Ait ei Iesus: ‘Amen dico tibi quod in hac nocte, antequam gallus cantet, ter me negabis.’ Ait ipsi Petrus: ‘Et si oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo.’ Similiter autem et omnes discipuli dixerunt. Tunc uenit cum eis
- 20 Iesus in regionem que dicitur Gethseman. Et dixit discipulis suis: ‘Sedete hic, donec uadam illuc et orem.’ Et assumpto Petro et duobus filiis Zebedei, cepit contristari et mestus esse. Tunc ait illis Iesus: ‘Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; sustinete hic et uigilate mecum.’ Et progressus paululum, procidit in faciem suam orans et dicens: ‘Pater
- 25 meus, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste; uerumtamen non sicut ego uolo, sed sicut tu.’ Et uenit ad discipulos suos et inuenit eos dormientes; et dicit Petro: ‘Sic non potuistis una hora uigilare mecum? Vigilate et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem; spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.’ Iterum secundo abiit et orauit dicens: ‘Pater mi, si non
- 30 potest transire a me hic calix nisi bibam ipsum, fiat uoluntas tua.’ Et uenit iterum et inuenit eos dormientes: erant enim oculi eorum grauati. Et relictis illis, iterum abiit et orauit tertio, eundem sermonem dicens. Tunc uenit ad discipulos suos et dicit eis: ‘Dormite decetero et

B29r

A19r

5 rabi] ex Rabbi corr. fort. A2 6 discipulis] i. r. fort. A1 10 amodo...11 propagine] i. r. A2 11 ipsum] i. r. fort. A2 13 scandalizabimini] -zabimini i. r. A2 | in me] i. r. A2 16 ei] i. r. A2 17 ei] i. r. A2 | dico...antequam] i. r. A1 20 in regionem] i. r. A2 22 illis Iesus] Iesus illis B corr. B1 24 paululum] i. r. A1 30 transire...hic] i. r. fort. A2 33 eis] i. r. fort. A2 | Dormite] D- i. r. fort. A2

requiescite; ecce appropinquauit hora, et filius hominis traditur in manus
 peccatorum. Surgite et eamus; ecce appropinquauit qui me tradit. Et eo
 adhuc loquente, ecce Iudas, unus de duodecim, uenit et cum eo turba
 multa cum gladiis et fustibus, missa a pontificibus et senioribus populi.
 Qui autem tradebat eum dedit eis signum dicens: 'Quemcumque 5
 osculatus fuero, ipse est; tenete eum!' Et confestim accedens ad Iesum
 dixit: 'Aue, rabi!' et osculatus est eum. Dixit autem ei Iesus: 'Amice, ad
 quid ades?' Tunc accesserunt et manus iniecerunt in Iesum et tenuerunt
 eum. Et ecce unus ex eis qui erant cum Iesu, extendens manum exemit
 gladium suum et percussit seruum summi pontificis, et amputauit 10
 auriculum eius. Tunc ait illi Iesus: 'Conuerte gladium tuum in locum
 suum. Omnes enim qui acceperunt gladium, gladio peribunt. An putas
 quod non possum modo rogare patrem meum, et exhibebit mihi plures
 quam duodecim legiones angelorum? Quomodo ergo implebuntur 15
 scripture, quod sic oporteat fieri?' In illa hora dixit Iesus turbis:
 'Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus ad
 comprehendendum me? Quotidie apud uos sedebam docens in templo,
 et non tenuistis me.' Hoc autem totum factum est ut adimplerentur
 scripture prophetarum. Tunc discipuli omnes, relicto eo, fugerunt. At
 ipsi tenentes Iesum duxerunt eum ad Caipham summum pontificem, ubi 20
 scribe et pharisei et seniores conuenerant. Petrus autem sequebatur eum
 a longe usque in atrium summi pontificis; et ingressus intro sedebat cum
 ministris ut uideret finem. Pontifices autem et seniores et totum
 concilium querebant falsum testimonium contra Iesum, ut eum necarent,
 et non inuenerunt, cum multi falsi testes accederent. Posterius autem 25
 accesserunt duo falsi testes et dixerunt: 'Hic dixit: "Possum destruere
 templum Dei et per triduum edificare ipsum." Et surgens summus
 pontifex ait ipsi: 'Nihil respondes ad ea que isti aduersum te
 testificantur?' Iesus autem tacebat. Et pontifex ait illi: 'Adiuro te per
 Deum uiuum ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus, filius Dei.' Dicit illis Iesus: 30
 'Tu dixisti. Verumtamen dico uobis: Amodo uidebitis filium hominis
 sedentem a dextris uirtutis et uenientem in nubibus celi.' Tunc summus

1 traditur] ex tradetur corr. fort. A2 2 et] om. B exp. B1 4 missa] ex missi corr. A2 missi B
 6 osculatus] ex obsculatus corr. B1 7 rabi] ex Rabbi corr. fort. A2 8 ades] i. r. A2 11 eius]
 i. r. A2 15 quod] ex quia corr. fort. A2 | oporteat] ex oportet corr. fort. A1 16 ad²...17
 comprehendendum] i. r. A2 18 adimplerentur] omnes add. A exp. fort. A1 19 fugerunt]
 ex fugeerunt corr. fort. A1 23 totum] i. r. A2 24 necarent] i. r. A2 25 accederent] i. r.
 A2 27 per] i. r. A2 | edificare ipsum] -re ipsum i. r. A2 28 ipsi] -ps- vid. i. r. fort. A1

sacerdos scidit uestimenta sua dicens quod ‘Blasphemaui! Quid adhuc egemus testibus? Ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam eius. Quid uobis uidetur?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Reus est mortis!’ Tunc expuerunt in faciem ipsius et colaphis eum percusserunt; alii autem alapas dederunt in faciem eius dicentes: ‘Prophetiza nobis, Christe: Quis est qui te percussit?’ Petrus autem sedebat foris in atrio; et accessit ad eum una ancilla dicens: ‘Et tu cum Iesu Galileo eras!’ At ille negauit coram omnibus ipsis dicens: ‘Nescio quid dicis.’ Exeuntem autem eum in ianuam, uidit eum alia et ait his qui erant ibi: ‘Et hic erat cum Iesu Nazarenol’ Et iterum negauit cum iuramento quod non nouisset hominem. Paulo autem post accesserunt qui stabant et dixerunt Petro: ‘Vere et tu ex ipsis es. Etenim loquela tua manifestum te facit.’ Tunc cepit detestari et iurare quod non nouisset hominem. Et continuo gallus cantauit. Et recordatus est Petrus uerbi Iesu, qui dixerat ei: ‘Priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis.’ Et egressus foras fleuit amare.

A19v

B30r

27 Mane autem facto, consilium inierunt omnes pontifices et seniores populi aduersus Iesum, ut eum necarent. Et uinctum adduxerunt et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato presidi. Tunc uidens Iudas, qui tradiderat eum, quod damnatus esset, penitentia ductus retulit triginta argenteos pontificibus et senioribus dicens: ‘Peccaui, tradens sanguinem innocentem.’ At ipsi dixerunt: ‘Quid ad nos? Tu uideris!’ Et proiectis argenteis in templo, recessit et abiens laqueo se suspendit. Pontifices autem, acceptis argenteis, dixerunt: ‘Non licet eos mittere in corbonam, quia pretium sanguinis sunt.’ Consilio autem inito, emerunt ex eis agrum Figuli in sepulturam peregrinorum. Propterea uocatus est ager ille *Acheldemach*, hoc est ‘ager sanguinis,’ usque in hodiernum diem. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Hieremiam prophetam dicentem: *Et acceperunt triginta argenteos, pretium appretiati quem appretiauerunt a filiis Israel, et dederunt eos in agrum Figuli, sicut constituit mihi dominus.* Iesus autem stetit coram preside; et interrogauit eum preses dicens: ‘Tu es rex Iudeorum?’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Tu dicis.’ Et cum accusaretur a pontificibus et

B30v

1 quod] *om. A ins. A2* 2 eius] *ex suam corr. A2 om. B* 3 dixerunt] *respondentes praem. AB exp. A1B1* | expuerunt] *respuerunt B* 4 ipsius] *i. r. A2 suam praem. B exp. B1* percusserunt] *percuss- i. r. A2* | alapas] *i. r. A2* 5 eius] *i. r. A2* 8 eum] *i. r. A2* 9 alia] *ancilla add. A exp. fort. A1* 11 Paulo...post] *i. r. A1* 13 quod non] *i. r. fort. A2* 14 qui] *ex quod corr. fort. A2* | ei] *om. A ins. A2* 17 necarent] *i. r. A2* 19 tradiderat] *ex tradidit corr. A2* 21 innocentem] *-nocentem i. r. A2* | ipsi] *-ps- i. r. fort. A2* 23 eos] *i. r. fort. A2* 29 stetit] *i. r. A2*

Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Tu dicis.’ Et cum accusaretur a pontificibus et senioribus, nihil respondit. Tunc dicit ei Pilatus: ‘Non audis quanta aduersum te testificantur?’ Et non respondit ei ad ullum uerbum, ita ut preses miraretur uehementer. Per festiuitatem autem consueuerat preses 5
 uinctum insignem, qui dicebatur Barabas. Congregatis ergo ipsis dixit eis Pilatus: ‘Quem uultis dimittam uobis: Barabam an Iesum, qui dicitur Christus?’ Sciebat enim quod per inuidiam tradidissent eum. Sedente autem eo pro tribunali, misit ad eum uxor sua dicens: ‘Nihil tibi et iusto illi. Multa enim passa sum hodie in somnis propter eum.’ Pontifices 10
A20r autem et seniores persuaserunt turbis ut peterent Barabam, Iesum uero perderent. Respondens autem preses ait ipsis: ‘Quem uultis de duobus dimittam uobis?’ At illi dixerunt: ‘Barabam!’ Dicit illis Pilatus: ‘Quid ergo faciam de Iesu, qui dicitur Christus?’ Dicunt ei omnes: ‘Crucifigatur!’ Ait illis preses: ‘Quid enim mali fecit?’ At illi magis clamabant dicentes: 15
 ‘Crucifigatur!’ Videns autem Pilatus quod nihil proficeret, sed tumultus magis fieret, accepta aqua lauit manus coram populo dicens: ‘Innocens sum a sanguine iusti huius; uos uideritis!’ Et respondit omnis populus dicens: ‘Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros.’ Tunc dimisit eis 20
B31r Barabam; Iesum uero flagellandum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur. Tunc milites presidis suscipientes Iesum in pretorio congregauerunt ad eum uniuersam cohortem. Et exuentes eum clamidem coccineam circumdederunt ei. Plectentes coronam de spinis posuerunt super caput ipsius et arundinem in dextera eius et, genu flexo coram eo, illudebant ipsi dicentes: ‘Aue, rex Iudeorum!’ Et expuentes in eum acceperunt 25
 arundinem et percutiebant caput eius. Et postquam illuserunt ei, exuerunt eum clamidem et induerunt eum uestimenta ipsius et abduxerunt eum, ut crucifigerent. Exeuntes autem inuenerunt hominem Cyreneum nomine Simonem; hunc coegerunt ut tolleret crucem eius. Et uenerunt in locum qui dicitur ‘*Golgotha*’, qui est appellatus ‘Caluarie’ 30

2 te...3 testificantur] *ex te dicunt testimonia corr. A2* 3 ad ullum] -d u- *i. r. A1*
 4 Per...autem] *i. r. fort. A2* 5 turbe...unum] *i. r. fort. A2* 6 ipsis] -ps- *i. r. fort. A1*
 7 Barabam] *ex Barrabam corr. fort. A2* 10 in somnis] *i. r. A2* 11 Barabam] *ex Barrabam corr. fort. A2*
 12 ipsis] -ps- *i. r. fort. A1* 13 Barabam] *ex Barrabam corr. fort. A2*
 14 omnes] *om. A ins. A2* 19 eius] *i. r. A2* 20 Barabam] *ex Barrabam corr. fort. A2* 23 ei]
i. r. A2 24 ipsius] *i. r. A2* | eius] *i. r. A2* 26 eius] *i. r. A2* 27 uestimenta] -a *i. r.*
A2 | ipsius et] *i. r. A2* 28 abduxerunt] *abdux- i. r. A2* 29 coegerunt] *i. r. A2* | eius] *i.*
r. A2 30 appellatus] *i. r. A2*

- locus,’ Et dederunt ei ut biberet acetum cum felle mixtum; et cum gustasset noluit bibere. Postquam autem crucifixerunt ipsum, diuiserunt uestimenta eius sortem mittentes, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam: *Diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea et super uestem meam miserunt sortem*,
5 et sedentes seruabant eum ibi. Et imposuerunt super caput ipsius causam eius scriptam: ‘Hic est Iesus rex Iudeorum.’ Tunc crucifixi sunt cum eo duo latrones: unus a dextris et unus a sinistris. Pretereuntes autem blasphemabant ipsum mouentes capita sua dicentes: ‘Qui destruis templum et in triduo edificas, salua temet ipsum; si filius Dei es,
10 descende de cruce!’ Similiter et pontifices, illudentes cum scribis et senioribus et phariseis dicebant: ‘Alios saluauit, seipsum non potest saluare. Si rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credemus in eo. Confidit in Deum; liberet nunc ipsum, si uult eum.’ Dixit enim quod ‘Filius Dei sum.’ Id ipsum autem et latrones, qui crucifixi erant cum eo,
15 improperabant ei. A sexta autem hora tenebre facte sunt per totam terram usque ad horam nonam. Circa autem nonam horam exclamauit Iesus uoce magna dicens: ‘*Eli Eli, lama azautani?*’, hoc est: ‘Deus meus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti?’ Quidam autem ex astantibus ibi audientes dicebant quod ‘Heliam uocat iste.’ Et continuo currens unus ex
20 eis acceptam spongiam impleuit aceto et imposuit arundini et dabat ei ut biberet. Ceteri uero dicebant: ‘Sine, uideamus an ueniat Helias saluans eum.’ Iesus autem iterum clamans uoce magna emisit spiritum. Et ecce uelum templi scissum est in duo a sursum usque deorsum, et terra mota est, et petre scisse sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora
25 sanctorum, que dormierant, resurrexerunt, et exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem eius uenerunt in sanctam ciuitatem, et apparuerunt multis. Centurio autem et qui cum eo custodiebant Iesum, uiso terremotu et his que fiebant, timuerunt ualde dicentes: ‘Vere filius Dei erat iste!’ Erant autem ibi et mulieres multe a longe speculantes, que secute erant Iesum a Galilea ministrantes ei; inter quas erat Maria
30 Magdalena et Maria Iacobi et Iose mater et mater filiorum Zebedei. Sero autem facto, uenit quidam homo diues Abarimathia, nomine Ioseph, qui

B31v

A20v

1 ut biberet] ex bibere corr. A2 5 ipsius] i. r. A2 9 templum] dei add. A exp. fort. A1 edificas] ex reedificas corr. fort. A2 11 saluauit] fort. ex saluum fecit corr. fort. A2 12 saluare] fort. ex saluum facere corr. fort. A2 | credemus... 13 Confidit] -us in eo. Confi- i. r. A2 13 quod] ex quia corr. fort. A2 16 nonam horam] horam nonam B 17 azautani] ex zautani corr. fort. A2 19 audientes] i. r. A1 20 ut... 21 biberet] ex bibere corr. A2 29 et] om. A ins. A2 31 Iose] -se i. r. A2

B32r

et ipse discipulus fuerat Iesu. Hic accessit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Iesu. Tunc Pilatus iussit reddi corpus. Et accepto corpore, Ioseph inuoluit ipsum in sindone munda et aduoluit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti et abiit. Erat autem ibi Maria Magdalena et altera Maria sedentes contra sepulchrum. Postera autem die, que est post Parasceuen, 5 conuenerunt pontifices et pharisei ad Pilatum dicentes: ‘Domine, recordati sumus quod seductor ille dixit adhuc uiuens: “Post tres dies resurgam.” Tube ergo custodiri sepulchrum usque in diem tertium, ne quando ueniant discipuli sui noctu et furentur et dicant populo quod surrexit a mortuis, et erit ultimus error peior primo.’ Ait ipsis Pilatus: 10 ‘Habetis custodiam; ite, custodite sicut scitis.’ Illi autem abeuntes munierunt sepulchrum, signantes lapidem, cum custodia.

28 Sero autem sabatorum, quod lucescit in una sabatorum, uenit Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ut uiderent sepulchrum. Et ecce 15 terremotus factus est magnus: angelus enim domini descendit de celo et accedens reuoluit lapidem ab ostio et sedebat super eum. Erat autem forma eius uelut fulgur, et uestimentum suum album quasi nix. Pre timore autem eius exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt quasi mortui. Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus: ‘Ne timeatis uos; scio enim quod Iesum Christum queritis. Non est hic: surrexit enim, sicut dixit. 20 Venite, uidete locum ubi positus fuerat dominus. Et cito euntes dicite discipulis suis quod “Surrexit a mortuis et ecce precedet uos in Galileam; ibi eum uidebitis.” Ecce dixi uobis.’ Et exeuntes cito de monumento cum timore et gaudio magno cucurrerunt ut nuntiarent discipulis eius. Vt autem processerunt ad nuntiandum discipulis eius – et ecce Iesus 25 occurrit eis dicens: ‘Auete.’ Ille autem accedentes tenuerunt pedes eius et adorauerunt eum. Tunc ait eis Iesus: ‘Ne timeatis; ite, nuntiate fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam et ibi me uidebunt.’ Abeuntibus autem illis, ecce quidam de custodibus uenerunt in ciuitatem et nuntiauerunt pontificibus omnia que facta fuerant. Et congregati cum senioribus, concilioque 30 accepto, argenteos ad sufficientiam dederunt militibus dicentes: ‘Dicite

4 Maria¹] *om. B i. m. B1* 5 Postera] *i. r. A2* 9 noctu] *om. A ins. A2* 13 Sero] *ex Vespere corr. A1* | sabatorum¹] *ex sabbatorum corr. fort. A2* | sabatorum²] *ex sabbatorum corr. fort. A2* 16 ostio] monumenti *add. A exp. fort. A1* 17 suum] *i. r. fort. A2* 24 ut... Vt] *om. A i. m. A1* | eius] suis *A1B corr. A2* 25 autem... 26 dicens] *i. r. A1* 26 occurrit] *ex occurrit corr. A1* | eius] *i. r. A2* 27 eis] *i. r. fort. A2* 28 et... me] *i. r. fort. A2* 30 concilioque] *ex et concilio corr. fort. A1*

- quod discipuli sui uenerunt noctu et furati sunt eum nobis dormientibus. Et si hoc auditum fuerit a preside, nos suadebimus ei et securos nos faciemus.’ At illi, acceptis argenteis, fecerunt sicut fuerunt edocti. Et diuulgatus est sermo iste apud Iudeos usque in hodiernum diem.
- 5 Vndecim autem discipuli abierunt in Galileam, in montem ubi constituerat eis Iesus, et uidentes eum adorauerunt; quidam autem dubitauerunt. Et accedens Iesus locutus est eis dicens: ‘Data est mihi omnis potestas in celo et in terra. Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, docentes eos
- 10 seruare omnia quecumque mandauī uobis. Et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi.’ Amen.

B32v

Mark

- 1 Initium euangelii Iesu Christi filii Dei. Sicut scriptum est in prophetis: *Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui preparabit uiam tuam coram te; uox clamantis in deserto: Parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas suas*; fuit Ioannes baptizans in deserto et predicans baptismum penitentiae in remissionem peccatorum. Et egrediebantur ad eum omnis regio Iudae et Hierosolimitae et baptizabantur omnes in Iordanis flumine ab eo, confitentes peccata sua. Erat autem Ioannes uestitus pilis cameli et zona pellicea circa lumbos suos, et locustas et mel siluestre edebat. Et predicabat dicens: ‘Venit fortior me, cuius procumbens non sum sufficiens soluere corrigiam calciamentorum suorum. Ego quidem baptizo uos in aqua; ipse autem baptizabit uos in spiritu sancto.’ Et factum est in diebus illis, uenit Iesus a Nazaret Galilee
- 20 et baptizatus est a Ioanne in Iordane. Et statim ascendens de aqua uidit celos scissos et spiritum tamquam columbam descendentem super ipsum; et uox facta est de celis: ‘Tu es filius meus dilectus, in quo bene complacui.’ Et statim spiritus emittit eum in desertum. Et erat ibi in deserto quadraginta dies et quadraginta noctes tentatus a Satana; eratque
- 25 cum bestiis et angeli ministrabant ei. Postquam autem traditus est Ioannes, uenit Iesus in Galileam predicans euangelium regni Dei et dicens quod ‘Impletum est tempus, et appropinquauit regnum Dei; penitentiam agite et credite in euangelio.’ Ambulans autem Iesus secus

A21r

B33r

B33v

4 usque...5 abierunt] *i. r. A1* 6 quidam] *i. r. A2* 16 baptizans] Baptista B
 20 locustas] locustus A 25 scissos] *i. r. fort. A2* 32 in] *om. A ins. fort. A1*

euangelio.’ Ambulans autem Iesus secus mare Galilee uidit Simonem et Andream fratrem ipsius Simonis iacentes iacularia retia in mare; erant enim piscatores. Et dixit eis Iesus: ‘Venite post me, et faciam uos fieri piscatores hominum.’ Et protinus, relictis retibus suis, secuti sunt eum. Et progressus inde modicum uidit Iacobum, Zebedei et Ioannem fratrem suum et ipsos in naui reficientes retia, et statim uocauit ipsos. Et, relicto patre suo Zebedeo in naui cum mercenariis, abierunt post eum. Et ingrediebantur Capharnaum. Et statim sabbatis ingressus in synagogam docebat. Et stupebant super doctrina sua: erat enim docens eos et uelut potestatem habens et non sicut scribe. Et erat in synagoga eorum homo spiritu immundo et exclamauit dicens: ‘Sine, quid nobis et tibi, Iesu Nazarene? Venisti ut perderes nos? Scio te qui sis: sanctus Dei.’ Et increpuit eum Iesus dicens: ‘Obmutesce et exi ab eo!’ Et discernens ipsum spiritus immundus et exclamans uoce magna exiuit ab eo. Et mirati sunt omnes, ita ut conquirerent intra se dicentes: ‘Quid est hoc, et que est hec doctrina noua, quod in potestate spiritibus immundis imperat et obediunt ei?’ Processit autem fama eius statim in omnem circa regionem Galilee. Et protinus egredientes de synagoga uenerunt in domum Simonis et Andree cum Iacobo et Ioanne. Socrus autem Simonis iacebat febricitans; et statim dicunt ei de ipsa. Et accedens erexit eam apprehensa manu sua; et continuo dimisit eam febris, et ministrabat eis. Sero autem facto, quando sol occiderat, afferebant ad eum omnes male habentes et a demoniis habitos; et erat tota ciuitas congregata ad ianuam. Et curauit multos male se habentes ex uariis egritudinibus, et demonia multa eiciebat, nec sinebat ea loqui, quoniam sciebant eum. Et diluculo ualde surgens exiuit et abiit in desertum locum ibique orabat. Et insecutus est eum Simon et qui cum eo erant; et postquam inuenerunt eum dicunt ei: ‘Omnes te querunt!’ Et ait ipsis: ‘Eamus in proxima suburbana, ut ibi predicem: ad hoc enim ueni.’ Et predicabat in synagogis eorum et per totam Galileam et demonia eiciebat. Et accedit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum et genu flexo ait ei sic: ‘Si uis, potes me mundare.’ Iesus autem misertus extendit manum et tetigit eum et ait: ‘Volo munderis.’ Et ipso dicente confestim abiit ab eo lepra, et mundatus est. Et comminatus est ei et confestim eicit eum et ait ei: ‘Vide, nemini quicquam dixeris, sed uade, ostende te sacerdoti et offer pro mundatione

11 spiritu] *ex spiritum corr. B1* 12 ut perderes] *ex perdere corr. A2* 16 quod] *ex quia corr. fort. A2* 17 Processit] *precessit B* 22 facto... occiderat] *i. r. A1*

A21v

B34r

tua que precepit Moyses in testimonium ipsis.’ At ipse egressus cepit predicare multa et diffamare sermonem, ita ut non amplius posset manifeste intrare in ciuitatem, sed foris in desertis locis erat; et ueniebant ad eum undique.

- 5 **2** Et intrauit iterum in Capharnaum per dies, et auditum est quod in domo esset. Et statim congregati sunt multi, ita ut locus non caperet neque ea que erant ad ianuam, et loquebatur eis sermonem. Et ueniunt ad eum qui paralyticum ferebant, a quatuor delatum. Et cum non possent ei appropinquare, detexerunt tectum ubi erat, et cum
- 10 patefecissent submiserunt grabatum in quo paralyticus iacebat. Videns autem Iesus fidem ipsorum, ait paralytico: ‘Fili, dimittuntur tibi peccata tua.’ Erant autem quidam de scribis ibi sedentes et cogitantes in cordibus suis: ‘Quid iste sic loquitur blasphemias? Quis potest dimittere peccata nisi unus Deus?’ Et confestim cognouit Iesus spiritu suo quod ipsi sic
- 15 intra se cogitarent, et ait eis: ‘Quid hec cogitatis in cordibus uestris? Quid est facilius dicere paralytico: “Dimittuntur peccata tua,” uel dicere: “Surge ac tolle grabatum tuum et ambula”? Vt autem sciatis quod potestatem habet filius hominis in terra dimittendi peccata’ – ait paralytico: ‘Tibi dico: Surge ac tolle grabatum tuum et uade in domum
- 20 tuam.’ Et surrexit confestim et tulit grabatum et abiit in conspectu omnium, ita ut obstupescerent omnes et glorificarent Deum dicentes quod ‘Numquam sic uidimus!’ Et exiuit secus mare; et omnis turba ueniebat ad eum, et docebat eos. Et preteriens uidit Leui Alpei
- 25 sedentem in teloneo et ait ei: ‘Sequere me.’ Et surgens secutus est eum. Et factum est dum discumberet in domo eius, et multi publicani et peccatores discumbebant cum Iesu et cum discipulis suis; erant enim multi et sequebantur eum. Et scribe et pharisei, uidentes ipsum cum publicanis et cum peccatoribus manducantem, dicunt discipulis suis: ‘Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat et bibit?’ Et cum
- 30 audisset Iesus ait eis: ‘Non indigent ualentes medico, sed male habentes; non ueni ut uocarem iustos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam.’ Et erant discipuli Ioannis et phariseorum ieiunantes. Et ueniunt et dicunt ei: ‘Quare discipuli Ioannis et phariseorum ieiunant, tui autem discipuli non ieiunant?’ Et ait ipsis Iesus: ‘Numquid possunt filii nuptiarum ieiunare,
- 35 dum cum ipsis est sponsus? Quanto tempore habent secum sponsum,

B34v

A22r

5 per dies] *ex post multos dies corr. A2* 9 appropinquare] *pre turba praem. A exp. fort. A1*
 19 surrexit] *-r- i. r. A1* 24 est] *om. B ins. B1* 30 ut uocarem] *ex uocare corr. A2*

Quanto tempore habent secum sponsum, non possunt ieiunare; uenient autem dies cum auferetur ab eis sponsus, et tunc ieiunabunt in illis diebus. Nemo assumentum panni rudis assuit in uestimento ueteri, alioquin aufert supplementum suum nouum a ueteri, et peior scissura fit. *B35r* Et nemo immittit uinum nouum in utres ueteres – alioquin rumpit uinum 5 nouum utres et uinum effunditur et utres pereunt – sed uinum nouum in utres nouos mittendum est. Et factum est dum ipse sabatis per sata ambularet, ceperunt discipuli sui progredi uellentes spicas. Et pharisei dicebant ei: ‘Ecce, quid faciunt discipuli tui sabatis quod non licet?’ Et ipse dicebat eis: ‘Numquam legis quod fecerit Dauid quando 10 necessitatem habuit et esuriit ipse et qui cum eo erant? Quomodo ingressus est in domum Dei sub Abiathar summo pontifice et panes propositionis manducauit, quos non licebat manducare nisi sacerdotibus, et dedit eis qui cum eo erant?’ Et dicebat eis: ‘Sabatum propter hominem factum est, et non homo propter sabatum; itaque dominus est filius 15 hominis etiam sabati.’ Et introiuit iterum in synagogam.

3 Et erat ibi homo aridam habens manum; et obseruabant eum si sabatis curaret ipsum, ut eum accusarent. Et ait homini habenti manum aridam: ‘Surge in medium.’ Et dicit eis: ‘Licet sabatis benefacere an malefacere? Animam saluare an perdere?’ At ipsi tacebant. 20 Et conspicatus eos circum cum ira, contristatus est super duritiem cordis eorum, et dicit homini: ‘Extende manum.’ Et extendit, et restituta est manus eius sana sicut alia. Et exeuntes pharisei statim cum Herodianis consilium faciebant aduersus eum quomodo ipsum perderent. Et Iesus cum cognouisset secessit cum discipulis suis ad mare. Et multa turba a 25 Galilea secuta est eum et a Iudea et a Hierosolimis et ab Idumea; et a transitu Iordanis et qui circa Tyrum et Sydonem, multitudo plurima, audientes quecumque faciebat, ueniebant ad eum. Et dixit discipulis suis ut nauicula deseruirent sibi propter turbam, ne opprimerent eum. Multos enim curauit, ita ut irruerent in ipsum et eum tangerent quicumque 30 habebant plagas. Et spiritus immundi, cum ipsum uidebant, procidebant ei et clamabant dicentes quod ‘Tu es filius Dei!’ Et uehementer comminabatur eis ne ipsum manifestum facerent. Et ascendit in montem et aduocat quos uoluit ipse, et abierunt ad eum. Et constituit quos uoluit

16 sabati] Here ends Mark 2 in the Vulgate.

17 ibi] *om. B i. m. B1* 34 aduocat] *ex uocauit corr. A2*

ipse, et constituit duodecim ut essent cum eo et ut mitteret eos ad
predicandum, et ut haberent potestatem curandi egritudines et eiciendi
demonia: et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrum; et Iacobum Zebedei et
Ioannem fratrem Iacobi, et imposuit eis nomina Bonarges, quod est ‘filii
5 tonitruī’; et Andream et Philippum et Bartholomeum et Mattheum et
Thomam et Iacobum Alpei et Thaddeum et Simonem Cananeum et
Iudam Scariothem, qui et tradidit eum et ueniunt. Et conuenit iterum
turba, ita ut non possent neque panem manducare. Et cum audissent qui
erant ab eo, uoluerunt tenere eum; dicebant enim quod in extasi erat. Et
10 scribe, qui a Hierosolimis descenderant, dicebant quod ‘Belzebud habet’
et quod ‘In principe demoniorum eicit demonia.’ Et conuocatis eis, in
parabolis dicebat ipsis: ‘Quomodo potest Satanās Satanam eicere? Et si
regnum in seipsum diuisum est, non potest stare regnum illud; et si
domus in se ipsam diuisa est, non potest stare domus illa. Et si Satanās in
15 semetipsum insurrexerit et diuisus est, non potest stare, sed finem habet.
Nemo potest uasa fortis ingressus in domum suam diripere, nisi prius
alligauerit fortem; et tunc domum eius diripiet. Amen dico uobis:
Dimittuntur filiis hominum peccata et blasphemie quibus utique
blasphemauerint; qui autem blasphemauerit in spiritum sanctum non
20 habet remissionem in eternum, sed reus est eterni iudicii.’ Quia dicebant:
‘Spiritus immundum habet.’ Veniunt igitur fratres et mater eius et foris
stantes miserunt ad ipsum uocantes eum. Et sedebat turba circa eum.
Dicebant autem ei: ‘Ecce mater tua et fratres tui et sorores tue foris
querunt te.’ Et respondit eis dicens: ‘Que est mater mea et fratres mei?’
25 Et circumspiciens eos qui circa ipsum sedebant, dicit: ‘Ecce mater mea et
fratres mei. Quicumque enim fecerit uoluntatem Dei, iste frater meus et
soror et mater est.’

B36r

4 Et iterum cepit docere secus mare. Et congregata est ad eum turba
multa, ita ut ipse ascendens in nauim sederet in mari, et omnis
30 turba ad mare erat in terra. Et docebat eos in parabolis multa et
dicebat eis in doctrina sua: ‘Audite. Ecce exiit seminans ad seminandum.
Et factum est, dum seminaret, aliud cecidit secus uiam; et uenerunt
uolucres et comederunt ipsum. Aliud uero cecidit super petrosa, ubi non
habuit terram multam, et statim exortum est, quoniam non habebat
35 altitudinem terre; et quando exortus est sol, estuauit et quia non habebat

A23r

1 ad...2 predicandum] *ex* predicare *corr.* A2 9 erat] *ex* erant *corr.* fort. A1 10 a] ab B
19 blasphemauerint] *ex* blasphemauerunt *corr.* B1

terre; et quando exortus est sol, estuauit et quia non habebat radicem, exaruit. Et aliud cecidit in spinas, et ascenderunt spine et suffocauerunt ipsum, et fructum non dedit. Et aliud cecidit in terram bonam et dabat fructum, ascendentem et crescentem; et afferebat unum in triginta et unum in sexaginta et unum in centum.’ Et dicebat: ‘Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Et cum esset solus, interrogauerunt eum hi qui circa ipsum erant cum duodecim, parabolam. Et dicebat eis: ‘Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei; illis autem qui sunt foris, in parabolis omnia fiunt, ut aspicientes aspiciant et non uideant, et audientes audiant et non intelligant, ne quando conuertantur et dimittantur eis peccata.’ Et dicit eis: ‘Nescitis parabolam hanc, et quomodo omnes parabolas cognoscitis? Seminans est qui uerbum seminat. Hi autem qui secus uiam ubi seminatur uerbum sunt: quod cum audierint, confestim uenit Satanias et aufert uerbum, quod seminatum est in cordibus eorum. Et hi sunt similiter qui super petrosa seminati sunt: qui cum audierint uerbum, confestim cum gaudio suscipiunt ipsum et non habent radicem in se ipsis, sed temporales sunt; deinde orta tribulatione uel persecutione, confestim scandalizantur. Et qui in spinis seminati sunt: hi sunt qui uerbum audiunt, et erumne seculi huius et fallacie diuitiarum et circa reliqua concupiscentie introeuntes suffocant uerbum, et sine fructu efficitur. Et qui in terram bonam seminati sunt, hi sunt qui audiunt et suscipiunt uerbum et fructificant unum in triginta et unum in sexaginta et unum in centum.’ Et dicebat eis: ‘Numquid uenit lucerna ut sub modio ponatur uel sub lecto? Nonne ut super candelabrum ponatur? Non enim est aliquid absconditum quod non manifestetur, nec factum est occultum quod non in apertum ueniat. Si quis habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Et dicebat eis: ‘In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur uobis et adicietur uobis audientibus. Qui enim habet, dabitur ei; et qui non habet, et quod habet auferetur ab eo.’ Et dicebat ipsis: ‘Sic est regnum Dei, quemadmodum homo iaciat semen in terra et dormiat et exurgat nocte et die, et semen germinet et increseat, dum nescit ille. Vltro enim terra fructificat primum herbam, postea spicam, deinde plenum frumentum in spica. Cum autem produxerit fructum, statim immittit falcem, quoniam adest messis.’ Et dicebat: ‘Cui assimilabimus regnum Dei aut quali

1 exortus] *ex exhortus corr. fort. A2* | sol] *om. B i. m. B1* 2 spinas] *ex spinis corr. B1*
 4 unum in] *-um in i. r. A2* 5 unum in¹] *-um in i. r. A2* | unum in²] *-um in i. r. A2*
 9 aspicientes... uideant] *i. r. A2*

parabole comparabimus ipsum? Sicut granum sinapis, quod cum
seminatur in terra, minus est omnibus seminibus que sunt in terra; et
cum seminatum fuerit, ascendit et fit maius omnibus oleribus et facit
ramos magnos, ita ut possint sub umbra eius uolucres celi habitare.’ Et
5 talibus parabolis multis loquebatur eis uerbum, prout poterant audire; et
sine parabolis non loquebatur eis. Seorsum autem discipulis suis
dissoluebat omnia. Et ait eis in illa die, cum serum factum esset:
‘Transeamus ultra fretum.’ Et dimittentes turbam, assumunt eum ita ut
erat in nauī; et alie nauicule erant cum eo. Et facta est procella uenti
10 magna. Fluctus uero mittebat in nauim ita ut ipsa iam impleretur. Et erat
ipse in puppi super ceruical dormiens; et excitauerunt eum et dicunt ipsi:
‘Magister, non est tibi cure quod perimus?’ Et exurgens increpuit uentum
et dixit mari: ‘Tace, obmutesce.’ Et cessauit uentus, et facta est
tranquillitas magna. Et ait eis: ‘Quid timidi estis sic? Quomodo non
15 habetis fidem?’ Et timuerunt timore magno et dicunt adinuicem:
‘Quisnam iste est, quod uentus et mare obediunt ei?’

A23v B37r

5 Et uenerunt trans fretum maris in regionem Gadarenorum. Et
exeunti ei ex nauī, statim occurrit ei de monumentis homo in
spiritu immundo, qui domicilium habebat in monumentis; neque
20 catenis quisque poterat eum ligare, quoniam sepe compedibus et catenis
uinctus dirupisset catenas et minuisset, et nemo poterat eum domare; et
semper die noctuque in montibus et in monumentis erat clamans et
concidens seipsum lapidibus. Videns autem Iesus a longe cucurrit et
adorauit eum et clamans uoce magna dixit: ‘Quid mihi et tibi, Iesu fili
25 Dei altissimi? Adiuro te per Deum ne me torqueas.’ Dicebat enim ei:
‘Exi, spiritus immunde, ab homine.’ Et interrogabat eum: ‘Quod tibi
nomen?’ Et respondens dixit: ‘Legio nomen mihi, quoniam multi sumus.’
Et deprecabatur ipsum multum ne se emitteret extra regionem. Erat
autem ibi prope montem grex porcorum magnus pascens; et
30 deprecabantur eum omnes demones dicentes: ‘Mitte nos in porcos, ut in
eos introeamus.’ Et concessit eis statim Iesus. Et exeuntes spiritus
immundi introierunt in porcos. Et grex magno impetu precipitatus est in
mare – erant autem quasi duo milia – et suffocati sunt in mari. Qui
autem pascebant porcos fugerunt et annuntiauerunt in ciuitatem et in
35 agros; et exiuerunt ut uiderent quid esset factum. Et ueniunt ad Iesum; et

B37v

12 increpuit...13 et'] *i. r.* A2 17 Gadarenorum] -ad- *i. r.* A2 19 catenis] *ex canis corr.*
A2

exiuerunt ut uiderent quid esset factum. Et ueniunt ad Iesum; et uident illum qui a demonio uexabatur sedentem et uestitum et temperantem qui demonium legionem habuerat, et timuerunt. Narrauerunt autem eis qui uiderant qualiter factum esset ei qui demonium habuerat, et de porcis. Et ceperunt rogare eum ut abiret de finibus eorum. Cum autem descenderet 5
A24r in nauim, deprecabatur ipsum qui a demonio uexatus fuerat ut esset cum eo. Iesus autem non admisit eum, sed dicit ei: ‘Vade in domum tuam ad tuos, et annuntia eis quecumque tibi dominus fecit et misertus est tui.’ Et abiit et cepit predicare in Decapoli quecumque fecerat ei Iesus, et omnes mirabantur. Et cum ascendisset Iesus in nauim rursus ut transfretauit, 10
 congregata est turba plurima ad ipsum, et erat secus mare. Et ecce uenit unus de archisynagogis nomine Iairus et uidens ipsum cadit ad pedes suos et deprecabatur ipsum multum dicens quod ‘Filiola mea in extremis habet; ut ueniens imponas manus super ipsam ut saluetur et uiuet.’ Et 15
B38r abiit cum eo. Et sequebatur eum turba multa et comprimebant ipsum. Et mulier, que erat in profluuiio sanguinis annis duodecim et multa passa fuerat a plurimis medicis et erogauerat omnia sua nec quicquam profecerat, sed magis in deterius processerat, cum audisset de Iesu, uenit in turba retro et tetigit uestimentum eius; dicebat enim quod ‘Si uestimenta sua tetigero, saluabor.’ Et confestim exaruit fons sanguinis 20
 sui, et cognouit corpore quod sanata esset a plaga. Et statim Iesus cognoscens in semet ipsum uirtutem, que ab eo exiuerat, conuersus ad turbam ait: ‘Quis tetigit uestimenta mea?’ Et dicebant ei discipuli sui: ‘Vides turbam comprimentem te et dicis: “Quis me tetigit?”’ Et circumspexit ut uideret eam que hec fecerat. Mulier autem timens et 25
 tremens, sciens quod factum fuerat in se ipsa, uenit et procidit ei et dixit ei omnem ueritatem. Ipse autem dixit ei: ‘Filia, fides tua te saluauit; uade in pace et esto sana.’ Et adhuc eo loquente, ueniunt ab archisynagogo dicentes quod ‘Filia tua mortua est; quid amplius uexas magistrum?’ Iesus autem confestim, audito uerbo quod dicebatur, ait archisynagogo: ‘Ne 30
 timeas; tantum credel’ Et neminem dimisit se sequi nisi Petrum et Iacobum et Ioannem fratrem Iacobi. Et uenit in domum archisynagogi; et uidet tumultum et flentes et eiulantes multum, et ingressus ait eis: ‘Quid turbamini et ploratis? Puella non est mortua, sed dormit.’ Et

2 temperantem] ex intemperantem *corr.* B1 3 eis] ex ei *corr. fort.* A1 5 ceperunt] apuerunt *præm.* B *exp.* B1 14 manus] -s *i. r.* A2 | uiuet] ex uiuat *corr.* A2 33 eiulantes] ei- *i. r.* A2

deridebant eum. Ipse uero, eiectis omnibus, assumit patrem puelle et matrem et qui cum eo erant, et ingreditur ubi erat puella iacens; et tenens manum puelle ait ei: *‘Taalda cum!’*, quod est interpretatum: ‘Puella, tibi dico: Surge!’ Et confestim surrexit puella et ambulabat; erat enim
 5 annorum duodecim. Et obstupuerunt stupore magno. Et precepit eis uehementer ut nemo id sciret, et ait ut ei daretur ad manducandum.

6 Et recessit inde et uenit in patriam suam, et sequebantur eum
 discipuli sui. Et facto sabato, cepit in synagoga docere; et multi
 audientes admirabantur dicentes: Vnde isti hec, et que est sapientia
 10 que data est ei, et uirtutes tales per manus suas fiunt? Nonne hic est
 faber, filius Marie, frater autem Iacobi et Iose et Iude et Simonis? Nonne
 et sorores eius hic apud nos sunt? Et scandalizabantur in eo. Dicebat
 autem eis Iesus quod ‘Non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et
 in cognatione et in domo sua.’ Et non potuit ibi uirtutem ullam facere,
 15 nisi quod paucos infirmos impositis manibus curauit; et mirabatur ob
 incredulitatem eorum. Et circuibat castella in circuitu docens. Et
 aduocauit duodecim et cepit eos mittere binos et dabat eis potestatem
 spirituum immundorum; et precepit eis ne quid tollerent in uia nisi
 20 uirgam tantum: non peram, non panem neque in zona es, sed calceatos
 sandaliis et ne induerentur duabus tunicis. Et dicebat eis: ‘Quocumque
 introieritis in domum, illic manete, donec exeatis inde. Et quicumque
 non receperint, nec audierint uos, exeuntes inde excutite puluerem qui
 est subtus pedes uestros in testimonium ipsis. Amen dico uobis:
 25 Tolerabilius erit Sodome uel Gomorre in die iudicii quam ciuitati illi. Et
 exeuntes predicabant ut penitentiam agerent; et demonia multa eiciebant
 et ungebant oleo multos egros et curabant. Et audiuit rex Herodes;
 manifestum enim factum est nomen eius. Et dicebat quod ‘Ioannes
 baptizans resurrexit a mortuis, et ideo uirtutes operantur in eo.’ Alii
 autem aiebant quod ‘Helias est.’ Alii autem dicebant quod ‘Propheta est,
 30 quasi unus ex prophetis.’ Cum autem audisset, Herodes ait: ‘Quem ego
 decollauit Ioannem, hic est, ipse a mortuis resurrexit!’ Is enim Herodes
 miserat et tenuerat Ioannem et ligauerat eum in carcerem propter
 Herodiam uxorem Philippi fratris sui, quia duxerat eam in coniugem.
 Dicebat enim Ioannes Herodi: ‘Non licet tibi habere uxorem fratris tui.’
 35 Herodias autem irascebatur et uolebat eum occidere et non poterat:
 Herodes enim metuebat Ioannem, sciens eum uirum iustum et sanctum,

B38v

A24v

B39r

eum uirum iustum et sanctum, et obseruabat eum, et audiens eum multa faciebat et libenter eum audiebat. Et cum dies oportunus accidisset, quando Herodes in natali suo cenam faciebat magnatibus suis tribunis et primis Galilee, introiuit filia Herodiadis et saltauit, et placuit Herodi et simul recumbentibus. Et ait rex puelle: 'Pete a me quodcumque uis, et 5 dabo tibi.' Et iurauit ei: 'Quodcumque petieris, dabo tibi, usque ad dimidium regni mei.' Ipsa autem exiens, dixit matri sue: 'Quid petam?' At illa ait: 'Caput Ioannis Baptiste.' Et ingressa confestim cum festinatione ad regem, petiuit dicens: 'Volo ut protinus des mihi in catino caput Ioannis Baptiste.' Et contristatus est rex propter iuramenta et propter 10 simul discumbentes noluit eam decipere et confestim misit rex carnificem et precepit ut auferretur caput eius. Ipse autem abiens decollauit eum in carcere et attulit caput eius in catino et dedit ipsum puelle et puella dedit matri sue. Et cum audissent discipuli sui uenerunt et tulerunt corpus suum et posuerunt ipsum in monumento. Et 15 conueniunt apostoli ad Iesum et nuntiauerunt ei omnia quecumque egerant et quecumque docuerant. Et ait eis: 'Venite uos ipsi seorsum in desertum locum et requiescite modicum.' Erant enim uenientes et redeuntes multi, et manducandi oportunitatem non habebant. Et abiit in desertum locum naui seorsum. Et uiderunt ipsos abeuntes et 20 cognouerunt ipsum multi, et pedestres de omnibus ciuitatibus concurrerunt illuc et preuenerunt eos et conuenerunt ad eum. Et exiens Iesus uidit turbam multam et misertus est super eam, quoniam erant sicut oues non habentes pastorem, et cepit eos docere plurima. Et cum iam hora multa fieret, accesserunt ad eum discipuli sui dicentes: 25 'Desertus est locus, et iam est hora multa; dimitte eos, ut abeuntes in uillas et in uicos circumstantes emant; quid enim manducant non habent.' Ipse autem respondens ait eis: 'Date eis uos ad manducandum.' Et dicunt ei: 'Abeuntes ememus ducentis denariis panes et dabimus eis ad manducandum.' Ipse autem dixit eis: 'Quot panes habetis? Ite et 30 uidete.' Et cum cognouissent, dicunt: 'Quinque et duos pisces.' Et precepit eis ut discumbere facerent omnes secundum conuiuia super uiridem herbam. Et discubuerunt in partes per centenos et quinquagenos. Et apprehensis quinque panibus et duobus piscibus,

11 decipere] *i. r. A2* 12 ut auferretur] *ex auferri corr. A2* 28 ad manducandum] *ex manducare corr. A2* 30 ad manducandum] *ex manducare corr. A2* 32 conuiuia] *i. r. A2* 33 herbam] *i. r. A2*

A25r

B39v

respexit in celum et benedixit et fregit panes et dedit discipulis suis, ut apponerent eis; et duos pisces diuisit omnibus. Et comederunt omnes et saturati sunt; et sustulerunt duodecim cophinos plenos fragmentis, et de piscibus. Et erant qui manducauerant panes quinque milia uirorum. Et
 5 statim coegit discipulos suos ut ascenderent nauim et precederent trans fretum ad Bethsaida, donec ipse dimitteret turbam. Et cum instituisset eos, abiit in montem ut oraret. Et cum serum esset, nauis erat in medio maris, et ipse solus in terra. Et uidit eos laborantes in remigando; erat enim uentus contrarius eis, et circa quartam uigiliam noctis uenit ad eos
 10 ambulans super mare et uolebat preterire eos. At ipsi, uidentes eum ambulantem super mare, putauerunt phantasma esse et clamauerunt; omnes enim uiderunt eum et conturbati sunt. Et statim locutus est cum eis et dicit ipsis: ‘Confidite, ego sum; ne timete!’ Et ascendit ad eos in naui, et cessauit uentus. Et uehementer per abundantiam intra se
 15 stupebant et admirabantur: non enim intellexerant de panibus, erat enim cor eorum obseratum. Et cum transfretassent, peruenerunt in terram Genesareth et applicuerunt. Et cum egressi essent de naui, cognouerunt eum et percurrentes totam regionem illam circumstantem ceperunt in grabatis eos qui se male habebant circumferre, ubicumque audiebant
 20 quod ipse ibi esset. Et quocumque introibat in uicos uel uillas uel ciuitates, in foro ponebant infirmos, et deprecabantur eum ut uel fimbriam uestimenti sui tangerent; et quicumque tangebant ipsum, saluabantur.

B40r

A25v

7 Et congregantur ad eum pharisei et quidam de scribis uenientes a
 25 Hierosolimis; et uidentes quosdam discipulorum suorum communibus manibus, hoc est illotis, manducare panes, conquerebantur. Pharisei enim et omnes Iudei nisi crebro lauerint manus non manducant, tenentes traditionem seniorum; et a foro nisi baptizentur, non manducant; et alia multa sunt que ad obseruandum
 30 acceperunt: baptismata calicum et urceorum et eramentorum et lectorum. Postea interrogabant eum pharisei et scribe: ‘Quare discipuli tui non ambulant iuxta traditionem seniorum, sed illotis manibus manducant panem?’ Ipse autem respondens dixit eis: ‘Bene prophetauit
 35 Esaïas de uobis hypocritis, sicut scriptum est: *Iste populus labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe abest a me; frustra me colunt docentes doctrinas et mandata*

5 ut ascenderent] *ex* ascendere *corr.* A2 | precederent] *ex* precedere *corr.* A2 7 ut oraret] *ex* orare *corr.* A2 14 se] ipsos *add.* A *exp. fort.* A1 24 a] ab B

frustra me colunt docentes doctrinas et mandata hominum. Dimittentes enim
B40v mandatum Dei tenetis traditiones hominum. Baptisma urceorum et
calicum et alia similia talia multa facitis.’ Et dicebat eis: ‘Bene irritum
fecistis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem uestram seruaretis. Moyses enim
dixit: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam* et *Qui maledixerit patri uel matri* 5
morte moriatur, uos autem dicitis: “Si dixerit homo patri uel matri: *Corban*,
quod est, donum quodcumque ex me est proderit”, et non amplius
dimittatis eum quicquam facere patri suo aut matri, rescindentes uerbum
Dei propter traditionem uestram quam tradidistis; et similia multa talia
facitis.’ et aduocans omnem turbam, dicit eis: ‘Audite me omnes et 10
intelligite: Nihil est extra hominem introiens in ipsum, quod possit eum
coinquinare; sed que procedunt, ex eo illa sunt que coinquant
hominem. Si quis habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Et cum introisset in
domum a turba, interrogabant eum discipuli sui de parabola. Et dicit eis:
‘Sic et uos sine intellectu estis, non intelligentes quod omne extrinsecus 15
introiens in hominem non potest ipsum coinquinare, quia non ingreditur
in cor eius, sed in uentrem et in secessum exit, purgans omnes escas?’
Dicebat autem: ‘Quod illud quod egreditur de homine, coinquant
hominem; intrinsecus enim ex corde hominum male cogitationes
procedunt, adulteria, fornicationes, homicidia, furta, auaritie, nequitie, 20
dolus, impudentia, oculus malus, blasphemie, superbia, stultitia: omnia
hec mala intrinsecus procedunt et coinquant hominem.’ Et exinde
surgens abiit in fines Tyri et Sidonis. Et ingressus domum neminem
uoluit scire et non potuit latere. Mulier enim, cum audisset de eo, cuius
A26r filiola habebat spiritum immundum, accedens procidit ad pedes eius. 25
B41r Erat autem mulier Greca, Syria Phenicia genere. Et rogabat eum ut
demonium eiceret de filia sua. Iesus autem dixit ei: ‘Sine prius saturari
filios, non enim bonum est sumere panem filiorum et iacere catulis.’ Ipsa
autem respondit et dixit ei: ‘Vtique, domine; et enim catuli comedunt sub
mensa de micis puerorum.’ Et ait ei: ‘Propter hunc sermonem uade; 30
exiuit demonium de filia.’ Et cum abiisset in domum suam, inuenit
demonium egressum et puellam iacentem in lecto. Et iterum exiens de
finibus Tyri et Sidonis uenit ad mare Galilee per medios fines
Decapoleos. Et adducunt ei surdum et mutum ut imponat ei manum. Et
apprehendens eum a turba seorsum misit digitos suos in aures eius, et 35

1 doctrinas] *ex doctrinam corr. B1* 2 traditiones] *ex traditionem corr. B1* 14 a turba] *ex ad turbam corr. B1* 15 extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 19 intrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 22 intrinsecus] *i. r. A2*

cum expuisset tetigit linguam suam, et cum respexisset in celum ingemuit et dicit: ‘*Effata*’, quod est ‘Aperire’. Et confestim aperte sunt aures eius, et solutum est uinculum lingue sue, et loquebatur recte. Et precepit eis ne cui dicerent; quanto autem eis precipiebat, magis abundantius
 5 predicabant. Et abunde admirabantur dicentes: ‘Bene omnia fecit, et surdos fecit audire et mutos loqui!’

8 In illis diebus cum multa turba esset, nec haberet quid manducaret, conuocatis Iesus discipulis suis dicit eis: ‘Misereor super turbam, quoniam iam per triduum sustinent me et non habent quid
 10 manducant; et si dimisero eos ieiunos in domum eorum, deficient in uia; quidam enim eorum de longe ueniunt.’ Et responderunt ei discipuli sui: ‘Vnde hos poterit quis his saturare panibus in solitudine?’ Et interrogabat eos: ‘Quot panes habetis?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Septem.’ Et precepit turbe ut discumberent super terram; et accipiens septem panes et gratias
 15 agens fregit et dabat discipulis suis ut apponerent; et apposuerunt turbe. Et habebant pisciculos pauculos; et ipsos benedixit et ait ut apponerentur et ipsi. Comederunt autem et saturati sunt, et sustulerunt abundantiam fragmentorum septem sportas. Erant uero qui manducauerant quasi quatuor milia. Et dimisit eos. Et statim ascendit in nauim cum discipulis
 20 suis, et uenit in partes Dalmanutha. Pharisei autem ceperunt conquirere cum eo querentes ab ipso signum de celo, tentantes eum. Et ingemiscens spiritu suo ait: ‘Quid generatio ista signum querit? Amen dico uobis si dabitur generationi huic signum.’ Et cum dimisisset eos et ascendisset in nauim, abiit trans fretum. Et oblitī sunt panes sumere et nisi unum
 25 panem habebant cum eis in nauī. Et precipiebat eis dicens: ‘Videte et caute a fermento phariseorum et a fermento Herodis!’ Et cogitabant adinuicem, dicentes quod ‘Panēs non habemus.’ Et cum cognouisset Iesus ait eis: ‘Quid cogitatis quod panes non habetis? Nondum
 30 cognoscitis, nec intelligitis? Adhuc obseratum habetis cor uestrum? Oculos habentes non uidetis, et aures habentes non auditis? Nec recordamini quando quinque panes fregi in quinque milia, quot cophinos fragmentorum plenos sustulistis?’ Dicunt ei: ‘Duodecim.’ ‘Quando autem septem in quatuor milia, quot sportas abundantias fragmentorum sustulistis?’ Et dicebat eis: ‘Quomodo non intelligitis?’ Et ueniunt

B41v

A26v

2 Aperire] ex adaperire corr. fort. A1 9 iam] om. B i. m. B1 28 habetis] ex habentis corr. B1
 33 abundantias] ex habundantias corr. B1

B42r Bethsaidam. Et adducunt ei cecum et rogabant eum ut ipsum tangeret. Et apprehensa manu cecum eduxit eum extra uicum et cum expuisset in oculos suos et manus imposuisset ei, interrogauit ipsum si quid uideret. Et despiciens dicebat: 'Video homines, quoniam ut arbores uideo
5 ambulantes.' Deinde iterum imposuit manus super oculos suos; et fecit ipsum uidere et restitutus est et respiciebat clare omnia. Et misit ipsum in domum suam dicens: 'Vade in domum tuam et ne ingrediaris uicum, et nec dicas alicui in uico.' Et digressus est Iesus et discipuli sui in castella Cesaree Philippi; et in uia interrogabat discipulos suos dicens eis: 'Quem me dicunt esse homines?' Ipsi autem responderunt: 'Alii Ioannem
10 Baptistam, alii Heliam, alii autem unum ex prophetis.' Et ipse dicit eis: 'Vos autem quem me esse dicitis?' Respondens autem Petrus dicit ei: 'Tu es Christus.' Et minatus est eis ut nemini dicerent de ipso. Et cepit eos docere quod 'Oportet filium hominis multa pati et reprobari a senioribus et pontificibus et scribis et occidi et post tres dies resurgere'; et palam
15 sermonem loquebatur. Et apprehendens eum Petrus cepit increpare. Ipse autem conuersus et uidens discipulos suos comminatus est Petro dicens: 'Vade post me, Satana, quoniam non sapis ea que sunt Dei, sed ea que sunt hominum.' Et aduocata turba cum discipulis suis, dixit eis: 'Quicumque uult post me sequi, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem
20 suam et sequatur me. Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluare, perdet eam; quicumque autem perdiderit animam suam propter me et propter euangelium, hic saluabit eam. Quid enim proderit homini si lucretur totum mundum et anime sue detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam commutationem dabit homo pro anima sua? Qui enim me confessus
25 fuerit et sermones meos in hac generatione adultera et peccatrice, et filius hominis confitebitur ipsum, cum uenerit in gloria patris sui cum angelis sanctis.'

B42v Et dicebat eis: 'Amen dico uobis quod sunt quidam de hic
stantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec ueniat regnum Dei
30 ueniens in uirtute.' Et post dies sex accepit Iesus Petrum Iacobum et Ioannem, et duxit eos in montem excelsum seorsum solos. Et transfiguratus est coram eis; et uestimenta sua facta sunt alba uelut nix,
A27r qualia fullo in terra non potest dealbare. Et apparuit ei Helias cum Moyse, et erant colloquentes cum Iesu. Et respondens Petrus dixit Iesu:
35

31 uirtute] Here ends Mark 9 in the Vulgate.

15 et⁴] *om. A ins. A2*

- colloquentes cum Iesu. Et respondens Petrus dixit Iesu: 'Magister, bonum est nos hic esse; faciamus hic tria tabernacula: tibi unum, Moysi unum et Helie unum.' Non enim sciebat quid loqueretur, erant enim timore exterriti. Et facta est nubes obumbrans eos, et uenit uox ex nube:
- 5 'Hic est filius meus dilectus; ipsum audite.' Et statim circumspicientes neminem amplius uiderunt nisi Iesum solum cum eis. Discumbentibus autem ipsis de monte, precepit eis ut nemini narrarent que uiderant, nisi cum filius hominis a mortuis resurrexerit. Et uerbum tenuerunt apud se conquirentes 'Quid est a mortuis resurgere?' Et interrogabant eum
- 10 dicentes: 'Quid dicunt scribe quod Heliam oportet uenire primum?' Ipse autem respondens ait eis: 'Helias quidem primo ueniens, restituet omnia; et quomodo scriptum est in filium hominis, ut multa patiatur et aboleatur? Sed dico uobis quod Helias uenit; et fecerunt ei quecumque uoluerunt, sicut scriptum est de eo.' Et ueniens ad discipulos uidit
- 15 turbam magnam circa eos et scribas conquirentes cum eis. Et confestim omnis turba uidens ipsum obstupuit, et accurrentes salutabant eum. Et interrogabat scribas: 'Quid conquiritis ad eos?' Et respondens unus de turba dixit: 'Magister, attuli filium meum ad te habentem spiritum mutum; et ubicumque ipsum apprehendit, allidit eum, et spumat et stridit
- 20 dentibus suis et arescit. Et dixi discipulis tuis ut eum eicerent, et non potuerunt.' Ipse autem respondens ei dixit: 'O generatio incredula, usque quo apud uos ero? Vsque quo uos patiar? Afferte mihi ipsum.' Et attulerunt eum ad ipsum. Et cum uidisset, statim spiritus turbauit eum, et cadens in terram uolubabatur spumans. Et interrogauit patrem suum:
- 25 'Quantum tempus erat, ex quo hoc ei acciderat?' Ipse autem ait: 'A pueritia; et crebro ipsum et in ignem et in aquas iniecit, ut eum perderet; sed si quid potes, adiuua nos, misertus nostri.' Iesus autem dixit ei: 'Si potes credere; omnia possibilia sunt credenti.' Et cum confestim exclamasset pater pueri cum lacrimis aiebat: 'Credo domine; adiuua
- 30 incredulitatem meam.' Videns autem Iesus quod turba concurreret, comminatus est spiritui immundo dicens ei: 'Mute et surde spiritus, ego precipio tibi: Exi ab eo et ne amplius introeas in eum.' Et exclamans et multum discernens exiuit; et factus est uelut mortuus, ita ut multi dicerent quod esset mortuus. Iesus autem tenuit ipsum manu et eleuauit
- 35 eum, et surrexit. Et postquam ingressus est in domum, discipuli sui interrogabant eum seorsum: 'Quare nos non potuimus eicere ipsum?' Et ait ei: 'Hoc genus in nihilo potest exire nisi in oratione et ieiunio.' Et inde profecti pretergredebantur per Galileam; et nolebat ut aliquis sciret.

A27v

Docebat enim discipulos suos et dicebat eis quod ‘Filius hominis traderetur in manus hominum, et occident eum, et rursus tertia die resurget.’ Ipsi autem ignorabant uerbum et timebant eum interrogare. Et uenit Capharnaum. Et cum domi esset, interrogabat eos: ‘Quid in uia

B43v

inuicem disputabatis?’ Ipsi autem tacebant. Ad inuicem enim in uia 5
disputauerant quis maior esset. Et cum sedisset uocauit eos et ait eis: ‘Si quis uult primus esse, sit omnium ultimus omniumque minister.’ Et accipiens puerum, statuit eum in medio eorum; et complexus eum ait ipsis: ‘Quicumque unum ex istis pueris suscipiet in nomine meo, me suscipit; quicumque autem me susceperit, non me suscipit, sed eum qui 10
me misit.’ Respondit ei Ioannes dicens: ‘Magister, uidimus quendam in nomine tuo eicientem demonia qui non sequitur nos, et prohibuimus eum, quia non sequitur nos. Iesus autem ait: ‘Ne prohibete eum. Non enim est qui faciat uirtutem in nomine meo et possit cito male loqui de 15
me; qui enim non est aduersus uos, pro uobis est. Quisquis enim potum dederit uobis calicem aque in nomine meo, quia Christi estis, amen dico uobis: Non perdet mercedem suam. Et quisquis unum ex paruulis istis credentibus in me scandalizauerit, bonum est ei magis si circumdaretur mola asinaria in collum eius, et in mare iacitur. Et si scandalizauerit te 20
manus tua, abscinde eam: bonum est tibi debilem intrare in uitam, quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, in ignem inextinguibilem, ubi uermis eorum non moritur et ignis non exstinguitur. Et si pes tuus scandalizat te, abscinde eum: bonum est tibi intrare in uitam claudum, quam duos pedes habentem iaci in gehennam, in ignem inextinguibilem ubi uermis eorum non moritur et ignis non exstinguitur. Et si oculus tuus 25
scandalizat te, eice eum: bonum tibi est luscum intrare in regnum Dei, quam duos oculos habentem iaci in gehennam ignis, ubi uermis non moritur et ignis non exstinguitur; omnis enim igne salletur, et omnis uictima sale salletur. Bonum est sal; quod si sal insulsum fuerit, in quo ipsum condietis? Habete in uobisipsis sal et pacem habete adinuicem. 30

B44r

10 Et inde exurgens uenit in fines Iudee per transitum Iordanis, et conueniunt iterum ad eum turbe multe, et sicut consueuerat rursus docebat eos. Et accedentes pharisei interrogabant eum si licet uiro uxorem dimittere, tentantes eum. Ipse autem respondens ait eis: ‘Quid uobis precepit Moyses?’ Ipsi uero dixerunt: Moyses permisit ut 35

13 quia... nos] Manetti translated these words twice.

3 ignorabant...5 autem] *om. B* **16** in] *om. A ins. A2*

- uobis precepit Moyses?’ Ipsi uero dixerunt: Moyses permisit ut libellus repudii scriberetur et dimitteretur.’ Et respondens Iesus ait eis: ‘Ad duritiam cordis uestri scripsit uobis mandatum hoc. Ab initio autem creature masculinum et feminam fecit eos Deus et dixit: *Propter hoc relinquet*
- 5 *homo patrem suum et matrem et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una.* Quod igitur Deus coniunxit, homo non separet.’ Et in domo iterum discipuli sui de eodem interrogauerunt ipsum. Et dicit eis: ‘Quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit, mechatur super eam; et si uxor dimiserit uirum et alii nupserit, mechatur.’ Et afferebant ei pueros ut
- 10 tangeret eo; discipuli autem comminabantur offerentibus. Conspicatus autem Iesus, indignatus est et dixit eis: ‘Sinite pueros uenire ad me et ne prohibete eos; talium est enim regnum Dei. Amen dico uobis: Quicumque non susceperit regnum Dei ut puer, non intrabit in ipsum.’ Et complexus eos et imponens manus super eos benedicebat eis. Et cum
- 15 ingressus esset in uia, praeurrit eum quidam et genu flexo ante eum rogabat ipsum: ‘Magister bone, quid faciam ut uitam eternam possideam?’ Iesus autem ait ei: ‘Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus nisi solus Deus.’ Precepta nosti: non mechaberis, non occides, non furaberis, non falso testificaberis, non fraudabis, honora patrem tuum et matrem.’
- 20 Ipse autem respondens ait ei: ‘Magister, hec omnia conseruauimus ab adolescentia mea.’ Iesus autem intuitus eum dilexit ipsum et dixit ei: ‘Unum tibi deest: uade, quaecumque habes uende et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in celo et ueni, sequere me tollens crucem.’ Ipse autem contristatus in sermone, abiit tristis: erat enim habens
- 25 possessiones multas. Et circumspiciens Iesus ait discipulis suis: ‘Quam difficile qui pecunias habent, in regnum Dei introibunt.’ Discipuli autem obstupebant in uerbis suis. Iesus autem iterum respondens ait eis: ‘Filii, quam difficile est confidentes in pecuniis introire in regnum Dei. Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire quam diuitem in regnum Dei intrare.’ Ipsi autem abundanter admirabantur dicentes intra seipsos: ‘Et
- 30 quis potest saluari?’ Et conspicatus eos Iesus ait: ‘Apud homines impossibile est, sed non apud Deum.’ Cepit Petrus dicere ei: ‘Ecce nos dimisimus omnia et secuti sumus te.’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit:

A28r

B44v

1 ut] *om. A ins. A2* | libellus] -s *i. r. A2* 2 scriberetur] *ex scribere corr. A2*
 dimitteretur] *ex dimittere corr. A2* 6 separet] *seperet A* 10 Conspicatus...11 Iesus] *i. r. A2* 11 et] *om. A ins. A2* 14 manus...eis] *i. r. A2* 17 ait] *ex dixit corr. B1* 19 falso
 testificaberis] *ex falsum testimonium dices corr. A2* | fraudabis] *ex ne fraudem feceris*
corr. A2 26 introibunt] *intrabunt B*

‘Amen dico uobis: Nemo est qui dimiserit domum uel fratres uel sorores
 uel patrem uel matrem uel uxorem uel filios uel agros propter me et
 propter euangelium, qui non accipiat centies centum nunc in tempore
 hoc, domos et fratres et sorores et patrem et matrem et filios et agros
 cum persecutionibus, et in seculo uenturo uitam eternam. Multi autem
 erunt primi ultimi et ultimi primi.’ Erunt autem in uia ascendentes
 Hierosolimam, et precedebat eos Iesus, et stupebant; et sequentes
 timebant. Et assumens iterum duodecim cepit eis dicere quicumque
 essent eis euentura, quia ‘Ecce ascendimus Hierosolimam; et filius
 hominis tradetur pontificibus et scribis, et condemnabunt eum morte et
 tradent eum gentibus et illudent eum et flagellabunt eum et spuent in
 eum, et tertia die resurget.’ Et accedunt ad eum Iacobus et Ioannes filii
 Zebedei dicentes: ‘Magister, uolumus ut quodcumque petierimus facias
 nobis.’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Quid uultis ut faciam uobis?’ Ipsi autem
 dixerunt ei: ‘Da nobis ut unus a dextris tuis et unus a sinistris tuis
 sedeamus in gloria tua.’ Iesus autem dixit eis: ‘Nescitis quid petatis.
 Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibo, et baptismo quo ego baptizor
 baptizari?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: ‘Possumus.’ Iesus uero ait eis: ‘Calicem
 quem ego bibo bibetis; sedere autem a dextris meis et a sinistris non est
 meum dare, sed quibus paratum est.’ Et audientes decem ceperunt
 indignari de Iacobo et Ioanne. Iesus autem uocans eos ait ipsis: ‘Scitis
 quod hi qui uidentur principari gentibus dominantur eis, et magnates
 eorum potestatem habent ipsorum. Non autem ita erit in uobis, sed
 quicumque uoluerit magnus fieri in uobis, erit minister uester, et
 quicumque uoluerit in uobis primus esse, erit omnium seruus; nam et
 filius hominis non uenit ut ministraretur ei, sed ut ministraret et daret
 animam suam redemptionem pro multis.’ Et ueniunt Hierico. Et exeunte
 eo de Hierico et discipulis suis et turba plurima, filius Timei Bartimeus
 cecus sedebat secus uiam mendicans. Et audiens quod Iesus Nazareus
 est, cepit clamare et dicere: ‘Fili Dauid Iesu, miserere mei!’ Et
 comminabantur ei multi ut taceret; ipse autem multo magis clamabat:
 ‘Fili Dauid, miserere mei!’ Et stans Iesus ait ut ipsum uocarent. Et uocant
 cecum dicentes ei: ‘Confide, surge, uocat!’ Ipse autem, proiecto
 uestimento suo, surrexit et uenit ad eum. Et respondens Iesus dixit ei:
 ‘Quid uis faciam tibi?’ Cecus autem dixit ei: ‘Rabboni, ut uideam!’ Iesus

autem dixit ei: ‘Vade; fides tua saluauit te.’ Et confestim uidit et sequebatur eum in uia.

- 11** Et cum appropinquaret Hierosolimis, Bethphage et Bethanie ad montem Oliueti, mittit duos de discipulis suis et dicit eis: ‘Ite in
 5 castellum quod contra uos est, et statim introeuntes in ipsum inuenietis pullum ligatum, super quem nullus hominum sedit; soluite eum et adducite. Et si quis uobis dixerit: “Quid hoc facitis?”, dicite quod “Dominus eo opus habet, et confestim eum dimittet huc.”’ Abierunt autem et inuenerunt pullum ligatum ad portam foris in biuio et soluunt
 10 eum. Et adduxerunt pullum ad Iesum et imposuerunt ei uestimenta sua; et sedit super eum. Multi autem strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia, alii autem incidebant frondes de arboribus, et sternebant in uia. Et qui precedebant et qui sequebantur, clamabant: ‘Osanna! Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini! Benedictum quod uenit regnum in nomine
 15 domini patris nostri Dauid! Osanna in altissimis!’ Et introiuit in Hierosolimam et in templum; et circumspectis omnibus, serotina iam hora existente, exiuit in Bethaniam cum duodecim. Et exeuntibus ipsis altera die in Bethaniam, esuriit. Et uidens ficum a longe habentem folia,
 20 uenit si quid forte inueniret in ea; et cum uenisset ad eam, nihil inuenit nisi folia: non enim erat tempus ficuum. Et respondens Iesus dixit ei: ‘Non amplius in eternum quisquam ex te fructum manducet.’ Et audierunt discipuli sui. Et ueniunt Hierosolimam. Et ingressus in templum, cepit eicere uendentes et ementes de templo et mensas nummulariorum et sedilia uendentium columbas euerit, et non sinebat
 25 ut quisquam transferret uas per templum. Et docebat dicens eis: ‘Nonne scriptum est: *Domus mea domus orationis uocabitur cunctis gentibus?*’ Vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.’ Et audierunt scribes et pontifices et querebant quomodo ipsum perderent; timebant enim eum uniuersa turba, quoniam admirabantur super doctrina sua. Et sero facto,
 30 egrediebatur de ciuitate. Et mane transeuntes, uiderunt ficum arefactam a radicibus. Et recordatus Petrus ait ei: ‘Rabi, ecce ficus cui maledixisti aruit.’ Et respondens Iesus dicit eis: ‘Habetis fidem Dei! Amen enim dico uobis quod quicumque dixerit huic monti: “Tolle te et iace te in mare”, et non hesitauerit in corde suo, sed crediderit, quodcumque dixerit fiet, et
 35 erit ei quodcumque dixerit. Propter hoc dico uobis: Omnia quecumque

A29r

B46r

8 habet] est *praem.* B exp. B1 9 in] *om.* A ins. A2 23 sedilia] *i. r.* A2 28 quoniam] *om.* A ins. fort. A1

dixerit. Propter hoc dico uobis: Omnia quecumque orantes petieritis, credite quod accipietis, et fiet uobis. Et cum statis ad orandum, dimittite si quid habetis aduersus aliquem, ut et pater uester qui in celis est, dimittat uobis peccata uestra. Si autem uos non dimiseritis, neque pater uester qui in celis est dimittet peccata uestra.’ Et ueniunt rursus Hierosolimam. Et cum ambularet in templo, ueniunt ad ipsum pontifices et scribe et seniores et dicunt ei: ‘In qua potestate hec facis? Et quis tibi hanc potestatem dedit, ut hec facias?’ Iesus autem respondens dixit eis: ‘Interrogabo uos et ego unum sermonem, et respondete mihi, et dicam uobis in qua potestate hec faciam: Baptisma Ioannis e celo est an ex hominibus? Respondete mihi, et dicam uobis in qua potestate hec facio.’ Et cogitabant intra seipsos dicentes: ‘Si dixerimus: “De celo”, dicit: “Propter quid non credidistis ei?” Sed si dixerimus: “Ex hominibus”, timemus populum: omnes enim habebant Ioannem quod uere propheta erat.’ Et respondentes dicunt Iesu: ‘Nescimus.’ Et dicit eis: ‘Neque ego dico uobis in qua potestate hec facio.’

12 Et cepit eis in parabolis loqui: ‘Vineam plantauit homo, et circundedit sepem et fodit lacum et edificauit turrem, et locauit eam agricolis et peregre profectus est. Et misit ad agricolas in tempore seruum, ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu uinee; ipsi autem apprehensum eum uerberauere et dimiserunt eum uacuum. Et iterum misit ad eos alium seruum ut ab agricolis acciperet de fructu uinee; ipsi autem eum apprehensum uerberauerunt et uacuum dimiserunt. Et rursus misit ad eum alium seruum, et cum illum lapidassent et in capite uulnerassent, inhonoratum remiserunt. Et rursum alium misit, et illum interfecerunt, et multos alios, hos quidem uerberantes, hos uero interficientes. Adhuc ergo habens unum filium dilectum ab eo, misit et ipsum ad eos ultimum dicens quod uerebuntur filium meum. Illi autem agricole dixerunt adinuicem quod “Iste est heres! Venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit hereditas.” Et apprehendentes eum occiderunt et eiecerunt extra uineam. Quid igitur faciet dominus uinee? Veniet et perdet agricolas et dabit uineam aliis. Non autem legistis hanc scripturam: *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli;*

9 responde] respondite B 10 Ioannis] ex Ioannes corr. B1 11 Respondete] respondite B
18 turrem] turrim B 23 eum apprehensum] apprehensum eum B 28 uerebuntur]
uerebantur B

- a domino factus est iste, et est mirabilis in oculis nostris?* Et querebant ipsum tenere et timebant turbam; cognouerunt enim quod ad Deum parabolam dixerat. Et dimittentes ipsum abierunt. Et mittunt ad eum quosdam ex phariseis et Herodianis, ut ipsum caperent in uerbo. Ipsi autem uenientes
- 5 dicant ei: ‘Magister, scimus quod uerax es et non est cura tibi de aliquo, non enim respicis in faciem hominum, sed uiam Dei in ueritate doces. Licet dari tributum Cesari an dabimus uel non dabimus?’ Iesus autem uidens uersutiam eorum dixit eis: ‘Quid me tentatis? Afferte mihi denarium, ut uideam.’ Ipsi autem attulerunt ei. Et ait eis: ‘Cuius imago
- 10 hec et superscriptio?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: ‘Cesaris.’ Et respondens Iesus ait eis: ‘Reddite que sunt Cesaris, Cesari, et que sunt Dei, Deo.’ Et mirabantur super eo. Et ueniunt sadducei ad eum, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem, et interrogauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Magister, Moyses scripsit nobis ut si cuius frater mortuus fuerit et reliquerit uxorem et
- 15 filios non dimiserit, ut accipiat frater suus uxorem et resuscitet semen fratri suo. Septem igitur fratres erant: et primus accepit uxorem et mortuus est, non relicto semine; et secundus accepit eam et mortuus est, neque ipse dimisit semen; et tertius eodem modo; et acceperunt eam septem et non dimiserunt semen. Vltima omnium mortua est uxor. In
- 20 resurrectione ergo, cum resurrexerint, cuius ex his erit uxor? Septem enim habuerunt eam uxorem.’ Et respondens Iesus ait eis: ‘Nonne propter hoc erratis, nescientes scripturas neque uirtutem Dei? Cum enim a mortuis resurgunt, nec nubunt nec nubuntur, sed sunt uelut angeli Dei
- 25 in celis. De mortuis autem quando surgunt, nonne legistis in libro Moysi in rubo quomodo dixit ei Deus dicens: “Ego Deus Abraham et Deus Izach et Deus Iacob”? Non est Deus mortuorum, sed Deus uiuentium! Vos igitur multum erratis.’ Et accessit unus de scribis, qui audiuerat eos
- 30 ‘Quod est primum omnium mandatum?’ Iesus autem respondit ei quod ‘Primum omnium mandatum est: *Audi, Israel: Dominus Deus noster dominus unus est, et diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua et ex tota uirtute tua.* Hoc est primum mandatum. Et secundum est simile huic: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum.* Maius his aliud mandatum non est.’ Et ait ei scriba: ‘Bone magister, in ueritate
- 35 dixisti quod “Vnus est, et non alius preter ipsum; et diligere eum ex toto

B47v

A30r

12 ueniunt] uenerunt B 20 resurrexerint] resurrexerit B 26 Izach] Izah B 31 et³...32 tua¹] om. B 33 Diliges] Deliges B

corde et ex toto intellectu et ex tota anima et ex tota fortitudine, et diligere proximum tuum tamquam teipsum”, plus est omnibus holocaustomatibus et sacrificiis.’ Et Iesus uidens quod intellectum habens responderat, dixit ei: ‘Non longe es a regno Dei.’ Et nemo audebat eum amplius interrogare. Et respondens Iesus dicebat docens in templo: ‘Quomodo dicunt scribe quod Christus est filius Dauid? Ipse autem Dauid in spiritu sancto dicit: *Dixit dominus domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.* Ipse igitur Dauid dicebat eum dominum, et unde filius eius est?’ Et multa turba audiebat eum libenter. Et dicebat ipsis in doctrina sua: ‘Cauete a scribis, qui uolunt in stolis ambulare et salutationes in foro et primas sedes in synagogis et primos recubitus in cenis; qui deuorant domos uiduarum et prolixa oratione orantes. Hi accipiunt abundantius iudicium.’ Et sedens Iesus contra gazophilachium respiciebat quomodo turba iaceret es in gazophilachium; et multi diuites iaciebant multa. Cum autem uenisset una uidua pauper, misit duo minuta, quod est quadrans. Et conuocans discipulos suos ait eis: ‘Amen dico uobis quod uidua hec paupercula plus omnibus iniecit qui in gazophilachium iecerunt: omnes enim ex superabundanti eorum immiserunt; hec uero de penuria sua omnia quaecumque habuit, totum patrimonium suum, immisit.’

13 Et cum ipse egrederetur de templo, ait ei unus ex discipulis suis: ‘Magister, aspice quales lapides et quales structure.’ Et Iesus respondens ait ei: ‘Vide has omnes edificationes! Non dimittetur lapis super lapidem qui non destruat.’ Et cum sederet in monte Oliueti contra templum, interrogabant eum Petrus Iacobus et Ioannes et Andreas: ‘Dic nobis: Quando hec erunt, et quod signum erit, quando hec consummabuntur?’ Iesus autem respondens eis cepit dicere: ‘Videte ne quis uos seducat! Multi enim uenient in nomine meo dicentes quod “Ego sum”, et seducent multos. Cum autem audieritis bella et famas bellorum, ne timueritis; oportet enim fieri, sed nondum est finis. Surget enim gens contra gentem, et regnum contra regnum, et erunt terremotus per loca, et erunt fames et turbationes initia dolorum. Videte autem uosmetipsos. Tradent enim uos in conciliis et in synagogis uapulabitis et ante presides ac reges stabitis propter me in testimonium ipsis. Et in omnes gentes

4 dixit] om. B 11 sedes] ex cathedras corr. A2 19 eorum] -rum i. r. A1 | penuria] pecunia B

B48r

A30v

primum oportet predicari euangelium. Cum autem duxerint uos
 tradentes, ne cogitatis nec premeditemini quid loquamini, sed
 quodcumque datum fuerit uobis in illa hora, hoc loquimini: non enim
 uos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus sanctus. Tradet autem frater fratrem
 5 in mortem et pater filium; et insurgent filii in parentes et necabunt eos; et
 eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum. Qui autem perseuerabit
 usque in finem, hic saluabitur. Cum autem uideritis abominationem
 desolationis que dicta est a Daniele propheta in loco stantem ubi non
 oportet – qui legit intelligat – tunc qui in Iudea, fugient ad montes, et qui
 10 super tectum, non descendat in domum nec introeat ut tollat aliquid de
 domo sua, et qui in agro existens, non reuertatur retrorsum ut tollat
 uestimentum suum. Ve autem pregnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus!
 Orate autem ne fiat fuga uestra hieme; erunt enim dies illi tribulationis
 talis, qualis non fuit ab initio creature, quam condidit Deus, usque nunc,
 15 nec fiet. Et nisi dominus abbreviasset dies, non fuisset salua omnis caro.
 Sed propter electos quos elegit breuiauit dies. Et tunc, si quis uobis
 dixerit: ‘Ecce hic est Christus, uel ecce illic,’ ne credatis: surgent enim
 falsi Christi et falsi prophete et dabunt signa et prodigia ad seducendum,
 si possibile est, etiam electos. Vos autem uidete; ecce predixi uobis
 20 omnia. Sed in illis diebus post tribulationem ipsam sol obscurabitur, et
 luna non dabit splendorem suum, et stelle celi erunt decidentes, et
 uirtutes in celis mouebuntur. Et tunc uidebunt filium hominis uenientem
 in nubibus cum potestate et gloria multa. Et tunc mittet angelos suos et
 congregabit electos suos a quatuor uentis, a summo terre usque ad
 25 summum celi. A ficu autem discite parabolam: cum iam ramus eius tener
 fuerit et nata fuerint folia, cognoscetis quod prope est estas. Sic et uos,
 cum hec facta uideritis, cognoscite quod prope est in ianuis. Amen dico
 uobis quod non preteribit generatio ista, donec omnia hec fiant. Celum
 et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non preteribunt. De die autem illa
 30 uel hora nemo scit, neque angeli qui in celo sunt neque filius, nisi pater.
 Videte, uigilate et orate; nescitis enim quando tempus est, ut homo qui
 peregre profectus reliquit domum suam, et dedit seruis suis potestatem et
 unicuique opus suum, et ianitori precepit ut uigilaret. Vigilate igitur;

5 necabunt eos] *ex morte eos afficient corr. A2* 7 abominationem] *ex abhominationem*
corr. fort. A2 9 intelligat] *intelligent AB* 10 descendat] *ex descendant corr. B1*
 11 retrorsum... tollat] *retrorsum tollere AB corr. A2* 13 tribulationis] *ex tribulationis corr.*
fort. A1 16 elegit] *eligit B* 17 illic] *illis B* 27 cognoscite] *ex scite corr. A2* scite B

A31r

nescitis enim quando dominus domum ueniet, sero an nocte intempesta uel gallicinio uel mane; ne, cum repente ueniat, inueniat uos dormientes. Que autem uobis dico, omnibus dico: Vigilate!

B49v

14 Erat autem Pascha et Azyma post dies duos. Et querebant pontifices et scribe, quomodo eum dolo tenerent et occiderent; 5 dicebant autem: ‘Non in festiuitate, ne quando tumultus populi fieret.’ Et cum esset Bethanie in domo Simonis leprosi et recumberet, uenit mulier habens alabastrum unguenti nardi sinceri pretiosi; et fregit alabastrum et effudit super caput suum. Erant autem quidam intra seipsos indignantes et dicentes: ‘Ad quid perditio hec unguenti facta est? 10 Potuit enim unguentum istud uenundari plusquam trecentis denariis et dari pauperibus.’ Et fremebant in eam. Iesus autem dixit: ‘Sinite eam; quid ipsi molestiam prebetis? Bonum opus operata est in me. Semper enim pauperes habetis uobiscum et, cum uolueritis, potestis eis benefacere; me autem non semper habetis. Quod habuit, hec fecit: 15 preuenit ut ungeret corpus meum in sepulturam. Amen dico uobis: Vbicumque predicatum fuerit euangelium istud in toto mundo, et quod fecit hec narrabitur in memoriam eius.’ Et Iudas Scariothes, unus ex duodecim, abiit ad pontifices ut traderet eum ipsis. Ipsi autem audientes gauisi sunt et promiserunt ei argentum dare. Et querebat quomodo eum 20 oportune traderet. Et prima die Azymorum, quando Pascha immolabant, dicunt ei discipuli sui: ‘Quo uis eamus et paremus Pascha ut manduces Pascha?’ Et mittit duos ex discipulis suis et dicit eis: ‘Ite in ciuitatem, et occurret uobis homo lagenam aque baiulans; sequimini eum et, quocumque introierit dicite domino domus quod “Magister dicit: Vbi est 25 diuersorium, in quo Pascha cum discipulis meis manducem?” Et ipse demonstrabit uobis cenaculum grande paratum; ibi parate nobis.’ Et abierunt discipuli sui et uenerunt in ciuitatem et inuenerunt sicut dixerat eis, et parauerunt Pascha. Sero autem facto uenit cum duodecim. Et discumbentibus eis et manducantibus, ait Iesus: ‘Amen dico uobis quod 30 unus ex uobis tradet me, qui manducat mecum.’ Ipsi autem ceperunt contristari et dicere ei singillatim: ‘Numquid ego?’, et alius: ‘Numquid ego?’ Respondens autem Iesus dixit eis: ‘Vnus ex duodecim, qui intingit mecum in catino. Filius quidem hominis uadit, sicut scriptum est de eo.

2 ueniat] -at i. r. fort. A1 9 suum] eius *praem.* B exp. B1 12 eam¹] eum B 15 ut ungeret] ex ungere corr. A2 30 et] om. A ins. A1

- Ve autem homini illi per quem filius hominis tradetur! Bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.' Et comedentibus ipsis, accepit Iesus panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit eis et dixit: 'Accipite, manducate, hoc est corpus meum.' Et accipiens calicem, benedixit et dedit eis, et biberunt ex eo omnes. Et dixit eis: 'Hic est sanguis meus noui testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur. Amen, amen dico uobis quod non amplius bibam de hac propagine uitis usque in diem illum cum ipsum bibam nouum in regno Dei.' Et hymno dicto, exiuerunt in montem Oliueti. Et dicit eis Iesus quod 'Omnes scandalizabimini in me in nocte ista, quia scriptum est: *Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves.* Sed postquam resurrexero, precedam uos in Galileam.' Petrus autem ait ei: 'Et si omnes scandalizabuntur, sed non ego.' Et dixit ei Iesus: 'Amen dico tibi quod tu hodie in hac nocte, priusquam bis gallus cantet, ter me negabis.' Ipse autem ex abundantia aiebat magis: 'Si me oportuerit commori tecum, non te negabo.' Eodem autem modo et omnes dicebant. Et ueniunt in predium, cui nomen Gethseman, et ait discipulis suis: 'Sedete hic, donec orem.' Et assumit Petrum Iacobum et Ioannem et cepit pauere et tedere et dicit eis: 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; sustinete hic et uigilate.' Et cum processisset paulum, procidit in terram et orabat ut, si possibile esset, transiret ab eo hora, et dixit: 'Abba, pater! 'Omnia tibi possibilia sunt. Transfer hunc calicem a me; at non quod ego uolo sed quod tu fiat.' Et uenit et inuenit eos dormientes et ait Petro: 'Simon, dormis? Non potuistis una hora uigilare? Vigilate et orate ne intretis in tentationem; spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.' Et iterum abiens eundem sermonem orauit dicens. Et reuersus inuenit eos iterum dormientes; erant enim oculi eorum grauati, et nesciebant quid ei responderent. Et uenit tertio et ait eis: 'Dormite reliquum et requiescite? Sufficit, uenit hora: ecce filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum. Surgite, eamus; ecce, qui me tradet appropinquauit.' Et confestim, adhuc eo loquente, assistit Iudas unus ex duodecim, et cum eo turba multa cum gladiis et lignis a pontificibus et scribis et senioribus. Dederat autem qui tradebat eum signum ipsis dicens: 'Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est; tenete eum et abducite caute.' Et cum uenisset, statim accedens ad

B50r

A31v

B50v

7 propagine] propa- i. r. A2 10 Sed] ex Se corr. A1 19 paulum] ex paululum corr. B1
23 potuistis] potuisti B 32 osculatus] obsculatus B 33 abducite] adducite B

eum dicit: ‘Rabi,’ et osculatus est eum. Ipsi autem manus suas iniecerunt in ipsum et tenuerunt eum. Vnus autem de circumstantibus educens gladium percussit seruum pontificis et amputauit eius auriculam. Et respondens Iesus ait eis: ‘Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et lignis ut comprehenderetis me? Quotidie enim eram apud uos docens in templo et non me tenuistis; sed ut adimpleantur scripture.’ Et relinquentes eum omnes fugerunt. Adolescens autem quidam sequebatur eum sindone super nudo, et tenuerunt eum adolescentes; ipse autem, relicto sindone, nudus effugit ab eis. Et adduxerunt Iesum ad pontificem, et conuenerunt in unum omnes pontifices seniores et scribe. Et Petrus a longe sequebatur eum usque intro in atrium pontificis, et sedebat cum ministris et calefaciebat se ad ignem. Pontifices uero et totum concilium querebant aduersus Iesum testimonium, ut eum morti traderent, et non inueniebant. Multi enim falsa testimonia dicebant aduersus eum, et conuenientia testimonia non errant. Et quidam surgentes falsum testimonium dicebant aduersus eum aientes quod ‘Nos audiuius eum dicentem: “Ego dissoluam templum hoc manufactum et post tres dies aliud non manufactum edificabo.” Et non erat sic conueniens testimonium eorum. Et surgens pontifex in medium interrogauit Iesum et dicit ei: ‘Non respondes quicquam ad id quod isti aduersus te testificantur?’ Ipse autem tacebat et nihil respondebat. Iterum pontifex interrogauit ipsum et dicit: ‘Tu es Christus, filius benedicti?’ Iesus autem dixit: ‘Ego sum, et uidebitis filium hominis a dextris uirtutis sedentem et uenientem cum nubibus celi.’ Pontifex autem scindens uestimenta sua ait: ‘Quid amplius indigemus testibus? Audistis blasphemiam; quid uobis uidetur?’ Omnes autem condemnauerunt eum esse reum mortis. Et ceperunt quidam conspuere eum et uelare faciem suam et colaphis eum cedere et dicere ei: ‘Prophetiza’; et ministri alapis eum cedebant. Et cum esset Petrus in atrio deorsum, uenit una de ancillis pontificis et, cum uidisset Petrum calefacientem se, aspiciens eum ait: ‘Et tu cum Iesu Nazareno eras.’ Ipse autem negauit dicens: ‘Neque scio neque noui quid tu dicas.’ Et exiuit foras in uestibulum ante atrium, et gallus cantauit. Et cum ancilla iterum ipsum uidisset, cepit dicere astantibus quod ‘Hic ex illis est.’ Ipse autem iterum negauit. Et paulo post astantes iterum

1 Ipsi... 2 eum] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

1 osculatus] obsculatus B | Ipsi... 2 eum] *om.* B 5 ut... me] *ex* comprehendere *corr.* A2

8 tenuerunt] timuerunt AB 20 aduersus] aduersum B 22 ipsum] Iesum *praem.* B *exp.* B1

A32r

B51r

dicebant Petro: ‘Vere ex ipsis es, et enim Galileus es; et loquela tua assimilat.’ Ipse autem cepit anathematizare et iurare quod ‘Nescio hominem istum, quem dicitis.’ Et secundo gallus cantauit. Et recordatus est Petrum uerbi quod dixit ei Iesus: ‘Priusquam gallus cantet bis, ter me
5 negabis’, et insultans flebat.

15 Et confestim mane concilium facientes pontifices cum senioribus et scribis et totum concilium, ligantes Iesum adduxerunt et tradiderunt Pilato. Et interrogauit eum Pilatus: ‘Tu es rex Iudeorum?’ Ipse autem respondens ait ei: ‘Tu dicis.’ Et
10 accusabant eum pontifices in multis. Pilatus autem interrogauit eum iterum dicens: ‘Non respondes quicquam? Vide quanta aduersus te testificantur.’ Iesus autem adhuc nihil respondit, ita ut miraretur Pilatus. Per festiuitatem autem dimittebat unum uinctum, quemcumque petissent. Erat autem qui dicebatur Barabas, cum seditiosis uinctus, qui
15 in seditione homicidium fecerat. Et cum ascendisset turba, cepit rogare, sicut semper faciebat ipsos. Pilatus autem respondit eis dicens: ‘Vultis dimittam uobis regem Iudeorum?’ Cognoscebat enim quod per inuidiam tradiderant eum. Pontifices autem concitauerunt turbam, ut magis Barabam dimitteret eis. <Pilatus autem iterum respondens aiebat illis:>
20 ‘Quid igitur uultis faciam ei quem dicitis regem Iudeorum?’ Ipsi autem clamauerunt: ‘Crucifige ipsum.’ Pilatus autem dicebat eis: ‘Quod enim mali fecit?’ Ipsi autem abundantius clamauerunt: ‘Crucifige ipsum.’ Pilatus autem, uolens satisfacere turbe, dimisit ipsis Barabam et tradidit Iesum flagellis cesum, ut crucifigeretur. Milites autem abduxerunt eum
25 intro in atrium, quod est pretorium, et conuocant totam cohortem. Et induunt eum purpura et imponunt ei plectentes spineam coronam, et ceperunt salutare eum: ‘Aue, rex Iudeorum’, et percutiebant caput suum arundine et conspuentes eum et ponentes genua adorabant eum. Et postquam illuserunt ei, exuerunt ipsum purpura et induerunt eum uestimentis propriis. Et educunt ipsum, ut eum crucifigerent. Et cogunt reuertentem quendam Simonem Cireneum uenientem de uilla, patrem Alexandri et Rufi, ut tolleret crucem eius. Et perducunt ipsum Golgotham locum, quod est interpretatum ‘Caluarie locus’. Et dabant ei ut biberet myrratum uinum, ipse autem non accepit. Et cum
30 crucifixissent eum, diuidunt uestimenta, iacientes sortem super ea, quis

B51v

A32v

B52r

9 ei] *om. B* 12 dimittebat] *ex dimittebant corr. fort. A1* 18 Pilatus...19 illis] *om. AB*
25 conuocant] *conuocauit B* 33 ut biberet] *ex bibere corr. A2*

iacientes sortem super ea, quis quid tolleret. Erat autem hora tertia, et crucifixerunt ipsum. Et erat titulus cause sue inscriptus: ‘Rex Iudeorum’. Et cum eo crucifixerunt duos latrones, unum a dextris et unum a sinistris suis. Et adimpleta est scriptura que dicit: *Et cum iniquis deputatus est*. Et pretereuntes blasphemabant eum mouentes capita sua et dicentes: ‘Vah, 5 qui destruis templum Dei et in tribus diebus reedificas; salua teipsum et descende de cruce.’ Similiter et pontifices illudentes ad alterutrum cum discipulis dicebant: ‘Alios saluauit, seipsum non potest saluare. Christus rex Israel descendat nunc de cruce, ut uideamus et credamus ei.’ Et qui cum eo crucifixi erant improperabant ei. Facta autem hora sexta, tenebre 10 facte sunt per totam terram usque in horam nonam. Et hora nona clamauit Iesus uoce magna: ‘*Heli, Heli, lammadzautani?*’, quod est interpretatum: ‘Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti?’ Et quidam de assistantibus dicebant: ‘Ecce Heliam uocat.’ Currrens autem unus et implens spongiam aceto circumponensque calamo potum dabat 15 ei dicens: ‘Sinite, uideamus si uenit Helias ad deponendum eum.’ Iesus autem, emissa uoce magna, expirauit. Et uelum templi scissum est in duo a sursum usque deorsum. Videns autem centurio, qui astabat ex aduerso eius, quod sic clamans expirasset, ait: ‘Vere homo iste filius Dei erat.’ Erant autem et mulieres a longe aspicientes, in quibus erat et Maria 20 Magdalena et Maria Iacobi minoris et Iose mater et Salome, que quidem quando erat in Galilea, sequebantur eum et ministrabant ei, et alie multe, que simul ascenderant cum eo in Hierosolimam. Et sero facto, quia erat parasceue, quod est ante sabbatum, uenit Ioseph a Barimathia nobilis consultor, qui et ipse erat expectans regnum Dei, et audacter introiit ad 25 Pilatum et petiit corpus Iesu. Pilatus autem mirabatur si iam obiisset, et, accersito centurione, interrogauit si iam mortuus esset, et, cum cognouisset a centurione, donauit corpus Iesu ipsi. Ioseph atque, empto sindone et deposito eo, inuoluit ipsum in sindone et posuit ipsum in monumento, quod erat excisum ex petra, et aduoluit lapidem ad ostium 30 monumenti.

A33r

B52v

10 improperabant] impropenibant A improberabant B 12 lammadzautani] ex lamazautani corr. A2 lamaazautani B 28 Iesu] Iessu B

- 16** Maria autem Magdalena et Maria Iose aspiciebant ubi poneretur. Et perfecto sabato, Maria Magdalena et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerant aromata, ut uenientes ungerent eum. Et ualde mane, unius ex sabatis, ueniunt ad monumentum, orto sole. Et dicebant adinuicem: ‘Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?’ Et respicientes uiderunt reuolutum lapidem; erat enim magnus ualde. Et ingresse in monumentum uiderunt adolescentem sedentem a dextris, coopertum stola candida, et obstupuerunt. Ipse autem dicit eis: ‘Ne expauescite! Iesum queritis Nazarenum crucifixum. Surrexit, non est hic; ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum. Sed ite, dicite discipulis eius et Petro quod precedet uos in Galileam. Ibi eum uidebitis, sicut dixi uobis.’ Et exeuntes fugerunt de monumento; apprehenderat autem eas tremor et pavor, et nemini quicquam dixerunt, timebant enim. Surgens autem mane, prima sabatorum, apparuit primo Marie Magdalene, de qua eiecerat septem demonia. Illa profecta nuntiauit his qui cum eo fuerant, lugentibus et flentibus; et cum ipsi audissent quod uiueret et uisus esset ab ea, non crediderunt. Post hec autem duobus ex eis ambulantibus manifestatus est in alia effigie euntibus in uillam; et illi abeuntes nuntiauerunt reliquis, neque illis crediderunt. Posterius recumbentibus ipsis undecim apparuit, et exprobrauit incredulitatem eorum et duritiam cordis, quia his qui uiderant eum resurrexisse non crediderunt. Et dixit eis: ‘Euntes in mundum predicate euangelium omni creature. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluabitur; qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem his qui crediderint, hec sequentur: in nomine meo demonia eicient, linguis loquentur nouis, serpentes tollent, et, si mortiferum quid biberint, non nocebit eis; super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt. Dominus igitur, postquam locutus est eis, assumptus est in celum et sedit a dextris Dei. Illi autem abeuntes predicauerunt, cooperante domino et sermonem confirmante per signa insequentia. Amen.

B53r

2 poneretur] Here ends Mark 15 in the Vulgate.

20 exprobrauit] exprobaui *B*

Luke

A33v

1 Quoniam multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem rerum que in nobis complete sunt, sicut tradiderunt nobis ab initio inspectores ipsi et qui ministri sermones fuerunt, uisum est et mihi, assecuto desursum omnia, diligenter ex ordine tibi scribere, optime Theophile, ut 5
B53v cognoscas eorum uerborum de quibus eruditus es certitudinem. Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudee sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de uice Abia et uxor eius de filiabus Aaron, et nomen eius Elisabet. Erant autem iusti ambo coram Deo, incedentes in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus domini, sine querela. Et non erat eis filius, quia Elisabet 10
erat sterilis, et ambo processerant in diebus suis. Factum est autem dum ipse sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine uicis sue coram Deo, secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii sorte exiit, ut ingressus in templum domini incensum poneret; et omnis multitudo populi erat orans foris hora incensi. Apparuit autem ei angelus domini stans a dextris altaris incensi; 15
et turbatus est Zacharias uidens et timor irruit super eum. Ait autem ad eum angelus: 'Ne timeas, Zacharia, quoniam exaudita est deprecatio tua, et uxor tua Elisabet pariet tibi filium, et uocabis nomen eius Ioannem. Et erit gaudium tibi et exultatio, et multi in natiuitate eius gaudebunt: erit enim magnus coram domino et uinum et siceram non bibit et spiritu 20
sancto replebitur adhuc ex uentre matris sue et multos filiorum Israel conuertet ad dominum Deum ipsorum. Et ipse precedet coram eo in spiritu et uirtute Helie, et uertet corda patrum in filios et incredulos ad prudentiam iustorum, ut parent domino populum preparatum.' Et dixit Zacharias ad angelum: 'Vnde hoc sciam? Ego enim sum senex et uxor 25
mea processit in diebus suis.' Et respondens angelus dixit ei: 'Ego sum Gabriel, qui asto coram Deo, et missus sum ut loquar ad te et ut hec tibi euangelizem. Et ecce: eris tacens et impotens loqui usque in diem quo hec fient, pro eo quod non credidisti uerbis meis, que implebuntur in tempore suo.' Et erat populus expectans Zachariam, et mirabantur quod 30
ipse tardaret in templo. Egressus autem non poterat loqui ad eos, et cognouerunt quod uisionem uidisset in templo; et ipse erat innuens eis et permansit mutus. Et factum est dum implerentur dies sacrificii sui, abiit

B54r

7 Abia] abbia *corr.* B1 8 Elisabet] ex Elisabeth *corr.* B1 17 Zacharia] ex Zacharias *corr.* B1
19 erit] ex erat *corr.* B1 22 Deum] deorum B 23 ut... 24 parent] ex parere *corr.* A2
25 processit] precessit B 27 ut loquar] ex loqui *corr.* A2 | ut²...euangelizem] ex hec
tibi euangelizo *corr.* A2

- Et factum est dum implerentur dies sacrificii sui, abiit in domum suam. Post hos autem dies concepit Elisabet uxor eius et occultabat se mensibus quinque dicens quod ‘Sic mihi fecit dominus in diebus quibus respexit ut auferret obprobrium meum inter homines.’ In mense autem
- 5 sexto missus est angelus Gabriel in ciuitatem Galilee, cui nomen Nazareth, ad uirginem desponsatam uiro cui nomen Ioseph de domo Dauid, et nomen uirginis Maria. Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: ‘Aue, gratia plena, dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus.’ Ipsa autem conspicata turbata est in sermone eius et cogitabat qualis esset ista
- 10 salutatio. Et ait ei angelus: ‘Ne timeas, Maria; inuenisti enim gratiam apud Deum. Et ecce concipies in utero et paries filium, et uocabis nomen eius Iesum. Iste erit magnus et filius altissimi uocabitur, et dabit ei dominus Deus sedem Dauid patris sui, et regnabit in domo Iacob in secula, et regni eius non erit finis.’ Dixit autem Maria ad angelum: ‘Quomodo erit
- 15 istud, quoniam uirum non cognosco?’ Et respondens angelus dixit ei: ‘Spiritus sanctus superueniet in te, et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi: ideo quod nascetur, sanctum uocabitur, filius Dei. Et ecce Elisabet, cognata tua, et ipsa concipiet filium in senectute sua, et hic mensis est sextus ei que uocatur sterilis, quoniam non erit impossibile apud Deum omne
- 20 uerbum.’ Dixit autem Maria: ‘Ecce ancilla domini; fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum.’ Et recessit ab ea angelus. Exurgens autem Maria in diebus his abiit in montana cum festinatione in ciuitatem Iude et intrauit in domum Zacharie et salutauit Elisabet. Et factum est ut audiuit Elisabet salutationem Marie, exultauit infans in utero suo, et repleta est spiritu sancto Elisabet et exclamauit uoce magna et dixit: ‘Benedicta tu in
- 25 mulieribus, et benedictus fructus uentris tui. Et unde mihi hoc, ut ueniat mater domini mei ad me? Ecce enim ut facta est uox salutationis tue in auribus meis, exultauit infans cum gaudio in utero meo. Et beata que credidisti quod perficientur ea que a domino dicta sunt.’ Et ait Maria: 30 ‘Magnificat anima mea dominum, et exultauit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo, quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes, quia fecit mihi magna, qui potens est, et sanctum nomen eius, et misericordia eius in generationes generationum timentibus eum. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo, dispersit
- 35 potentes mente cordis eorum; deposuit potentes de sedibus et exaltauit

A34r

B54v

4 ut auferret] *ex auferre corr. A2* 10 salutatio] *ex saluatio corr. A2* 24 Elisabet] *om. B*
 28 cum... meo] *in utero meo cum gaudio B corr. B1*

humiles; esurientes impleuit bonis et diuites dimisit inanes. Suscepit Israel puerum suum, ut recordaretur misericordie sue, sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abrahe et semini eius usque in seculum.' Mansit autem Maria cum ea quasi mensibus tribus et reuersa est in domum suam.

A34v Elisabet autem ipsi impletum est tempus pariendo, et peperit filium. Et 5
audiuerunt uicini et cognati eius quod magnificauit dominus misericordiam suam cum ea, et congratulabantur ei. Et factum est octauo die uenerunt ut circumciderent puerum et uocabant ipsum nomine patris sui Zachariam. Et respondens mater eius dixit: 'Nequaquam, sed

B55r uocabitur Ioannes.' Et dixerunt ad eam quod 'Nemo est in cognatione 10
tua qui uocetur hoc nomine.' Innuebant autem patri suo quem uellet uocari eum. Et postulans pugillarem scripsit dicens: 'Ioannes erit nomen eius.' Et mirati sunt omnes. Apertum est autem illico os suum et lingua eius, et loquebatur benedicens Deum. Et factus est timor super omnes 15
ipsos circumhabitantes, et in tota montana Iudee diuulgabantur omnia uerba hec. Et posuerunt omnes qui audierunt in corde suo dicentes: 'Quisnam puer iste erit?' et manus domini erat cum eo. Et Zacharias pater eius impletus est spiritu sancto et prophetauit dicens: 'Benedictus dominus Deus Israel, quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem populi sui, et 20
erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo Dauid pueri sui, sicut locutus est per os sanctorum, qui a seculo sunt, prophetarum eius, salutem ex inimicis nostris et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos; ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris et ad memorandum testamentum sanctum suum, iusiurandum quod iurauit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, daturum se nobis, et sine timore, de manu inimicorum nostrorum 25
liberati, seruamus ei in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus uite nostre. Et tu, puer, propheta altissimi uocaberis: preibis enim ante faciem domini ut pares uias ei, ad dandam cognitionem salutis populo suo in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per uiscera misericordie Dei nostri, in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto, ad illuminandum his qui in 30
tenebris et umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in uiam pacis.' Puer autem crescebat et confortabatur spiritu et erat in desertis usque ad diem ostensionis sue ad Israel.

6 dominus] *ex dominum corr. B1* 8 ut circumciderent] *ex circumcidere corr. A2*
19 populi sui] *plebis sue praem. B exp. B1* 28 ut pares] *ex parare corr. A2* 30 ad
illuminandum] *ex illuminare corr. A2*

- 2 Factum est autem in diebus illis exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto, ut describeretur uniuersus orbis. Hec descriptio prima facta est Cyrino Syrie presidente. Et ibant omnes, ut singuli profiterentur, in suam ciuitatem. Descendit autem et Ioseph a Galilea ex ciuitate Nazaret in
- 5 Iudeam in ciuitatem Daud, que uocatur Bethleem, eo quod esset de domo et familia Daud, ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata sibi, uxore pregnante. Factum est autem cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut ea pareret, et peperit filium suum primogenitum; et pannis eum inuoluit et reclinauit eum in presepio, quia non erat eis locus in diuersorio. Et
- 10 pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes et custodientes uigilias noctis in gregem suum. Et ecce angelus domini astitit eis, et gloria domini circumfulsit ipsos, et timuerunt timore magno. Et dixit eis angelus: 'Ne timeatis; ecce enim euangelizo uobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo, quia natus est uobis hodie saluator, qui est Christus dominus, in
- 15 ciuitate Daud. Et hoc uobis signum: inuenietis infantem pannis inuolutum positum in presepio.' Et subito facta est cum angelo multitudo celestis exercitus laudantium Deum et dicentium: 'Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis.' Et factum est ut discesserunt ab eis angeli in celum, homines pastores loquebantur adinuicem: 'Transeamus et uideamus uerbum hoc quod factum est, quod dominus ostendit nobis.' Et uenerunt festinantes et inuenerunt Mariam et Ioseph et infantem positum in presepio. Videntes autem cognouerunt de uerbo quod dictum erat eis de puero hoc. Et omnes qui audierant mirati sunt de his que dicta erant a pastoribus ad ipsos. Maria autem
- 25 conseruabat omnia uerba hec conferens in corde suo. Et reuersi sunt pastores glorificantes et laudantes Deum in omnibus que audierant et uiderant, sicut dictum fuerat ad eos. Et postquam completi sunt dies octo ut ipse circumcideretur, uocatum est nomen eius Iesus, quod uocatum fuit ab angelo priusquam conciperetur in utero. Et quando
- 30 impleti sunt dies purificationis eorum secundum legem Moysi, tulerunt ipsum in Hierosolimam ut sisterent domino, sicut scriptum est in lege domini quod *Omne masculinum adaperiens uuluum sanctum domino uocabitur*, et ut darent sacrificium secundum quod dictum est in lege domini: *Par*

B55v

A35r

B56r

2 descriptio] disceptatio B 5 que...6 Daud] om. B 6 profiteretur] proficisceretur B desponsata] desposata B 7 ca] om. A ins. A2 10 in] om. A i. m. A2 14 uobis] nobis B 23 erat] est *praem.* B exp. B1 25 conferens] om. B 33 darent] daret AB

turturum aut duos pullos columbarum. Et ecce homo erat in Hierusalem cui nomen Simeon, et homo iste iustus et religiosus erat, expectans consolationem Israel, et spiritus sanctus erat in eo, et responsum acceperat a spiritu sancto non uisurum se mortem priusquam uideret Christum domini. Et uenit in spiritu in templum. Et cum inducerent puerum Iesum parentes sui, ut facerent secundum consuetudinem legis pro eo, et ipse accepit eum in ulnis suis et benedixit Deum et dixit: 'Nunc dimittis seruum tuum, domine, secundum uerbum tuum in pace, quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum, lumen ad reuelationem gentium et gloriam populi tui Israel.' Et erant Ioseph et mater eius admirantes super his que de eo dicebantur. Et benedixit eis Simeon et dixit ad Mariam matrem suam: 'Ecce hic positus est in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel et in signum cui contradicetur – et tui ipsius animam pertransibit gladius – ut reuelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes.' Et erat Anna prophetessa, filia Phanuelis, de tribu Aser. Ipsa processerat in diebus multis et uixerat cum uiro suo annis septem a uirginitate sua; et hec uidua quasi annorum octuaginta quatuor, que non recedebat de templo, ieiuniis et orationibus seruans nocte dieque. Et hac ipsa hora superastabat et confitebatur domino et loquebatur de eo omnibus expectantibus redemptionem in Israel. Et ut perfecerunt omnia secundum legem domini, reuersi sunt in Galileam in ciuitatem eorum Nazareth. Puer autem crescebat et confortabatur spiritu plenus sapientia; et gratia Dei erat in illo. Et ibant genitores eius quotannis in Hierusalem in festiuitate Pasche. Et cum factus esset annorum duodecim, ascendentibus ipsis in Hierosolimam secundum consuetudinem festiuitatis, consumatisque diebus dum redirent, remansit puer Iesus in Hierusalem, et non cognouerunt Ioseph et mater eius. Putantes autem Iesum esse in comitatu, uenerunt iter diei et requirebant eum inter cognatos et notos et non inuenientes ipsum reuersi sunt in Hierusalem querentes eum. Et factum est post tres dies inuenerunt eum in templo sedentem in medio doctorum, audientem et interrogantem ipsos; stupebant autem omnes qui eum audiebant super intelligentia et responsionibus suis. Et uidentes ipsum admirati sunt, et dixit mater sua ad eum: 'Fili, quid fecisti nobis sic? Ecce pater tuus et ego

1 Hierusalem] Hierusulem B 5 inducerent] *ex induerent corr. A1* 10 populorum... gloriam] *iter. A* 16 tribu] Ioseph *praem. B exp. B1* 19 hac] *hec praem. A exp. A1* haec hac B 28 esse] *om. A ins. fort. A1*

dolentes querebamus te.’ Et dixit ad eos: ‘Quid est quod me querebatis? Nesciebatis quod in his que patris mei sunt oportet me esse?’ Et ipsi non intellexerunt uerbum quod eis locutus est. Et descendit cum ipsis et uenit Nazareth et erat subditus eis. Et mater sua conseruabat omnia uerba hec
 5 in corde suo. Et Iesus proficiebat sapientia et etate et gratia apud Deum et homines.

B57r

3 In anno quinto decimo imperii Tyberii Cesaris, presidente Pontio Pilato Iudee, et tetrarcha Galilee Herode Philippo autem fratre suo tetrarcha Ituree et Traconitidis regionis, et Lisania Abiline
 10 tetrarcha, sub Pontificibus Anna et Caipha, factum est uerbum domini super Ioannem Zacherie filium in deserto. Et uenit in omnem circuitum regionis Iordanis predicans baptismum penitentie in remissionem peccatorum, sicut scriptum est in libro sermonum Esaie prophete dicentis: *Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius.*
 15 *Omnis uallis implebitur et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur; et erunt obliqua in directa et aspera in uias planas: et uidebit omnis caro salutare Dei.* Dicebat ergo turbis egredientibus ut baptizarentur ab eo: ‘Progenies uiperarum, quis ostendit ut fugeretur a futura ira? Facite ergo fructus dignos penitentie et ne ceperitis dicere intra uosipsos: “Patrem habemus Abraham”; dico
 20 enim uobis quod potest Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios ipsi Abrahe. Iam autem et securis ad radicem arborum posita est; omnis ergo arbor non faciens fructum bonum exciditur et in ignem iacitur.’ Et interrogabant eum turbe dicentes: ‘Quid igitur faciemus?’ Respondens autem dicit eis: ‘Qui habet duas tunicas, det non habenti; et qui habet
 25 esculenta, similiter faciat.’ Venerunt autem et publicani ut baptizarentur, et dixerunt ad ipsum: ‘Magister, quid faciemus?’ Ipse autem dixit ad eos: ‘Nihil amplius quam quod constitutum est uobis facite.’ Interrogabant autem eum et milites dicentes: ‘Et nos, quid faciemus?’ Et ait eis: ‘Neminem concutiatis, neque calumniemini et contenti estote stipendiis
 30 uestris.’ Expectante autem populo et cogitantibus omnibus in cordibus suis de Ioanne, ne quando ipse esset Christus, respondit Ioannes dicens omnibus: ‘Ego quidem baptizo uos aqua. Veniet autem fortior me, cuius non sum dignus soluere corigiam calciamentorum suorum; ipse uos baptizabit in spiritu sancto et igne: cuius uentilabrum in manu eius et

A36r

B57v

17 Progenies] *i. r.* A2 18 ut fugeretur] *ex* fugere *corr.* A2 20 ipsi] *om.* B 21 arbor] que
add. B *exp.* B1 30 Expectante] *ex* expectantes *corr.* B1 32 cuius] *ego add.* B *exp.* B1

permundabit aream suam et congregabit triticum in horreum suum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili.’ Multa quidem et alia exhortans euangelizabat populo. Herodes autem tetrarcha, cum corriperetur ab eo de Herodiade uxore fratris sui et de omnibus malis que fecerat Herodes adiecit et hoc omnibus et inclusit Ioannem in 5
carcerem. Factum est autem cum baptizaretur omnis populus et Iesu baptizato et orante, apertum est celum, et descendit spiritus sanctus corporali specie quasi columba super ipsum, et uox de celo facta est: ‘Tu es filius meus dilectus; in te complacui.’ Et ipse Iesus erat incipiens quasi 10
annorum triginta, ut putabatur filius Ioseph, filii Heli, filii Matthath, filii Leui, filii Melche, filii Anne, filii Ioseph, filii Mattathie, filii Amos, filii Naum, filii Esli, filii Nagge, filii Maath, filii Mattathie, filii Semei, filii Ioseph, filii Iuda, filii Ioanna, filii Resa, filii Zorobabel, filii Salathiel, filii Neri, filii Melchi, filii Addi, filii Cosan, filii Helmadan, filii Her, filii Iesu, 15
filii Eliezer, filii Ioran, filii Matath, filii Leui, filii Simeon, filii Iuda, filii Ioseph, filii Iona, filii Heliachin, filii Melea, filii Menna, filii Mattathia, filii Nathan, filii Daud, filii Iesse, filii Obeth, filii Booz, filii Salmon, filii Naason, filii Aminabdab, filii Aran, filii Ioran, filii Efron, filii Phares, filii Iude, filii Iacob, filii Izach, filii Abrahe, filii Thare, filii Nachor, filii Seruch, filii Ragan, filii Phalech, filii Heber, filii Cale, filii Chainan, filii 20
Arphaxath, filii Sem, filii Noe, filii Lamech, filii Muthusale, filii Enoc, filii Iared, filii Malaleel, filii Chainan, filii Enos, filii Seth, filii Adam, filii Dei.

B58r

A36v

4 Iesus autem plenus spiritu sancto regressus est a Iordane et agebatur spiritu in desertum quadraginta diebus tentatus a diabolo. 25
Et nihil manducauit in diebus illis et, consummatis ipsis, postea esuriit. Et dixit ei diabolus: ‘Si filius Dei es, dic lapidi huic ut panis fiat.’ Et respondit Iesus ad ipsum dicens: ‘Scriptum est quod *Non in solo pane uiuit homo sed in omni uerbo Dei*.’ Et duxit eum diabolus in montem altum et ostendit ei omnia regna orbis terre in momento temporis; et ait ei diabolus: ‘Tibi dabo omnem hanc potestatem et gloriam eorum, quia 30
mihi tradita sunt, et cuicumque uolo do eam: tu autem si adoraueris me tua erit omnis.’ Et respondens Iesus dixit ei: ‘Vade post me Satana. Scriptum est: *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et ei soli seruiēs*.’ Et duxit ipsum in Hierusalem et statuit eum supra pinnaculum templi et dixit ei: ‘Si filius Dei es, iace te deorsum; Scriptum est enim quod *Angelis suis mandauit de te* 35

ut custodiant te et in manibus tollant te, nequando offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.
 Et respondens ait ei Iesus quod ‘Dictum est: *Non tentabis dominum Deum tuum.*’ Consummata omni tentatione, diabolus recessit ab eo usque ad tempus. Et reuersus est Iesus in uirtute spiritus in Galileam. Et fama exiit
 5 per uniuersam regionem de eo. Et ipse docebat in synagogis eorum honoratus ab omnibus. Et uenit Nazaret, ubi erat nutritus, et intrauit secundum consuetudinem suam die sabati in synagogam et surrexit ut legeret. Et traditus est ei liber Esaie prophete; et dum reuoluit librum, inuenit locum ubi scriptum erat: *Spiritus domini, cuius gratia unxit me ad euangelizandum pauperibus, misit me ad sanandum contritos corde et ad predicandum captiuis remissionem et cecis uisum, ad dimittendum confractos in remissionem, ad predicandum annum domini acceptabilem.* Et cum placuisset librum, reddidit ministro et sedit; et omnium in synagoga oculi erant intuentes in eum. Cepit autem dicere ad ipsos quod ‘Hodie impleta est scriptura hec in
 15 auribus uestris.’ Et omnes testificabantur de eo et mirabantur de uerbis gratie que procedebant de ore suo, et dicebant: ‘Nonne hic est filius Ioseph?’ Et ait ad eos: ‘Omnino dicetis mihi parabolam hanc: “Medice, cura teipsum; quanta audiuius facta in Capharnaum, fac et hic in patria tua.”’ Ait autem: ‘Amen dico uobis quod nullus propheta acceptus est in
 20 patria sua. In ueritate autem dico uobis: Multe uidue erant in diebus Helie in Israel, quando clausum est celum in tribus annis et mensibus sex, cum facta esset fames magna in omni terra; et ad nullam earum missus est Helias nisi in Sarepta Sidonie ad mulierem uiduam. Et multi leprosi erant sub Heliseo propheta in Israel; et nullus eorum mundatus
 25 est nisi Neeman Syrus.’ Et repleti sunt omnes ira in synagoga audientes hec et surrexerunt et eiecerunt eum extra ciuitatem et duxerunt eum usque ad supercilium montis, super quod ciuitas eorum edificata erat, ut precipitarent eum. Ipse autem transiens per medium ipsorum ibat. Et descendit in Capharnaum ciuitatem Galilee. Et docebat eos in sabbatis, et
 30 stupebant in doctrina sua, quia in potestate erat sermo eius. Et in synagoga erat homo habens spiritum demonii immundi; et exclamauit uoce magna dicens: ‘Sine; quid nobis et tibi, Iesu Nazarene? Venisti ut perderes nos? Scio te qui es: Sanctus Dei.’ Et increpauit eum Iesus

B58v

A37r

B59r

6 omnibus] *ex hominibus corr. B1* | Nazaret] *ex Nazareth corr. B1* 7 ut...8 legeret] *ex legere corr. A2* 9 ad...10 euangelizandum] *ex euangelizare corr. A2* 10 ad sanandum] *i. r. A2* | ad predicandum] *ex predicare corr. A2* 11 uisum ad] *i. r. A2* | dimittendum] *-ndum i. r. A2* | remissionem ad] *i. r. A2* 12 predicandum] *-ndum i. r. A2* 32 ut...33 perderes] *ex perdere corr. A2*

dicens: ‘Obmutesce et exi ab eo.’ Et cum proiecisset eum demonium in medium, exiuit ab eo nihilque ei nocuit. Et factus est pavor in omnibus; et colloquebantur adinuicem dicentes: ‘Quod est hoc uerbum, quia in potestate et uirtute imperat immundis spiritibus, et exeunt?’ Et exhibit fama eius in omnem locum regionis. Surgens autem de synagoga introiuit in domum Simonis. Socrus autem Simonis detinebatur magna febre; et rogauerunt ipsum pro ea. Et stans super eam imperauit febre, et dimisit ipsam; et continuo surgens ministrabat eis. Cum autem sol occidisset, omnes qui habebant infirmos uariis languoribus, ducebant ipsos ad eum; et ille unicuique manus imponens curauit eos. Exibant autem demonia a multis clamantia et dicentia quod ‘Tu es Christus filius Dei.’ Et increpans non sinebat ea loqui, quia sciebant ipsum esse Christum. Facta autem die, egressus ibat in desertum locum; et turbe requirebant eum et uenerunt usque ad ipsum et detinebant eum ne recederet ab eis. Ipse autem dixit ad eos quod ‘Aliis ciuitatibus euangelizare me oportet regnum Dei, quia ad hoc missus sum.’ Et erat predicans in synagogis Galilee.

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5 Factum est autem ut cum turba incumberet in eum ut audiret uerbum Dei, et ipse stabat secus stagnum Genesareth et uidit duas naues stantes secus stagnum; piscatores autem descenderant ab eis et lauabant retia. Ascendens autem in unam nauim, que erat Simonis, rogauit eum ut a terra reduceret modicum; et cum sedisset docebat de nauis turbas. Vt autem cessauit loqui, dixit ad Simonem: ‘Duc in altum et laxate retia uestra in capturam.’ Et respondens Simon dixit ei: ‘Preceptor, per totam noctem laborantes nihil cepimus; in uerbo autem tuo laxabo rete.’ Et cum hec fecisset, concluderunt multitudinem piscium copiosam; rumpebatur autem rete eorum. Et innuerunt sociis eorum, qui erant in altera nauis, ut uenirent ad adiuuandum eos; et uenerunt et impleuerunt ambas naues ad submergendum eas. Videns autem Simon Petrus, procidit ad genua Iesu dicens: ‘Exi a me, quia uir peccator sum, domine.’ Stupor enim circumdederat eum et omnes qui cum eo erant in captura piscium, quam ceperunt; similiter autem Iacobum et Ioannem, filios Zebedei, qui erant socii Simonis. Et ait ad Simonem Iesus: ‘Ne timeas; ex nunc homines eris capiens.’ Et subductis ad terram nauibus, et relictis

A37v

11 Dei] om. B 14 uenerunt] uenerant B | eum] iter. A exp. fort. A1 18 eum] et add. B exp. B1 20 descenderant] descenderunt B

- omnibus, secuti sunt eum. Et factum est dum esset in una ciuitatum, et ecce uir plenus lepra; et cum uidisset Iesum procidit in faciem et deprecabatur eum dicens: 'Domini, si uis potes me mundare.' Et extendens manum tetigit eum dicens: 'Volo munderis'; et confestim
- 5 recessit lepra ab eo. Et ipse precepit ei ut nemini diceret, sed: 'Abiens ostende teipsum sacerdoti et affer pro mundatione tua, sicut precepit Moyses, in testimonium eis.' Perambulabat autem magis sermo de eo, et conueniebant turbe multe, ut audirent et curarentur ab eo de infirmitatibus suis; ipse autem secedebat in desertum et orabat. Et
- 10 factum est in uno dierum, et ipse erat docens, et sedebant pharisei et legis doctores, qui uenerant ex omni castello Galilee, Iudee et Hierusalem; et uirtus domini erat ad sanandum eos. Et ecce uiri portantes in lecto hominem, qui erat paralyticus, et querebant ipsum inferre et ponere coram eo. Et non inuenientes quemadmodum ipsum
- 15 inferrent pre turba, ascenderunt super tectum et per tegulas submiserunt eum cum lectulo in medium coram Iesu. Et conspicatus fidem eorum, Iesus dixit eis: 'Homo, dimittuntur tibi peccata tua.' Et ceperunt cogitare scribe et pharisei dicentes: 'Quis est iste, qui loquitur blasphemias? Quis potest dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus?' Vt autem cognouit Iesus cogitationes ipsorum, dixit eis: 'Quid cogitatis in cordibus uestris? Quid est facilius, dicere: "Dimittuntur tibi peccata tua", an dicere: "Surge et ambula"? Vt autem sciatis quod filius hominis habet potestatem in terra dimittendi peccata' – ait paralytico – : 'Surge et tolle lectulum tuum et uade in domum tuam.' Et confestim consurgens coram eis tulit lectulum
- 25 in quo iacebat, et abiit in domum suam glorificans Deum. Et stupor apprehendit omnes, et glorificabant Deum, et impleti sunt timore, dicentes quod: 'Vidimus mirabilia hodie.' Et post hec exiit et uidit publicanum nomine Leui sedentem ad teloneum et ait ei: 'Sequere me!' Et relictis omnibus, surgens secutus eum. Et fecit ei conuiuium magnum
- 30 Leui in domo sua; et erat turba publicanorum plurima et aliorum qui cum eis erant discumbentes. Et murmurabant scribe eorum et pharisei dicentes ad discipulos suos: 'Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducatis et bibitis?' Et respondens Iesus dixit eis: 'Non egent ualentes medico, sed male habentes. Non ueni ut uocarem iustos, sed peccatores
- 35 ad penitentiam.' Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: 'Quare discipuli Ioannis ieiunant frequenter et deprecationes faciunt, similiter et phariseorum; tui autem

B60r

B60v

A38r

manducant et bibunt?’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Non potestis filios sponsi, dum cum illis est sponsus, facere ieiunare. Venient autem dies cum ablatus ab eis fuerit sponsus, et tunc ieiunabunt in illis diebus.’ Dicebat autem eis et parabolam quod ‘Nemo commissuram uestimenti noui immittit in uestimentum uetus; alioquin et nouum rumpit, et ueteri non conuenit commissura a nouo. Et nemo mittit uinum nouum in utres ueteres; alioquin rumpit uinum nouum utres, et ipsum effundetur, et utres peribunt; sed uinum nouum in utres novos mittendum est, et ambo conseruantur. Et nemo bibens uinum uetus statim uult nouum; dicit enim: “Vetus suauius est!”’

6 Factum est autem in sabato secundo primo dum ipse transiret per sata, uellebant discipuli sui spicas et manducabant confricantes manibus. Quidam autem phariseorum dicebant eis: ‘Quid facitis quod non licet facere in sabatis?’ Et respondens Iesus dixit eis: ‘Nec hoc legistis, quod fecit Dauid quando esuriit ipse et qui cum eo erant? Quomodo intrauit in domum Dei et panes propositionis sumpsit et manducauit et dedit eis qui cum eo erant, quos non licebat manducare nisi solis sacerdotibus?’ Et dicebat eis quod filius hominis est dominus etiam sabati. Factum est autem in alio sabato ut intraret in synagogam et doceret; et erat ibi homo, et manus eius dextera erat arida. Obseruant autem scribe et pharisei si in sabato curaret, ut inuenirent accusationem aduersus eum. Ipse autem sciebat cogitationes eorum et ait homini habenti manum aridam: ‘Surge et sta in medium.’ Ipse autem surgens stetit. Ait igitur eis Iesus: ‘Interrogabo uos aliquid: Licet sabatis benefacere uel malefacere? Animam saluare uel perdere?’ Et cum circumspexisset omnes ipsos, ait ei: ‘Extende manum tuam.’ Ipse autem fecit sic, et restituta est manus eius sicut altera. Ipsi autem impleti sunt insipientia et colloquebantur adinuicem quidnam facerent de Iesu. Factum est autem in diebus istis, exiit in montem ut oraret et erat pernoctans in oratione Dei. Et cum dies factus esset, uocauit discipulos suos et elegit duodecim ex ipsis quos et apostolos cognominauit: Simonem, quem cognominauit Petrum, et Andream fratrem eius et Iacobum Philippum et Bartholomeum, Mattheum et Thomam, Iacobum Alphei et Simonem, qui uocatur Zelotes, Iudam Iacobi et Iudam Scarioth, qui et fuit proditor. Et descendit cum eis et stetit in campestri,

5 immittit] imittit B 9 bibens] nouum add. B exp. B1 15 eo] om. B | Quomodo] quomo A 29 ut oraret] ex orare corr. A2

- descendit cum eis et stetit in campestri, et turba discipulorum suorum, et multitudo copiosa populi ab omni Iudea et Hierusalem et maritima Tyri et Sidonis, qui uenerant ut audirent eum et sanarentur a languoribus suis, qui uexabantur a spiritibus immundis, curabantur. Et omnis turba
- 5 querebat eum tangere, quia uirtus de illo exhibat et sanabat omnes. Et ipse, eleuatis oculis suis in discipulos suos, dicebat: 'Beati pauperes, quoniam uestrum est regnum Dei. Beati qui exuritis nunc, quoniam saturabimini. Beati qui nunc fletis, quoniam ridebitis. Beati estis cum oderint uos homines et cum exterminauerint uos et cum exprobrauerint
- 10 et eiecerint nomen uestrum tamquam malum propter filium hominis. Gaudete in illa die et exultate, ecce enim merces uestra multa est in celo; secundum hec enim faciebant prophetis patres eorum. Verumtamen ue uobis diuitibus, qui habetis consolationem uestram! Ve uobis qui saturati estis, quia esurietis! Ve uobis qui nunc ridetis, quia lugebitis et flebitis!
- 15 Ve, cum benedixerint uobis homines; secundum hec faciebant falsis prophetis patres eorum. Sed dico uobis qui auditis: Diligite inimicos uestros, benefacite his qui oderunt uos; benedicite maledicentibus uobis, orate pro calumniantibus uos. Percutienti te in maxilla, prebe ei et alteram; et ab eo qui aufert tibi uestimentum, etiam tunicam ne
- 20 prohibeas. Omni autem te tribue; et ab eo qui aufert que tua sunt, ne repetas. Et quemadmodum uultis ut faciant uobis homines, et uos facite eis similiter. Et si diligetis eos qui uos diligunt, que uobis est gratia? Et enim peccatores diligentes se diligunt. Et si benefeceritis his qui uobis benefaciunt, que est uobis gratia? Etenim peccatores hoc faciunt. Et si
- 25 fenerabimini his a quibus speratis accipere, que gratia est uobis? Etenim peccatores peccatoribus fenerantur, ut recipiant equalia. Verumtamen diligite inimicos uestros et bene facite et mutuate nihil inde sperantes; et erit merces uestra multa, et eritis filii altissimi, quia ipse benignus est super ingratos et malos. Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et pater uester
- 30 misericors est. Et ne iudicate et non iudicabimini; et ne condemnate et non condemnabimini. Dimittite et dimitemini; date et dabitur uobis: mensuram bonam et confertam et coagmentatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum uestrum; eadem quippe mensura qua mensi fueritis, remetietur uobis.' Dicebat autem ipsis parabolam: 'Numquid potest
- 35 cecus cecum per uiam ducere? Nonne ambo in foueam cadunt? Non est discipulus super magistrum suum; perfectus autem omnis erit si fit sicut

*A38v**B61v**B62r*

A39r

magister suus. Quid autem uidēs festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem autem quae est in oculo proprio non consideras? Aut quomodo potes dicere fratri tuo: “Frater, sine eiciam festucam de oculo tuo”, trabem tuam non uidens? Hypocrita, eice primum trabem de oculo tuo et tunc perspicias ad eiciendum festucam quae est in oculo fratris tui. Non est enim arbor bona quae facit fructum malum, nec arbor mala quae facit fructum bonum. Vnaqueque enim arbor ex proprio fructu cognoscitur; non enim ex spinis colligunt ficum, neque de rubo uindemiant uuam. Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum, et malus homo de malo thesauro cordis sui profert malum: ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. Quid autem uocatis me: “Domine, domine”, et non facitis ea quae dico? Omnis qui uenit ad me et audit uerba mea et facit ea, ostendam cui similis sit: similis est homini edificanti domum, qui fodit et descendit in profundum et posuit fundamentum supra petram; inundatione autem facta, illisum est flumen domui illi, et non potuit eam mouere, fundata enim erat supra petram. Qui autem audit et non facit, similis est homini qui edificauit domum super terram sine fundamento, in qua illisus est fluuius, et continuo cecidit, et facta est ruina domus illius magna.’

B62v

7 Cum autem impleisset omnia uerba sua in aures populi, intrauit Capharnaum. Centurionis autem cuiusdam seruus male habens erat moriturus, qui erat ei pretiosus. Cum uero audisset de Iesu, misit ad eum seniores Iudeorum, rogans eum ut ueniret et saluaret seruum suum. At illi cum uenissent ad Iesum, rogabant eum sollicitē dicentes quod ‘Dignus es cui hoc prebeas: diligit enim gentem nostram et synagogam ipse edificauit nobis.’ Iesus autem ibat cum eis. Cum autem iam non longe esset a domo, misit ad eum centurio amicos dicens ei: ‘Domine, ne uexeris; non enim sum dignus ut sub tectum meum intres, ideo et me ipsum indignum feci ut uenirem ad te; sed dic uerbo, et sanabitur puer meus. Etenim ego homo sum sub potestate constitutus, habens sub meipso milites, et dico huic: “Vade”, et uadit, et alii: “Veni”, et uenit; et seruo meo: “Fac hoc”, et facit.’ Cum autem Iesus hec audisset, miratus est de eo et conuersus sequentibus se turbis dixit: ‘Dico uobis, neque in Israel tantam fidem inueni!’ Et reuersi domum, qui missi fuerant

4 Hypocrita] *ex ypocrita corr. fort. A2* 20 in...populi] *iter. B* 21 seruus] *ex seuus corr. A1*
25 es] *ex est corr. B1*

- inuenerunt seruum qui egrotauerat sanum. Et factum est deinceps, ibat in ciuitatem que uocatur Nain, et procedebant cum eo discipuli sui plurimi et turba multa. Vt autem appropinquauit porte ciuitatis, et ecce ferebatur mortuus filius unigenitus matris sue, et ipsa uidua, et turba
- 5 ciuitatis sufficiens cum ea. Et conscopicus eam dominus, misertus est super eam et dixit ei: 'Ne fleas!' Et profectus tetigit loculum; qui autem portabant, steterunt. Et ait: 'Adolescens, tibi dico: Surge!' Et resedit qui erat mortuus, et cepit loqui; et dedit eum matri sue. Accepit autem timor omnes, et glorificabant Deum dicentes quod 'Propheta magnus surrexit
- 10 in nobis' et quod 'Visitauit Deus populum suum.' Et exiit hic sermo in uniuersam Iudeam de eo et in omnem circa regionem. Et nuntiauerunt Ioanni discipuli sui de omnibus his. Et conuocauit duos quosdam ex discipulis suis Ioannes et misit ad Iesum dicens: 'Tu es qui uenturus es an alium expectamus?' Profecti autem ad eum uiri, dixerunt: 'Ioannes
- 15 Baptista misit nos ad te dicens: "Tu es qui uenturus es an alium expectamus?"' In ipsa autem hora curauit plurimos ab egrotationibus et plagis et cecis multis donauit uisum. Et respondens Iesus dixit eis: 'Profecti renuntiate Ioanni que uidistis et audistis, quod ceci uident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui resurgunt,
- 20 pauperes euangelizantur; et beatus est quicumque non fuerit scandalizatus in me.' Cum autem discessissent nuntii Ioannis, cepit dicere turbe de Ioanne: 'Quid existis in desertum ut uideretis? Arundinem a uento agitatam? Sed quid existis ut uideretis? Hominem mollibus uestimentis indutum? Ecce quicumque in uestimento preclaro et in deliciis sunt, in regia sunt. Sed quid existis ut uideretis? Prophetam?
- 25 Vtique dico uobis, et plus quam prophetam. Hic est de quo scriptum est: *Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui preparabit uiam tuam coram te.* Dico enim uobis: Maior inter natos mulierum Ioanne Baptista nemo est; qui autem minor est in regno Dei, eo maior est. Et omnis populus audiens et publicani iustificauerunt eum, baptizati baptismo Ioannis;
- 30 pharisei autem et legis periti consilium Dei spreuerunt in semetipsis, non baptizati ab eo. Cui igitur assimilabo homines generationis huius, et cui similes sunt? Similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro et loquentibus

A39v

B63r

22 ut uideretis] ex uidere corr. A2 | a] om. B 23 ut uideretis] ex uidere corr. A2
 24 uestimentis] ex uestitumentis corr. B1 25 ut uideretis] ex uidere corr. A2 27 coram] i.
 r. A2 28 nemo] non B 32 generationis] genarationis B

B63v

adinuicem et dicentibus: “Sonauimus uobis et non saltastis; eiulauimus uobis et non plorastis!” Venit enim Ioannes Baptista neque manducans panem neque uinum bibens, et dicite: ‘Demonium habet!’; uenit filius hominis manducans et bibens, et dicitis: “Ecce homo uorax et ebriosus, amicus publicanorum et peccatorum!” Et iustificata est sapientia ab omnibus filiis suis.’ Rogabat autem eum quidam de phariseis ut manducaret cum eo; et ingressus in domum pharisei discubuit. Et ecce mulier in ciuitate que erat peccatrix, ut cognouit quod Iesus accubuit in domo pharisei, attulit alabastrum unguenti et stabat secus pedes suos retro et flens cepit rigare pedes suos lacrimis et pilis capitis sui tergebat, et osculabatur pedes eius et ungebat unguento. Videns autem phariseus qui uocauerat eum, ait intra seipsum dicens: ‘Si esset hic propheta cognosceret utique que et qualis esset mulier que tangit eum, quod peccatrix est.’ Et respondens Iesus dixit ad eum: ‘Simon, habeo tibi aliquid dicere.’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Magister, dic.’ Duo debitores erant cuidam feneratori: unus debebat quingentos denarios, alter autem quinquaginta. Non habentibus autem ipsis unde redderent, donauit utrisque. Quis igitur eorum dic plus ipsum diligit?’ Respondens autem Simon dixit: ‘Existimo quod is cui plus donauit.’ Ipse autem dixit ei: ‘Recte iudicasti.’ Et conuersus ad mulierem, dixit Simoni: ‘Vides hanc mulierem? Intraui in domum tuam; aquam pedibus meis non dedisti. Ipsa autem rigauit lacrimis pedes meos et pilis capitis sui tersit. Osculum mihi non dedisti; ipsa autem ex quo intraui non cessauit osculari pedes meos. Oleo caput meum non unxisti; hec autem unguento unxit pedes meos. Idcirco dico tibi: Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum; cui autem parum dimittitur, parum diligit.’ Dixit autem ei: ‘Remittuntur peccata tua.’ Et ceperunt qui simul accumbabant dicere intra seipsos: ‘Quis est hic, qui et peccata dimittit?’ Dixit autem ad mulierem: ‘Fides tua saluauit te; uade in pace!’

A40r

B64r

8 Et factum est deinceps, et ipse iter faciebat per ciuitatem et castella predicans et euangelizans regnum Dei; et duodecim cum eo ibant, et mulieres alique que erant curate a spiritibus malignis et infirmitatibus, Maria que uocatur Magdalene, de qua septem demonia

24 Oleo... 25 meos] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

1 Sonauimus] *ex soniauiumus corr. B1* 18 Quis... diligit] Quis ergo eum plus diligit *praem. A exp. fort. A1* Quis ergo eum plus diligit B 21 mulierem] multitudinem B | meis] *om. A ins. A2* 24 Oleo... 25 meos] *om. B*

- Maria que uocatur Magdalene, de qua septem demonia exiuerant, et Ioanna uxor Chuze, procuratoris Herodis, et Susanna et alie multe, que ministrabant ei de facultatibus suis. Cum autem plurima turba conuenirent et de ciuitate properarent ad eum, dixit per parabolam: Exiit
- 5 qui seminat, ut seminaret semen suum. Et dum seminat, aliud cecidit secus uiam et conculcatum est, et uolucres celi comederunt ipsum. Et aliud cecidit supra petram et natum aruit, quia non habebat humorem. Et aliud cecidit in medio spinarum, et simul exorte spine suffocauerunt ipsum. Et aliud cecidit in terram bonam et natum fecit fructum
- 10 centuplum.’ Hec dicens clamabat: ‘Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Interrogabant autem eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Que est hec parabola?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei, ceteris autem in parabolis, ut uidentes non uideant et audientes non intelligant. Est autem hec parabola: Semen est uerbum Dei. Qui autem
- 15 secus uiam hi sunt qui audiunt; deinde uenit diabolus et tollit uerbum de corde eorum, ne credentes saluentur. Qui autem supra petram, hi sunt qui cum audierint, cum gaudio suscipiunt uerbum; et hi radices non habent, qui ad tempus credunt et in tempore tentationis recedunt. Quod
- 20 autem in spinis cecidit, hi sunt qui cum audierint a curis et diuitiis et uoluptatibus uite abeuntes suffocantur et non perficiunt. Quod autem in bonam terram, hi sunt qui cum in corde bono et proba audierint uerbum retinent et fructificant in patientia.’ Hec dicens clamabat: ‘Qui habet
- 25 aures ad audiendum, audiat. Nemo lucernam accendens operit eam uase aut subtus lectum ponit, sed super candelabrum statuit, ut intrantes uideant lumen. Non est enim occultum, quod non manifestum fiat, nec absconditum, quod non cognoscatur et in manifestum ueniat. Videte igitur quomodo auditis: qui enim habet, dabitur ei; et quicumque non habet, et quod uidetur habere auferetur ab eo.’ Venerunt autem ad eum mater et fratres sui, et non poterant conuenire cum eo propter turbam.
- 30 Et nuntiatum est ei a dicentibus: ‘Mater tua et fratres tui stant foris uolentes te uidere.’ Ipse autem respondens dixit ad eos: ‘Mater mea et fratres mei sunt qui audiunt uerbum Dei et ipsum faciunt.’ Et factum est in uno dierum, et ipse ascendit in nauim et discipuli eius, et ait ad eos:

B64v

A40v

22 Qui...23 audiat] This is a translation of a marginal note in Manetti's Greek manuscript, Pal.gr.171, f. 48r.

1 Magdalene] -e i. r. A1 -e ins. A2 5 ut seminaret] seminare AB corr. A2 16 credentes] -s i. r. A1 -s ins. A2 23 accendens] ponit *praem.* B exp. B1

“Transfretemus trans stagnum.” Et ascenderunt. Nauigantibus autem eis,
 dormiuit. Et descendit procella uenti in stagnum, et complebantur
 fluctibus et periclitabantur. Et accedentes suscitauerunt eum dicentes:
 ‘Preceptor, preceptor, perimus!’ Ipse autem surgens increpauit uentum et
 tempestatem aque, et cessauerunt, et facta est tranquillitas. Dixit autem 5
 eis: ‘Vbi est fides uestra?’ Ipsi timentes mirati sunt dicentes adinuicem:
 ‘Quisnam est iste, quod uento et aque imperat, et obediunt ei?’ Et
 nauigauerunt ad regionem Gadarenorum que est contra Galileam et cum
 egressus esset ad terram occurrit ei uir quidam de ciuitate qui habebat
 demonia a temporibus multis et uestimento non induebatur et in domo 10
 non manebat, sed in monumentis. Conspicatus autem Iesum cum
 exclamasset, procidit ad eum et uoce magna dixit: ‘Quid mihi et tibi est,
 Iesu fili Dei altissimi? Precor te ne me torqueas.’ Preceperat enim spiritui
 immundo ut exiret ab homine. Multis enim temporibus arripiebat ipsum
 et uinciebatur catenis et compedibus custoditus et ruptis uinculis 15
 agebatur a demoniis in desertis. Interrogauit autem et ipsum Iesus dicens:
 ‘Quod nomen est tibi?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Legio, quia intrauerant multa
 demonia in eum. Et rogabant eum ne imperaret eis ut in abyssum
 redirent. Erat autem ibi grex porcorum multorum pascentium in monte
 et rogabant ipsum ut permitteret eos in illos ingredi, et permisit eis. Cum 20
 autem demonia exissent ab homine, intrauerunt in porcos, et impetu abiit
 per preceps grex in stagnum et suffocatus est. Cum uero pastores
 uidissent quod factum erat, fugerunt et enuntiauerunt in ciuitatem et in
 uillas. Exierunt autem ut uiderent quod factum fuerat, et uenerunt ad
 Iesum, et inuenerunt hominem sedentem, a quo demonia exierant, 25
 uestitum ac temperatum secus pedes Iesu, et timuerunt. Nuntiauerunt
 autem eis et qui uiderant quomodo conualuisset a demonio uexatus. Et
 rogauerunt eum omnis multitudo regionis Gadarenorum ut discederet ab
 ipsis, quia timore magno tenebantur. Ipse autem ascendens nauim
 reuersus est. Et deprecabatur eum uir a quo demonia exierant ut cum eo 30
 esset. Dimisit autem eum Iesus dicens: ‘Redi in domum tuam et narra
 quicumque fecerit tibi Deus.’ Et abiit per totam ciuitatem predicans
 quicumque fecerit ei Iesus. Factum est autem dum reuerteretur Iesus,
 excepit eum turba; erant enim omnes expectantes eum. Et ecce uenit uir,
 cui nomen Iairus, et ipse princeps synagoge erat, et cecidit ad pedes Iesu, 35

24 autem...uiderent] *i. r.* A2 33 fecerit] *om.* B 34 enim] autem B 35 synagoge]
 Synage B

et rogabat eum ut intraret in domum suam, quia filia unigenita erat ei quasi annorum duodecim, et hec moriebatur. Dum autem ipse iret, turbe comprimebant eum. Et mulier quedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim, que in medicos erogauerat omnem substantiam suam, nec ab
 5 ullo curari potuerat; accedens autem retro tetigit fimbriam uestimenti sui, et confestim stetit fluxus sanguinis eius. Et ait Iesus: ‘Quis me tetigit?’ Negantibus autem omnibus, dixit Petrus et qui cum eo erant: ‘Preceptor, turbe te continent et affligunt, et dicis: “Quis me tetigit?”’ Iesus autem dixit: ‘Tetigit me aliquis; ego enim noui uirtutem egressam a me.’
 10 Conspexit autem mulier quod non latuit, et tremens uenit et procidit ad eum et ob quam causam tetigerat eum nuntiauit ei coram omni populo et quemadmodum confestim conualuerat. Ipse autem dixit: ‘Confide filia, fides tua te saluauit. Vade in pace.’ Adhuc eo loquente, uenit quidam a principe synagoge dicens ei quod ‘Mortua est filia tua; ne uexes magistrum.’ Iesus autem audiens respondit ei dicens: ‘Ne timeas; solum crede, et saluabitur.’ Et cum peruenisset domum, non permisit intrare secum quemquam nisi Petrum et Ioannem et Iacobum et puelle patrem et matrem. Flebant autem omnes et plangebant eam. Ipse autem dicit: ‘Ne flete; non est mortua, sed dormit.’ Et deridebant eum scientes quod
 15 mortua esset. Ipse autem eiecit omnes extra et tenens manum eius clamauit dicens: ‘Puella, surge.’ Et reuersus est spiritus eius, et surrexit continuo; et iussit ei dari ad manducandum. Et obstupuerunt parentes eius. Ipse autem precepit eis ut nemini dicerent quod factum erat.

B66r

9 Conuocatis autem duodecim, dedit eis uirtutem et potestatem super
 25 omnia demonia et ut egritudines curarent, et misit eos ut predicarent regnum Dei et sanarent infirmos; et dixit ad eos: ‘Nihil tollite in uia, neque uirgas neque peram neque pecuniam neque panem neque singuli duas tunicas habete. Et in quamcumque domum intraueritis, ibi manete et inde exite. Et quicumque non receperint uos, exeuntes de ciuitate illa puluerem pedum uestrorum excutite in testimonium super ipsos.’ Egressi autem procedebant per castella euangelizantes et curantes ubique. Audiuit autem Herodes tetrarcha omnia que fiebant ab eo, et dubitabat eo quod dicebatur a quibusdam quod ‘Ioannes surrexit a mortuis’; a quibusdam autem quod ‘Helias apparuit’; ab aliis autem quod ‘Propheta unus ex antiquis surrexit’. Et ait
 35 Herodes: ‘Ioannem ego decollaui; quis autem est iste, de quo audio talia?’

A41v

autem est iste, de quo audio talia?’ Et querebat uidere eum. Et reuersi apostoli narrauerunt ei quecumque fecerant. Et apprehendit eos, et secessit seorsum in locum desertum, ciuitatis que uocatur Bethsaida. Cum autem turbe cognouissent, secute sunt eum. Et excepit ipsos et loquebatur eis de regno Dei, et eos qui cura indigebant sanabat. 5
B66v autem ceperat declinare; accedentes autem duodecim dixerunt ei: ‘Dimitte turbam, ut euntes in castella et uillas que circa sunt diuertant et inueniant cibum, quia hic in loco deserto sumus.’ Ait autem ad eos: ‘Date eis uos ad manducandum.’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Non sunt nobis plusquam quinque panes et duo pisces, nisi nos profecti emamus in 10
omnem populum esculenta.’ Erant enim fere quinque milia uiri. Ait autem ad discipulos suos: ‘Facite eos discumbere per conuiuia quinquagenos.’ Et ita fecerunt, et fecerunt omnes discumbere. Cum autem accepisset quinque panes et duos pisces, suspexit in celum et benedixit eis et fregit et dedit discipulis, ut apponerent turbe. Et 15
comederunt et saturati sunt omnes; et sublatum est quod superfuerat eis, fragmentorum cophini duodecim. Et factum est dum esset solus orans, erant cum eo discipuli, et interrogauit eos dicens: ‘Quem me dicunt esse turbe?’ Ipsi autem respondentes dixerunt: ‘Ioannem Baptistam; alii autem Heliam; alii uero quod “Propheta aliquis de antiquis surrexit.” Dixit 20
autem eis: ‘Vos uero quem me esse dicitis?’ Respondens autem Simon Petrus dixit: ‘Christum Dei.’ Ipse autem increpans eos precepit ne cui hec dicerent, quod ‘Oportet filium hominis multa pati et reprobari a senioribus et pontificibus et scribis et occidi et tertia die resurgere.’ Dicebat autem ad omnes: ‘Si quis uult post me uenire, abneget 25
semetipsum et tollat crucem suam quotidie et sequatur me. Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluare, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me, ipse saluabit eam. Quid enim proficit homo, si totum mundum lucratus fuerit, seipsum autem perdat et detrimentum sui faciat? 30
A42r Qui enim erubuerit me et sermones meos, hunc filius hominis erubescet cum uenerit in gloria sua, et patris et sanctorum angelorum. Dico autem uobis uere: Sunt aliqui de stantibus hic qui non gustabunt mortem, donec uideant regnum Dei? Factum est autem post hec uerba fere dies octo, et assumpsit Petrum et Ioannem et Iacobum et ascendit in montem ut oraret. Et facta est inter orandum species uultus eius altera et uestitus 35
B67r

5 cura] circa *præm.* B exp. B1 9 ad manducandum] ex manducare *corr.* A2 | dixerunt] ei *add.* B exp. B1 10 panes] penes B

eius albus, refulgens. Et ecce duo uiri loquebantur cum eo, qui erant Moyses et Helias, et apparentes in gloria dicebant excessum suum, quem completurus erat in Hierusalem. Petrus autem et qui cum eo erant grauati erant somno; expectati autem uiderunt gloriam suam et duos uiros

5 commorantes cum eo. Et factum est dum ipsi discederent ab eo, dixit Petrus ad Iesum: 'Preceptor, bonum est nos hic esse; et faciamus hic tria tabernacula: unum tibi et unum Moysi et unum Helie', nesciens quid diceret. Hec autem ipso dicente, facta est nubes et obumbravit eos; timuerunt autem dum illi ingrederentur in nubem. Et uox facta est de

10 nube dicens: 'Hic est filius meus dilectus; ipsum audite.' Et dum fieret uox, inuentus est solus Iesus. Et ipsi tacuerunt et nemini annuntiauerunt quicquam in illis diebus ex his que uiderant. Factum est autem sequenti die, descendantibus eis de monte, occurrit turba multa. Et ecce uir de turba exclamauit dicens: 'Magister, deprecor te ut respicias in filium

15 meum, quia unigenitus est mihi; et ecce spiritus apprehendit ipsum, et confestim clamat et dissipat ipsum; et deprecatus sum discipulos tuos ut ipsum eicerent et non potuerunt.' Respondens autem Iesus dixit: 'O generatio infidelis et peruersa, usque quo ero apud uos et patiar uos? Adduc filium tuum huc.' Dum autem ipse accederet, allisit eum

20 demonium et dissipauit. Minatus est autem Iesus spiritui immundo et sanauit puerum et dedit eum patri suo. Stupebant autem omnes in magnitudine Dei. Omnibus autem admirantibus in cunctis que fecerat, Iesus dixit ad discipulos suos: 'Ponite uos in auribus uestris sermones istos: Filius enim hominis futurum est ut tradatur in manus hominum.'

25 Ipsi autem ignorabant uerbum istud, et erat absconditum apud eos, ita ut non sentirent ipsum, et timebant interrogare eum de hoc uerbo. Intrauerunt autem cogitationes in eos, quisnam eorum esset maior. Iesus autem conspicatus cogitationes cordis eorum, apprehendens puerum statuit ipsum penes se et ait eis: 'Quicumque susceperit puerum istum in

30 nomine meo, me suscipit, et quicumque me susceperit, suscipit eum qui me misit; qui enim minor est intra omnes uos, hic erit magnus.' Respondens autem Ioannes dixit: 'Preceptor, uidimus quendam in nomine tuo eicientem demonia, et prohibuimus ipsum, quia non sequitur nobiscum.' Et dixit ad eum Iesus: 'Ne prohibete; qui enim non est

35 aduersus nos, pro nobis est.' Factum est autem, dum complerentur dies assumptionis sue, et ipse faciem suam firmauit ut iret in Hierusalem, et

B67v

A42v

25 absconditum] incognitum *praem. B exp. B1* 27 in] cordis eorum *praem. B exp. B1*

misit nuntios ante conspectum suum. Et profecti intrauerunt in ciuitatem Samaritanorum, ut prepararent ei. Et non susceperunt eum, quia facies sua erat euntis in Hierusalem. Conspicati autem discipuli sui Iacobus et Ioannes dixerunt: ‘Domine, uis dicamus ut ignis descendat de celo et consumat eos, sicut Helias fecit?’ Conuersus autem increpauit eos dicens: 5
 ‘Nescitis cuius spiritus estis uos? Filius enim hominis non uenit ut animas hominum perderet, sed ut saluaret.’ Et abierunt in alterum castellum. Factum est autem ut dum proficiscerentur in uia, dixit quidam ad eum: 10
B68r ‘Sequar te, quocumque ieris, domine.’ Et ait ei Iesus: ‘Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet.’ Dixit autem ad alterum: ‘Sequere me.’ Ipse autem dixit: 15
 ‘Domine, permittite me primum abire et sepelire fratrem meum.’ Ait autem Iesus: ‘Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos; tu autem uade et annuntia regnum Dei.’ Dicit autem et alter: ‘Sequar te, domine; primum autem permittite mihi renuntiare his qui domi mee sunt.’ Ait autem Iesus 20
 ad eum: ‘Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum et respiciens retro, aptus est ad regnum Dei.’

10 Post hec autem designauit dominus et alios septuaginta et misit eos binos ante faciem suam in omnem ciuitatem et locum quo ipse erat uenturus. Dicebat igitur ad ipsos: ‘Messis quidem 20
 multa, operarii autem pauci; deprecamini ergo dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam. Ite; ecce ego mitto uos sicut agnos in medio luporum. Ne portetis saccum neque peram neque calciamenta, et neminem per uiam salutaueritis. In quamcumque autem domum intraueritis, primum dicite: “Pax huic domui.” Et si ibi fuerit filius pacis, 25
 requiescet super eum pax uestra; si autem non fuerit ad uos reuertetur. In eadem autem domo manete edentes et bibentes que apud eos sunt: dignus est enim operarius mercede sua. Nec transite de domo in domum. Et in quamcumque ciuitatem intraueritis, et susceperint uos, manducate que apponuntur uobis, et curate infirmos qui in ea sunt, et dicite eis: 30
 “Appropinquauit in uos regnum Dei.” In quamcumque uero ciuitatem intraueritis et non susceperint uos, exeuntes in plateas eius dicite: “Et puluerem qui adhesit nobis de ciuitate uestra extergemus in uos; tamen

1 nuntios] nuntium *praem.* B exp. B1 6 enim] autem B | ut] *om.* A *ins.* A2 7 perderet] ex perdere *corr.* A2 | ut saluaret] ex saluare *corr.* A2 13 Iesus] ad eum *add.* B exp. B1 mortuos¹] modo tuos B 23 neminem] neminen A | uiam] uia B 31 uero] *om.* A *ins.* *fort.* A1 | intraueritis] non *praem.* A exp. *fort.* A1

nobis de ciuitate uestra extergemus in uos; tamen hoc cognoscite quod appropinquauit in uos regnum Dei.” Dico uobis quod Sodomis remissius erit in die illa quam ciuitati illi. Ve tibi, Corazim! Ve tibi, Bethsaida! Quia si in Tyro et Sydona facte fuissent uirtutes que facte sunt in uobis, olim
5 in cilicio et cinere sedentes penitentiam egissent. Verumtamen Tyro et Sydoni remissius erit in iudicio quam uobis. Et tu, Capharnaum, usque in celum exaltata, usque in infernum demergeris! Qui audit uos, me audit; et qui uos spernit, me spernit; qui autem spernit me, spernit eum qui me misit.’ Reuersi sunt autem septuaginta cum gaudio dicentes: ‘Domine, et demonia subiciuntur nobis in nomine tuo!’ Ait autem eis: ‘Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de celo cadentem. Ecce do uobis potestatem calcandi super serpentes et super scorpiones et super omnem uirtutem inimici; et nihil uobis nocebit. Verumtamen in hoc ne gaudete quod spiritus uobis subiciuntur; gaudete autem quod nomina uestra scripta
15 sunt in celis.’ In ipsa hora exultauit Iesus in spiritu et dixit: ‘Confiteor tibi, domine, pater celi et terre, quod abscondisti hec a sapientibus et intelligentibus et reuelasti ea paruulis; ita, pater, quia sic placuit coram te.’ Et conuersus ad discipulos dixit: ‘Omnia mihi tradita sunt a patre meo; et nemo scit quis sit filius nisi pater, et quis sit pater nisi filius et cuicumque uoluerit filius reuelare.’ Et conuersus ad discipulos seorsum dixit: ‘Beati oculi qui uident que uos uidetis. Dico enim uobis quod multi prophete et reges uoluerunt uidere que uos uidetis, et non uiderunt, et audire que uos auditis, et non audierunt.’ Et ecce quidam legis peritus surrexit tentans eum et dicens: ‘Magister, quid operatus uitam eternam possidebo?’ Ipse
20 autem dixit ad eum: ‘In lege quid scriptum est? Quomodo legis?’ Ipse autem respondens dixit: ‘Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua ex tota fortitudine tua et ex tota mente tua et proximum tuum tamquam teipsum.’ Dixit autem ei: ‘Recte iudicasti; fac hoc et uiues.’ Ipse autem, uolens iustificare seipsum, dixit ad Iesum: ‘Et quis est meus proximus?’ Existimans autem Iesus dixit: ‘Homo quidam descendebat ab Hierusalem in Ierico et incidit in latrones, qui et spoliauerunt ipsum et, plagis impositis, abierunt, et ipsum semimortuum reliquerunt. Oportune autem sacerdos quidam descendebat in uia illa, et conspicatus eum preteriiuit; similiter autem et Leuita, profectus secus
25
30

A43r

B69r

1 cognoscite] cognosci- i. r. A2 6 erit] om. B 7 audit¹] ex autem corr. B1 13 ne] ex non corr. B1 18 Omnia] -nia i. r. A2 19 quis¹] qui B | quis²] qui B 28 tamquam] i. r. A2 31 ab] ad B

locum uenit, et uidit, et preteriuit. Samaritanus autem quidam iter faciens, uenit secus ipsum et uidens eum misericordia motus est, et accendens alligauit uulnera eius infundens oleum et uinum; imponens autem super proprium iumentum duxit ipsum in hospitium et curauit eum. Crastina die exiens protulit duos denarios et dedit hospiti et ait: “Cura eum, et quodcumque supererogaueris ego in reuersione mea reddam tibi.” Quis igitur tibi horum trium uidetur proximus fuisse illi qui incidit in latrones? Ipse autem dixit: ‘Qui fecit misericordiam cum eo.’ Dixit igitur ei Iesus: ‘Vade et tu fac similiter.’ Factum est autem ut dum proficiscerentur et ipse intrauit in quoddam castellum, mulier autem quedam nomine Martha suscepit eum in domum suam. Et huic erat soror, nomine Maria, que et sedens circa pedes Iesu audiebat uerbum eius. Martha autem satagebat circa multiplicem ministrationem; cum autem stetisset dixit: ‘Domine, non est tibi cure quod soror mea reliquit me solam ministrare? Dic ergo ei ut me coadiuuat.’ Respondens dixit ei Iesus: ‘Martha, Martha, sollicita es et turbaris circa plurima, unius autem est indigentia; Maria autem bonam partem elegit, que non auferetur ab ea.’

11 Et factum est dum ipse esset in loco quodam orans, ut cessauit, dixit aliquis ex discipulis suis ad eum: ‘Domine, doce nos orare, sicut et Ioannes docuit discipulos suos.’ Dixit autem eis: ‘Cum oraueritis, dicite: “Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adueniat regnum tuum; fiat uoluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis quotidie; et dimitte nobis peccata nostra, et enim dimittimus omni debenti nobis; et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.”’ Et ait ad ipsos: ‘Quis ex uobis habebit amicum et ibit ad eum nocte intempesta et dicit ei: “Commoda mihi tres panes, quoniam amicus diuertit ad me de uia, et non habeo quod apponam ei”; ille ab intro respondens dicat: “Ne mihi molestias prebe; iam clausa est ianua, et pueri mei mecum sunt in cubili; non possum surgere et dare tibi?”. Dico autem uobis: Si non dabit surgens, eo quod amicus eius sit, propter impudentiam tamen surgens dabit ei quantum indigeat. Et ego uobis dico: Petite, et dabitur uobis; querite, et inuenietis; pulsate, et aperietur uobis. Omnis qui petit, accipit; et qui querit, inueniet; et pulsanti aperietur. Quem autem ex uobis patrem petet

13 multiplicem] frequens *praem. B exp. B1* | ministrationem] administrationem *B*

14 solam] sola *B* 18 ut] sicut et Ioannes et discipuli sui *praem. B exp. B1* 26 ibit] ibi *B*

27 ad] *i. r. A2* 33 inueniet] inuenit *B*

A43v

B69v

B70r

- pulsanti aperietur. Quem autem ex uobis patrem petet filius panem, numquid lapidem dabit ei? Aut et piscem, numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit ei? Aut si petierit ei ouum, numquid dabit ei scorpionem? Si ergo uos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona dona dare filiis uestris, quanto magis
- 5 pater de celo dabit spiritum sanctum petentibus ab eo.' Et erat eiciens demonium, et ipsum erat mutum; factum est autem ut egresso demonio, loqueretur mutus. Et admirentur sunt turbe; quidam autem ex eis dixerunt: 'In Belzebud principe demoniorum eicit demonia.' Alii autem tentantes signum de celo querebant ab eo. Ipse autem ut uidit cogitationes eorum
- 10 dixit: 'Omne regnum in se diuisum desolatur, et domus super domum cadit. Si autem Satan in seipsum diuisus est, et quomodo stabit regnum suum? Quod dicitis me in Belzebud eicere demonia. Si autem ego in Belzebud eicio demonia, filii uestri in quo eiciunt? Ideo ipsi iudices uestri erunt. Si autem in digito Dei eicio demonia, profecto peruenit in uos
- 15 regnum Dei. Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt omnia sua; cum autem fortior ipso superueniens uicerit eum, omnem armaturam suam aufert, in qua confidebat, et spolia eius distribuet. Qui non est mecum, aduersus me est, et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit. Cum spiritus immundus exierit ab homine, procedit per loca inaquosa
- 20 querens requiem et non inueniens dicit: "Reuertar in domum meam, unde exiui." Et cum uenerit, inuenit scopis mundatam et ornatam. Tunc uadit et assumit septem alios spiritus nequiores se, et ingressi habitant ibi; et fiunt ultima hominis illius peiora prioribus.' Factum est autem, dum ipse hec diceret, extulit uocem quedam mulier de turba et ait ei: 'Beatus
- 25 uenter qui te portauit, et ubera que suxisti!' Ipse autem dixit: 'Immo beati qui audiunt uerbum Dei et custodiunt ipsum!' Turbis autem congregatis, cepit dicere: 'Generatio hec mala signum querit, et signum non dabitur ei nisi signum Ione prophete. Nam sicut fuit Ionas signum Niniuitis, ita erit et filius hominis generationi huic. Regina austri surget in iudicio cum uiris generationibus huius et condemnabit eos, quoniam uenit de finibus
- 30 terre ut audiret sapientiam Salomonis, et ecce plus quam Salomon hic. Viri Niniuite surgent in iudicio cum generatione hac et condemnabunt eam, quia penitentiam egerunt in predicatione Ione, et ecce plus quam Ionas hic. Nemo autem lucernam accendit et in abscondito ponit, neque

B70r

A44r

B70v

3 dabit¹] Si ergo uos cum sitis mali *praem. B exp. B1* | scorpionem] serpentem *B*
 22 spiritus] piritus *B* 25 suxisti] supxisti *B* 26 ipsum] illud *praem. B exp. B1* 31 ut
 audiret] ex audiret *corr. A2*

sub modio, sed super candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur lumen uideant. Lucerna corporis est oculus. Si igitur oculus tuus simplex sit, totum corpus tuum lucidum est; si autem malignus sit, et totum corpus tuum tenebrosum est. Considera ergo ne lumen quod in te est tenebre sint. Si igitur corpus tuum totum lucidum est, non habens aliquam partem 5 tenebrosam, erit lucidum totum, sicut lucerna cum fulgore illuminat.’ Dum autem loqueretur, rogauit eum phariseus quidam ut pranderet apud se; ingressus autem recubuit. Phariseus uero conspicatus quod non prius baptizaretur ante prandium miratus est. Dixit autem dominus ad eum: ‘Nunc uos pharisei quod extrinsecus calicis et catini mundatis, quod 10 autem intrinsecus uestrum est, plenum rapina et malignitate. Stulti! Nonne et qui fecit quod extrinsecus est, fecit et quod intrinsecus est? Verumtamen, de existentibus date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis. Sed ue uobis phariseis, quia decimatis mentam et rutam et omne olus et preteritis iudicium et caritatem Dei! Hec autem oportuit 15 facere et illa non dimittere. Ve uobis phariseis, quia diligitis primas sedes in synagogis et salutationes in foro! Ve uobis scribe et pharisei hypocrite, quia estis uelut monumenta abstrusa, et homines circum ambulantes desuper nesciunt!’ Respondens autem quidam ex legis peritis dicit ei: ‘Magister, hec dicens nobis iniuriaris.’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Et uobis legis 20 peritis: Ve, quia oneratis homines oneribus difficulter tollerabilibus, et ipsi uno digitorum uestrorum non tangitis onera! Ve uobis, quia edificatis monumenta prophetarum, patres autem uestri interfecerunt eos! Profecto testificamini et consentis operibus patrum uestrorum, quoniam ipsi profecto eos occiderunt, uos autem edificatis monumenta eorum. 25 Ideo et sapientia Dei dixit: ‘Mittam ad eos prophetas et apostolos, et ex ipsis occident et persequentur, ut exquiratur sanguis omnium prophetarum, qui effusus est a constitutione mundi, a generatione ista, a sanguine Abel usque ad sanguinem Zacharie, qui periit inter altare et edem. Ita dico uobis: Exquiretur a generatione hac. Ve uobis legis peritis, 30 quia attulistis clauem scientie! Ipsi non intrastis, et intrantes prohibuistis.’ Dum autem ipse hec ad eos diceret, ceperunt scribe et pharisei grauiter

6 fulgore] *ex fulgure corr. B1* 10 extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 11 intrinsecus] *i. r. A2*
 12 extrinsecus] *i. r. A2* | intrinsecus] *i. r. A2* 14 mentam] *mentum AB* 16 sedes] *ex cathedras corr. A2* 21 difficulter tollerabilibus] *tollerabilibus difficulter AB tr. A1*
 tollerabilibus] *ex intollerabilibus corr. fort. A1*

ferre et os eius opprimere de plurimis insidiantes, et querentes capere aliquid ex ore eius ut accusarent eum.

- 12** Et decem hominum milibus congregatis, ita ut inuicem se conculcarent, cepit dicere ad discipulos suos primum: ‘Cauete uobisipsi a fermento phariseorum, quod est hypocrisis. Nihil autem opertum est quod non reueletur, et absconditum quod non sciatur. Quapropter quicumque in tenebris dixistis, in lumine audientur, et quod ad aurem locuti estis in cubilibus, predicabitur in tectis. Dico autem uobis amicis meis: Ne terreamini ab his qui occidunt corpus, et post hec non habent amplius quid faciant. Ostendam autem uobis quem timeatis: Timeate eum qui post occisionem habet potestatem mittendi in gehennam. Et dico uobis: Hunc timeate. Nonne quinque passeret ueneunt duobus assibus? Et unus ex eis non est in obliuione coram Deo. Sed et pili capitis uestri omnes numerati sunt. Ne igitur timeate; multis passeribus prestatis. Dico autem uobis: Omnis quicumque confitebitur me coram hominibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis Dei; qui autem negauerit me coram hominibus, negabitur coram angelis Dei. Et omnis qui dicit uerbum in filium hominis, remittetur ei; ei autem qui in spiritum sanctum blasphemauerit, non remittetur. Cum autem produxerint uos in synagogis et ad magistratus et ad potentatus, ne cogitate quomodo aut quid loquamini aut quid dicatis: spiritus enim sanctus docebit uos in ipsa hora que oportet dicere.’ Ait autem ei quidam de turba: ‘Magister, dic fratri meo ut diuidat mecum hereditatem.’ Ipse autem dixit ei: ‘Homo, quis me constituit iudicem aut diuisorem super uos?’ Dixit autem ad eos: ‘Videte et cauete ab iniquitate, quia non in abundantia patrimonii sui alicui uita eius est.’ Dixit autem ad eos parabolam dicens: ‘Hominis cuiusdam diuitis regio abundauit et cogitabat intra se dicens: “Quid faciam, quod non habeo quo congregem fructus meos?” Et dixit: “Hoc faciam: destruam horrea mea et maiora edificabo, et congregabo ibi omnia nata mihi et bona mea, et dicam anime mee: Anima, habes multa bona posita in annos plurimos; requiesce, comede, bibe, epulare.” Dixit autem ei Deus: “Stulte! Hac nocte animam tuam repetent a te; que autem parasti, cuius erunt?” Sic est qui sibi ipsi thesaurizat et non est in Deum diues.’ Dixit autem ad discipulos suos: ideo dico uobis: Ne solliciti sitis anime uestre quid manducetis, neque

B71v

A45r

B72r

8 predicabitur] ex predicabuntur corr. B1 9 terreamini] ex terremini corr. B1 | habent] habet B 13 in] ex ex corr. B1 18 ei²] ex Si corr. fort. A1 si B 26 Dixit] Dicit B

anime uestre quid manducetis, neque corpori uestro quid induamini.
 Anima enim plus est quam esculentum, et corpus plus quam
 uestimentum. Considerate coruos quod non ferunt neque metunt, quibus
 non est penus neque horreum, et Deus pascit eos; quanto magis uos
 prestatis uolatilibus. Quis autem uestrum cogitans potest adicere ad
 5 staturam suam cubitum unum? Si igitur non potestis minimum, quid de
 reliquis solliciti estis? Considerate lilia quomodo crescunt: non laborant,
 neque nent; dico autem uobis: Neque Salomon in omni gloria sua
 uestiebatur sicut unum ex istis. Si autem fenum hodie in agro existens et
 10 cras in clibanum mittendum Deus sic uestit, quanto magis uos, modice
 fidei. Et uos ne querite quid manducetis aut quid bibatis, et non
 sublimemini. Hec enim omnia gentes mundi inquirunt; pater autem
 uester nouit quod his indigetis. Verumtamen querite regnum Dei; et hec
 omnia adicientur uobis. Ne timeatis, pusille grex, quoniam comprobauit
 15 pater uester dare uobis regnum. Vendite patrimonia uestra, et date
 eleemosynam. Facite uobisipsis sacculos non inueterascentes, thesaurum
 indeficientem in celis, quo fur non appropinquat, neque tinea corrumpit;
 ubi enim est thesaurus uester, ibi et cor uestrum erit. Sint lumbi uestri
 precincti et lucerne ardentes, et uos similes hominibus expectantibus
 20 dominum suum, quando reuertetur a nuptiis, ut, cum uenerit et
 pulsauerit, confestim aperiant ei. Beati serui illi, quos cum uenerit
 dominus inuenerit uiigilantes. Amen dico uobis quod precinget se et
 faciet ipsos discumbere, et transiens ministrabit ipsis. Et si uenerit in
 secunda uiigilia et si in tertia uiigilia uenerit et ita inuenerit, beati sunt serui
 illi. Hoc autem cognoscite, quod si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur
 25 ueniret, uiigilaret utique et non sineret perfodi domum suam. Et uos
 igitur estote parati, quia qua hora non putatis filius hominis ueniet.¹ Ait
 autem ei Petrus: 'Domine, ad nos dicis parabolam hanc an ad omnes?'
 Dixit autem dominus: 'Quis igitur est fidelis paterfamilias et prudens,
 quem constituit dominus super curam suam, ut det in tempore
 30 mensuram tritici? Beatus seruus ille, quem cum uenerit dominus
 inuenerit sic facientem. Vere dico uobis quod super toto patrimonio suo
 constituet eum. Si autem dixerit seruus ille in corde suo: "Moratur
 dominus meus uenire", et ceperit percutere pueros et ancillas, comedere
 et bibere et inebriari, ueniet dominus serui illius in die qua non expectat,
 35

B72v

A45v

2 plus¹...quam¹] est plusquam B 25 cognoscite] i. r. A2 27 putatis] pututis A
 35 inebriari] inebriare B

et hora qua ignorat, et diuidet eum partemque suam cum infidelibus ponet. Ille autem seruus qui cognouit uoluntatem domini sui et non preparauit neque fecit secundum uoluntatem eius, uapulabit multis; qui autem non cognouerit et digna plagis fecerit, uapulabit paucis. Omni
 5 autem, cui multum datum est, et multum queretur ab eo, et cui accommodauerunt multum, amplius petent ab eo. Ignem ueni mittere in terram et quid uolo nisi ut accendatur? Baptisma autem habeo baptizari et quomodo contineor donec perficiatur? Putatis quod pacem ueni dare in terra? Non, dico uobis, sed separationem. Erunt enim ex nunc
 10 quinque in domo una diuisi: tres in duo et duo in tres; diuidetur pater in filium et filius in patrem, mater in filiam et filia in matrem, socrus in nurum suam et nurus in socrum suam.’ Dicebat autem turbis: ‘Cum uideritis nubem orientem ab occasu, statim dicitis: “Imber uenit”, et ita fit; et cum austrum flantem, quod estus erit, et fit. Hypocrite, faciem celi
 15 et terre nostis probare, hoc autem tempus quomodo non probatis? Quid autem et a uobisipsis non iudicatis quod iustum est? Vt enim uadis cum aduersario tuo ad principem, in uia da operam liberari ab eo, ne quando tradat te ad iudicem, et iudex tradat te executori, et executor mittat te in carcerem. Dico tibi: Non exhibis inde, donec et ultimum minutum reddas.’
 20

B73r

13 Aderant autem et quidam in ipso tempore nuntiantes ei de Galileis, quorum sanguinem Pilatus miscuit cum sacrificiis eorum. Et respondens Iesus dixit eis: ‘Putatis quod hi Galilei preter omnes Galileos peccatores fuerint, quia talia passi sunt? Non, dico
 25 uobis, sed nisi penitentiam egeritis, omnes eodem modo peribitis. Aut illi decem et octo, supra quos cecidit turris in Siloam et occidit eos, putatis quod estis et isti debitores fuerint preter omnes homines habitantes Hierusalem? Non, dico uobis, sed nisi penitentiam egeritis, omnes similiter peribitis.’ Dicebat autem hanc parabolam: ‘Ficum habebat
 30 quidam plantatam in uinea sua et uenit ut quereretur fructum in ipsa et non inuenit. Dixit autem ad cultorem uinee: “Ecce per tres annos uenio querens fructum in ficu ista, et non inuenio. Excinde ipsam. Vt quid et terram occupat?” Ipse autem respondens dicit ei: “Domine, dimitte eam et hoc anno, donec fodiam circa ipsam et mittam stercora, et si quidem

B73v

A46r

5 queretur] queritur B 6 multum] iter. B 9 sed separationem] ex separationem corr. A1
 14 Hypocrite] ex ypocrite corr. A2 18 ad...te²] om. B 26 et] iter. B 27 et isti] om. B i. m.
 B1 30 ut quereretur] ex querere corr. A2

fodiam circa ipsam et mittam stercora, et si quidem fecerit fructum; si autem non, in futurum excindes eam.” Erat autem docens in una ex synagogis in sabatis. Et ecce mulier erat, habens spiritum infirmitatis per decem et octo annos, et erat inclinata et non poterat undique emergere. Iesus autem eam conspicatus aduocauit et dixit ei: ‘Mulier, dimissa es ab infirmitate tua’, et imposuit ei manus; et confestim erecta est et glorificabat Deum. Respondens autem archisynagogus, indignans quod sabato curasset, dicebat turbe: ‘Sex dies sunt in quibus oportet operari; in his ergo uenite ut curemini et non in die sabati.’ Respondit igitur ei dominus et dixit: ‘Hypocrita, unusquisque uestrum sabato non soluit bouem suum aut asinum a presepio adducens ad bibendum? Hanc autem filiam Abrahe, existentem quam alligauit Satanas ecce decem et octo annis, nonne oportuit solui a uinculis in die sabati?’ Et dum ipse hec diceret, erubescabant omnes aduersarii sui, et omnis populus gaudebat in cunctis que gloriose fiebant ab eo. Dicebat autem: ‘Cui simile est regnum Dei, et cui assimilabo ipsum? Simile est grano sinapis, quod assumens homo immisit in ortum suum, et creuit et factum est in arborem magnam, et uolucres celi requieuerunt in ramis suis. Iterum dixit: ‘Cui assimilabo regnum Dei? Simile est fermento, quod assumens mulier abscondit in farine sata tria, donec fermentaretur totum.’ Et procedebat per ciuitates et castella docens et iter faciens per castella in Hierusalem. Ait autem ei quidam: ‘Domine, si pauci sunt qui saluantur?’ Ipse autem dixit ad eos: ‘Contendite ut intretis per angustam portam, quia multi, dico uobis, querent intrare et non poterunt. Postquam utique surrexerit paterfamilias et clauserit ostium, incipietis foris stare et pulsare ianuam dicentes: “Domine, domine, aperi nobis”; et respondens dicit: “Nescio uos unde estis.” Tunc incipietis dicere: “Manducauimus coram te et bibimus, et in plateis nostris docuisti”; et dicis nobis: “Nescio uos unde estis; recedite a me, omnes operarii iniquitatis.” Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium, cum uideritis Abraham, Isach et Iacob et omnes prophetas in regno Dei, uos autem expulsos foris. Et uenient ab oriente et occidente et aquilone et austro et accumbent in regno Dei. Et ecce sunt ultimi qui erunt primi, et sunt primi qui erunt ultimi.’ In hac ipsa die accesserunt quidam pharisei dicentes ei: ‘Exi et proficiscere hinc, quia Herodes uult

21 castella^{2]} Manetti translated this word twice.

1 ipsam] eam *praem.* B exp. B1 2 una] uia B 10 Hypocrita] ex ypocrita *corr.* A2
27 Tunc] Recedite a me omnes *praem.* B exp. B1

te occidere.’ Et ait eis: ‘Profecti dicite huic uulpi: “Ecce demonia eicio et sanitates perficio hodie et cras et tertia die consummor. Verumtamen oportet me hodie et cras et sequenti die proficisci, quia non contingit prophetam perire extra Hierusalem”, que occidis prophetas et lapidas eos qui ad te mittuntur, quotiens uolui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum gallina nidum suum sub alis, et noluisti. Ecce relinquetur uobis domus uestra deserta. Dico autem uobis quod non uidebitis me, donec ueniat cum dicetis: “Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini.”’

A46v

B74v

- 10 **14** Et factum est cum intrasset in domum cuiusdam ex principibus phariseorum sabato ut manducaret panem. Et ecce homo quidam erat hydropicus coram eo. Et respondens Iesus dixit ad legis peritos et phariseos si licet sabato curare. Ipsi autem tacuerunt. Et apprehensum sanauit eum et dimisit. Et ait: ‘Cuius uestrum filius uel bos cadet in puteum, non continuo extrahet eum die sabati?’ Et non poterant
- 15 ad hec respondere ei. Dicebat autem parabolam, intendens quomodo primos accubitus eligerent, dicens ad eos: ‘Cum fueris ab aliquo inuitatus ad nuptias, ne discumbas in primo loco, ne quando honoratior te sit inuitatus ab eo, et ueniens qui te et ipsum uocauit, dicat: “Tu da huic locum”; et tunc incipias cum dedecore tenere ultimum locum. Sed cum
- 20 inuitatus fueris, profecto recumbe in ultimo loco, ut, cum uenerit qui te inuitauerit, dicat tibi: “Amice, ascende superius”; tunc erit tibi gloria coram simul discumbentibus tecum. Quia omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur.” Dicebat autem ei qui se inuitauerat: ‘Cum facis prandium aut cenam, ne uoca amicos tuos nec
- 25 fratres tuos nec cognatos nec uicinos diuites, ne quando et ipsi reinuient te et fiat tibi retributio. Sed cum facis conuiuium, uoca pauperes, mutilatos, claudos, cecos; et beatus eris, quoniam non habent unde tibi retribuunt. Retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum.’ Hec cum audisset quidam de discumbentibus simul dixit ei: ‘Beatus qui manducat
- 30 prandium in regno Dei.’ Ipse autem dixit ei: ‘Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam et uocauit multos; et misit seruum suum hora cene ut diceret inuitatis: “Venite quoniam iam parata sunt omnia.” Et ceperunt omnes se simul excusare. Primus dixit ei: “Villam emi et habeo necessitatem exeundi et uidendi eam; rogo te, habe me excusatum.” Et alter dixit:
- 35 “Iuga bouum emi quinque et proficiscor ad probanda ea; rogo te, habe me

B75r

excusatum.” Et alius dixit: “Vxorem duxi et ideo non possum uenire.” Et reuersus seruus ille nuntiauit hec domino suo. Tunc iratus paterfamilias dixit seruo suo. Exi cito in plateas et uicos ciuitatis et pauperes et mutilatos et cecos et claudos introduc huc.” Et dixit seruus: “Domine, factum est ut precepisti, et adhuc locus est.” Et dixit dominus ad seruum: 5
 “Exi in uicos et sepes, et coge intrare, ut impleatur domus mea. Dico enim uobis quod nemo uirorum illorum qui uocati sunt, gustauit cenam meam.” Ibant autem cum eo turbe multe, et conuersus dixit ad eos: ‘Si quis uenit ad me et non odit patrem suum et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores, adhuc et animam suam, non potest meus esse 10
 discipulus. Et quicumque non portat crucem suam et uenit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus. Quis enim ex uobis uolens turrem edificare, nonne primum sedens computat sumptum, si habet necessaria ad perfectionem? Ne, quando postquam posuerit fundamentum et non potuerit perficere, omnes qui uident incipiant ei illudere dicentes quod 15
 “Homo iste cepit edificare et non potuit perficere.” Aut quis rex, procedens committere bellum cum altero rege, nonne primum sedens consultat si potens est cum decem milibus occurrere ei qui cum uiginti milibus uenit aduersus eum? Si autem non, adhuc ipso longe existente, legationem mittit et rogat ea que ad pacem sunt. Sic igitur omnis ex uobis 20
 qui non renuntiauerit cunctis substantiis suis, non potest meus esse discipulus. Bonum est sal; si autem sal euauerit, in quo condietur? Neque in terra neque in sterquilinio utile est, sed foras iacent ipsum. Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’

15 Erant autem appropinquantes ei omnes publicani et peccatores, 25
 ut audirent ipsum. Et murmurabant pharisei et scribe dicentes quod ‘Hic peccatores recipit et manducat cum eis.’ Et ait ad ipsos parabolam istam dicens: ‘Quis est ex uobis homo qui habet centum oues, et si perdiderit unam ex ipsis, nonne dimittet nonaginta nouem in deserto et uadit ad eam que perierat, donec inueniat eam? Et cum 30
 inuenerit, imponit super humeros suos gaudens et ueniens domum conuocat amicos et uicinos dicens: “Congratulamini mihi, quia inueni ouem quam perdideram.” Dico uobis quod sic gaudium erit in celo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente quam super nonaginta nouem iustis qui non indigent penitentia. Aut que mulier habens dragmas decem, et si 35

3 et³...4 mutilatos] *i. r.* A2 14 fundamentum] *ex* frundamentum *corr.* B1 20 omnis] *ex* omnes *corr.* B1 30 inueniat] inueniet B 34 penitentiam] *ex* penitenitiam *corr.* B1

- penitentia. Aut que mulier habens dragmas decem, et si perdiderit dragmam unam, nonne accendit lucernam et uertit domum et querit diligenter, donec inueniat? Et cum inuenerit, conuocat amicas et uicinas dicens: “Congratulamini mihi, quia inueni dragmam quam perdideram.”
- 5 Ita dico uobis: Gaudium fit coram angelis Dei super uno peccatore penitentiam agente.’ Ait autem: ‘Homo quidam habebat duos filios. Et dixit adolescentior ex ipsis patri: “Pater, da mihi partem substantie que me contingit.” Et diuisit ei uictum. Et post non multos dies, congregatis omnibus, adolescentior filius peregre profectus est in regionem
- 10 longinquam et ibi dissipauit substantiam suam uiuens luxuriose. Cum autem ipse erogasset omnia, facta est fames ualida per regionem illam, et ipse cepit egere. Et abiit et adhesit uni ex ciuibus ciuitatis illius, et misit ipsum in uillam suam, ut pasceret porcos; et cupiebat implere uentrem suum de siliquis quas porci manducabant, et nemo ei dabat. In seipsum
- 15 reuersus dixit: “Quot mercennarii patris mei abundant panibus, ego autem hic fame pereor. Surgam et accedam ad patrem meum et dicam ei: “Pater, peccaui in celum et coram te; et non amplius sum dignus uocari filius tuus; fac me sicut unum ex mercenariis tuis.” Et surgens uenit ad patrem suum. Adhuc autem eo longe absente, uidit ipsum pater suus et
- 20 misericordia motus est et accurrens cecidit super collum suum et osculatus est eum. Dixit autem ei filius: “Pater, peccaui in celum et coram te; et non amplius sum dignus uocari filius tuus.” Dixit autem pater ad seruos suos: “Proferte stolam primam et induite eum et date anulum in manum suam et calciamenta in pedes, et adducite uitulum
- 25 saginatum et occidite, et manducemus et epulemur, quia hic filius meus mortuus erat et reuixit, perierat et inuentus est.” Et ceperunt epulari. Erat autem filius eius senior in agro et, ut uenit et appropinquauit domui, audiuit symphoniam et chorum, et uocauit unum de seruis et interrogauit que hec essent. Ipse autem dixit quod “Frater tuus uenit, et occidit pater
- 30 tuus uitulum saginatum, quoniam saluum ipsum recepit. Iratus est autem et nolebat introire. Pater igitur eius egressus hortabatur eum. Ipse autem respondens dicebat patri: “Ecce tot annos seruo tibi et numquam mandatum preteriui, et numquam dedisti mihi edum, ut cum amicis meis epularer. Cum autem filius tuus hic, qui deuorauit substantiam suam cum
- 35 meretricibus, uenit, occidisti ei uitulum saginatum.” Ipse autem dixit ei:

B76r

A47v

B76v

13 suam] sua B | implere] impleri B 15 panibus] pannibus B 21 osculatus] obsculatus B 30 tuus] om. B

“Fili, tu semper mecum es, et omnia mea tua sunt; epulari autem et gaudere oportebat, quia frater tuus hic mortuus fuerat et reuixit, perierat et inuentus est.”

16 Dicebat autem et ad discipulos suos: ‘Homo quidam erat diues, qui habebat uillicum, et hic diffamatus est apud eum quasi
5
dissipasset substantiam suam. Et uocauit ipsum et ait ei: “Quid hoc audio de te? Redde rationem uillicationis tue, non enim poteris amplius uillicare.” Dicebat autem intra seipsum uillicus: “Quid faciam, quia dominus meus aufert uillicationem a me? Fodere non ualeo, mendicare erubesco. Scio quid faciam, ut, cum amotus fuero a
10
uillicatione, suscipiant me in domos suas.” Et conuocatis singulis debitoribus domini sui, dicebat primo: “Quantum debes domino meo?” Ipse autem dixit: “Centum cados olei.” Et dixit ei: “Accipe litteram tuam et sedens scribe cito quinquaginta.” Postea alii dixit: “Tu autem quantum debes?” Ipse autem dixit: “Centum coros tritici.” Et ait ei: “Accipe
15
litteram tuam et scribe octuaginta.” Et laudauit dominus uillicum iniquitatis, quod prudenter fecisset, quoniam filii huius seculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis in generatione sua. Et ego uobis dico: Facite uobis amicos de mamona iniquitatis, ut, cum defeceritis recipiant uos in eterna tabernacula. Qui fidelis est in minimo, et in multo fidelis est; et qui
20
in minimo iniquus est, et in multo iniquus est. Si igitur in iniquo mamona fideles non fuistis, quod uerum est, quis credet uobis? Nullus seruus potest duobus dominis seruire: aut enim unum oderit et alterum diligit, aut uni adhaerebit et alterum contemnet. Non potestis Deo seruire et plutoni.’ Audiebant autem hec omnia pharisei et, cum essent auari,
25
deridebant eum. Et dixit eis: ‘Vos estis qui iustificatis uos coram hominibus; Deus cognoscit corda uestra, quia quodcumque hominibus altum est, abominatio est coram Deo. Lex et prophete usque ad Ioannem; ex tunc regnum Dei euangelizatur, et omne in illum uiolatur. Facilius est autem celum et terram preterire, quam de lege unum apicem
30
cadere. Omnis qui dimittit uxorem suam et ducit alteram, mechatur; et omnis qui dimissam a uiro duxerit, mechatur. Homo autem quidam erat diues et induebatur purpura et bysso et epulabatur quotidie. Mendicus uero quidam erat nomine Lazarus, qui iacebat ad ianuam eius, ulceribus plenus et cupiens saturari de micis que cadebant de mensa diuitis; sed et
35
canes uenientes lingebant ulcera eius. Factum est autem ut moreretur

13 quinquaginta] quinquaginta A 20 et^l] fidelis *praem.* B *exp.* B1 30 cadere] credere B

A48r

B77r

Factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahe; mortuus est autem et diues et sepultus est. In inferno eleuans autem oculos suos cum esset in tormentis, uidit Abraham a longe et Lazarum in sinu suo. Et ipse clamans dixit: “Pater Abraham, miserere
 5 mei et mitte Lazarum, ut intingat extremum digiti in aqua, et refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma.” Dixit autem Abraham: “Fili, recordare quod tu recepisti bona tua in uita tua, et Lazarus similiter mala; nunc autem hic consolatur, tu uero cruciaris. Et in his omnibus inter uos et nos chaos magna firmatum est, ut qui uolunt hinc transire ad uos non
 10 possint, nec inde huc transmeare.” Dixit autem: “Rogo ergo te, Pater, ut mittas eum in domo patris mei – habeo enim quinque fratres – ut testetur eis, ne et ipsi ueniant in locum hunc tormentorum.” Et ait ei Abraham: “Habent Moysem et prophetas; audiant eos.” Ipse autem dixit: “Non, pater Abraham, sed si quis a mortuis ierit ad eos, penitentiam agent.” Dixit autem ei: “Si Moysem et prophetas non
 15 audiunt, nec si quis ex mortuis iuerit, credent ei.”

B77v

A48v

17 Dixit autem ad discipulos: ‘Impossibile est ut non ueniant scandala; ue autem illi per quem ueniunt! Proficeret ei si mala asinaria imponatur circa collum eius et proiciatur in mare, quam
 20 ut scandalizaret unum de paruulis istis. Attendite uobis! Si autem peccauerit in te frater tuus, increpa illum, et si penitentiam egerit, dimitte ei; et si septies in diem peccauerit in te et septies in die conuersus dicat: “Penitet me”, dimitte ei.’ Et dixerunt apostoli domino: ‘Adauge nobis fidem!’ Dixit autem dominus: ‘Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, diceretis utique huic arbori sycomoro: “Eradicare et transplantare in
 25 mare”, et obediret utique uobis. Quis autem ex uobis seruum habens aratorem aut opilionem, qui regressus ex agro dicat: “Statim transiet recumbe”, sed non dixit ei: “Para aliquid ut cenem, et precinge te et ministra mihi, donec manducem et bibam; post hec tu manducabis et
 30 bibes”? Numquid gratiam habet seruo illi, quod fecit ei quecumque imperauerat? Sic et uos, cum feceritis omnia que ordinata sunt uobis, dicite: “Serui inutiles sumus, quia quod debuimus facere fecimus.”’ Et factum est dum ipse iret in Hierusalem, transibat per mediam Samariam et Galileam. Et cum ipse ingrederetur in quoddam castellum, occurrerunt
 35 ei decem uiri leprosi, qui steterunt a longe, et ipsi eleuauerunt uocem

B78r

21 dimitte] *ex* dimittet *corr.* B1 27 opilionem] *i. r.* A2 29 Numquid] nunc quid B
 32 in ... 33 Hierusalem] *om.* A *i. m.* A1

steterunt a longe, et ipsi eleuauerunt uocem dicentes: ‘Iesu preceptor, miserere nostri!’ Et conspicatus dixit eis: ‘Profecti ostendite uos sacerdotibus.’ Et factum est dum ipsi irent, mundati sunt. Vnus autem ex ipsis, uidens quod sanatus est, reuersus est cum uoce magna glorificans Deum et cecidit in faciem secus pedes suos benedicens ei; et ipse erat Samaritanus. Respondens autem Iesus dixit: ‘Nonne decem mundati sunt? Nouem autem ubi sunt? Non sunt inuenti, ut redirent et darent gloriam Deo, nisi hic alienigena?’ Et ait ei: ‘Surge, uade; fides tua saluauit te.’ Interrogatus autem a pluribus: ‘Quando uenit regnum Dei?’, respondit eis et dixit: ‘Non uenit regnum Dei cum obseruatione, nec dicent: “Ecce hic” aut: “Ecce illic”; ecce enim regnum Dei intra uos est.’ Ait autem ad discipulos: ‘Venient dies quando desiderabitis uidere unum ex diebus filii hominis et non uidebitis. Et dicent uobis: “Ecce hic”, aut “Ecce illic”; ne abite nec persequemini. Nam sicut fulgur coruscans e regione subcelesti in regionem supercelestem fulget, sic erit filius hominis in die sua. Primum autem oportet ipsum multa pati et reprobari a generatione hac. Et sicut factum in diebus Noe, ita erit in diebus filii hominis: edebant et bibebant, nubebant et nubebantur, usque in diem qua intrauit Noe in arcam, et uenit diluuium et perdidit omnes. Similiter et ut factum est in diebus Loth: edebant, bibebant, emebant, uendebant, plantabant, edificabant; qua autem die exiit Loth a Sodomis, pluit ignem et sulphur de celo et omnes perdidit. Secundum hoc erit, qua die filius hominis reuelabitur. In illa die, qui fuerit in tecto et uasa eius in domo, ne descendat ad tollendum ea, et qui in agro, similiter ne redeat retro. Mementote uxoris Loth. Quicumque quesierit animam suam saluari, perdet eam, et quicumque perdiderit, uiuificabit eam. Dico uobis: In hac nocte duo erunt in uno lecto: una assumetur et altera relinquetur; due erunt molentes in idem: una assumetur et altera relinquetur.’ Et respondentes dicunt ei: ‘Vbi, domine?’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Vbicumque fuerit corpus, ibi congregabuntur aquile.’

18 Dicebat autem eis parabolam quod oportet semper orare et non deficere, dicens: ‘Iudex quidam erat in quadam ciuitate, nec Deum timens nec hominem reuerens. Vidua autem erat in ciuitate illa et accessit ad eum dicens: “Vindica me de aduersario meo.” Et noluit ad tempus; post hec autem dixit intra se: “Etsi Deum non

18 bibebant] -nt *i. r. A2* | nubebant...nubebantur] *i. r. A2* 19 uenit] ad *add. AB exp. fort. A1* 20 Loth] *ex Lot corr. B1* 24 ad tollendum] *ex tollere fort. corr. A2*

- post hec autem dixit intra se: “Etsi Deum non timeo et hominem non reuereor, quia tamen molestiam mihi affert hec uidua, uindicabo ipsam, ne in finem ueniens sugillet me.” Ait autem dominus: ‘Audite quid iudex iniquitatis dicit; Deus autem non faciet uindictam electorum suorum
- 5 clamantium ad se die ac nocte, et patiens erit in ipsis? Dico autem uobis quod cito faciet uindictam eorum. Verumtamen filius hominis ueniens, an inueniet fidem in terra?’ Dixit autem ad quosdam qui in se ipsis confidebant qui erant iusti et aspernabantur ceteros parabolam istam, dicens: ‘Duo homines ascenderant in templum ut orarent: unus phariseus
- 10 et alter publicanus. Phariseus stans intra se hec orabat dicens: “Deus, gratias ago tibi quod non sum sicut ceteri hominum, raptores, iniusti, adulteri, aut et uelut publicanus iste; ieiuno bis in sabato, decimas do omnium quecumque possideo.” Et publicanus a longe stans nolebat oculos ad celum tollere, sed percutiebat pectus suum dicens: “Deus,
- 15 propitius esto mihi peccatori.” Dico uobis: Descendit hic iustificatus in domum suam, quoniam qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur.’ Afferebant autem ei et infantes, ut eos tangeret; conspicati autem discipuli increpabant eos. Iesus autem conuocans ipsos dixit: ‘Sinite pueros uenire ad me et ne prohibite ipsos; talium enim est regnum
- 20 Dei. Amen dico uobis: Quicumque non receperit regnum Dei ut puer, non intrabit in ipsum.’ Et interrogauit eum quidam princeps dicens: ‘Magister bone, quid faciendo uitam eternam possidebo?’ Dixit autem ei Iesus: ‘Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus nisi unus Deus. Mandata nosti: non mechaberis, non occides, non furaberis, non falso
- 25 testificaberis, honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam.’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Hec omnia custodiui a iuuentute mea.’ Hec cum audisset Iesus ait ei: ‘Adhuc unum tibi deest: omnia quecumque habes uende et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in celo, et ueni, sequere me.’ Ipse autem cum hec audisset, tristis factus est. Erat enim diues ualde. Videns
- 30 autem Iesus tristem factum dixit: ‘Quam difficulter qui pecuniam habent in regnum Dei intrabunt! Facilius est enim camelum per foramen acus intrare, quam diuitem ingredi in regnum Dei.’ Dixerunt autem qui audierunt: ‘Et quis potest saluari?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Impossibilia apud homines possibilia sunt apud Deum.’ Dixit autem Petrus: ‘Ecce nos
- 35 dimisimus omnia et secuti sumus te.’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Amen dico uobis

B79r

A49v

B79v

2 uindicabo] uindicando B 9 Duo] Deus gratias ago tibi *praem.* B exp. B1 14 dicens] *iter.* B 24 falso ... 25 testificaberis] *ex falsum testimonium dices fort. corr.* A2 31 enim] *om.* B

quod nullus est qui dimiserit domum aut parentes aut fratres aut uxorem propter regnum Dei, qui non recipiat multo plura in hoc tempore, et in seculo uenturo uitam eternam.’ Assumpsit autem Iesus duodecim discipulos suos et ait eis: ‘Ecce ascendimus Hierosolimam, et consummabuntur omnia que scripta sunt super prophetas de filio hominis: tradetur enim gentibus et illudetur et iniuriam patietur et conspuetur, et, postquam flagellauerint, occident eum, et tertia die resurget.’ Et ipsi nihil horum intellexerunt; et erat sermo iste absconditus ab eis, et non cognoscebant que dicta erant. Factum est autem dum ipse appropinquaret Hierico, cecus quidam sedebat secus uiam mendicans. Cum autem audiret turbam pretereuntem, interrogabat quid hoc esset. Annuntiauerunt autem ei quod Iesus Nazarenus transiret. Et clamauit dicens: ‘Iesu, fili Daudid, miserere mei!’ Et qui precedebant increpabant eum ut taceret; ipse autem multo magis clamabat: ‘Fili Daudid, miserere mei!’ Stans autem Iesus iussit ipsum adduci ad se. Cum autem appropinquasset, interrogauit ipsum dicens: ‘Quid tibi uis faciam?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Domine, ut uideam.’ Et Iesus dixit ei: ‘Respice! Fides tua saluauit te.’ Et confestim respexit et sequebatur eum glorificans Deum. Et omnis populus conspicatus dedit laudem Deo.

B80r

19 Et ingressus transibat per Hierico. Et ecce uir nomine Zaccheus uocatus, et ipse erat princeps publicanorum et hic erat diues. Et querebat uidere Iesum quis esset, et non poterat pre turba, quia statura paruus erat. Et precurrit ante et ascendit in arborem sycomorum ut uideret ipsum, quoniam inde erat transiturus. Et ut uenit ad locum, suspiciens Iesus uidit ipsum et ait: ‘Zachee, festinans descende, hodie enim in domo tua oportet me manere.’ Et festinans descendit et excepit ipsum gaudens. Et cum uidissent omnes murmurabant dicentes quod ad hominem peccatorem diuertisset. Stans autem Zacheus dixit ad dominum: ‘Ecce dimidium substantie mee, domine, do pauperibus et, si quid aliquem defraudaui, reddo quadruplum. Ait Iesus ad eum quod ‘Hodie salus huic domui facta est, eo quod ipse filius sit Abrahe; uenit enim filius hominis ad querendum et saluandum quod perierat.’ Hec autem ipsis audientibus, adiciens dixit parabolam, eo quod esset prope Hierusalem, et quia existimarent quod confestim regnum Dei manifestaretur: ‘Homo quidam nobilis abiit in regionem longinquam ut

A50r

nobilis abiit in regionem longinquam ut acciperet sibi regnum et reuerteretur. Vocatis autem decem seruis suis, dedit eis decem minas et dixit ad ipsos: "Negotiamini, donec uenero." Ciues autem eius oderant ipsum et miserunt legationem post eum dicentes: "Nolumus hunc
 5 regnare super nos!" Et factum est dum ipse rediret, accepto regno, ait uocari seruos quibus pecuniam dederat, ut sciret quid quisque negotiatus esset. Venit autem primus dicens: "Domine, mina una decem minas operata est." Et dixit ei: "Euge, serue bone; quia in minimo fidelis fuisti, eris potestatem habens super decem ciuitates." Et uenit secundus dicens:
 10 "Domine, mina tua fecit quinque minas." Dixit autem et huic: "Et tu esto super quinque ciuitatibus." Et alius uenit dicens: "Domine, ecce mina tua, quam habui repositam in sudario; timebam enim te, quia homo austerus es: tollis quod non posuisti, et metis quod non seminasti." Dicit autem ei: "Ex ore tuo te iudico, serue nequam! Scis quod homo austerus
 15 sum, tollens quod non posui et metens quod non seminaui? Et quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam? Et ego ueniens cum usura utique recepissem ipsam." Et astantibus dixit: "Auferte ab ipso minam et date ei qui decem minas habet." Et dixerunt: "Domine, habet decem minas!" "Dico enim uobis quod omni habenti dabitur; ab eo autem qui
 20 non habet, et quod habet auferetur ab eo. Verumtamen inimicos meos illos, qui noluerunt me regnare super eos, ducite huc et interficite coram me!" Et his dictis, procedebat ascendens Hierosolimam. Et factum est cum appropinquasset Bethphage et Bethanie, ad montem qui uocatur Oliueti, misit duos ex discipulis suis dicens: 'Ite in castellum quod e
 25 regione est, in quo introeuntes inuenietis pullum alligatum, super quem nullus umquam hominum sedit; soluite ipsum et adducite. Et si quis uos interrogauerit: "Quare soluitis?", sic dicite ei, quod dominus indigentiam eius habet.' Abeuntes autem qui missi fuerant, inuenerunt sicut dixerat eis. Cum autem ipsi soluerent pullum, dixerunt domini eius ad ipsos:
 30 'Quid soluitis pullum?' Ipsi autem dixerunt: 'Dominus eius indigentiam habet.' Et adduxerunt ipsum ad Iesum; et iactantes uestimenta sua super pullum, imposuerunt Iesum. Procedente autem eo, substernebant uestimenta sua in uia. Appropinquante autem ipso iam a descensu

B80v

A50v

B81r

1 ut acciperet] *ex accipere corr. A2* 2 reuerteretur] *ex reuerti corr. A2* 7 decem] *qua praem. B exp. B1* 15 seminaui] *ex seminasti corr. B1* 27 quod] *i. r. A2* 29 Cum... soluerent] *i. r. A2* 32 substernebant] *ex substernabant corr. B1* 33 Appropinquante] Appropinquanto B

montis Oliueti, ceperunt omnis multitudo discipulorum gaudentes laudare Deum uoce magna, super omnibus quas uiderant uirtutibus dicentes: ‘Benedictus rex qui uenit in nomine domini! Pax in celo et gloria in altissimis!’ Et quidam phariseorum a turba dixerunt ad eum: ‘Magister, increpa discipulos tuos!’ Et respondens ait eis: ‘Dico uobis 5 quod si isti tacuerint, lapides clamabunt!’ Et ut appropinquauit, uidens ciuitatem fleuit super eam dicens quod ‘Si cognouisses et tu et quidem in hac die tua, que ad pacem tibi! Nunc autem absconditum est ab oculis tuis quod uenient dies in te, et circumiacent inimici tui tibi uallum et circundabunt te et coangustabunt te undique et ad terram prosternent te 10 et filios tuos in te, et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem, eo quod non cognouisti tempus uisitationis tue.’ Et ingressus in templum, cepit eicere uendentes et ementes in eo dicens ipsis: ‘Scriptum est: *Domus mea domus orationis es*. Vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum.’ Et erat docens quotidie in templo. Pontifices autem et scribe et primates 15 populi querebant ipsum perdere et non inueniebant quid facerent; omnis enim populus suspensus erat audiens ipsum.

20 Et factum est in uno dierum illorum, docente ipso populum in templo et euangelizante, conuenerunt sacerdotes et scribe cum senioribus et dixerunt ad ipsum aientes: ‘Dic nobis: In qua 20 potestate hec facis uel quis dedit tibi hanc potestatem?’ Respondens autem dixit ad ipsos: ‘Interrogabo uos et ego unum uerbum; et dicite mihi: Baptisma Ioannis ex celo erat an ex hominibus?’ Ipsi autem cogitabant intra se dicentes quod ‘Si dixerimus: “Ex celo”, dicet: “Quare ergo non credidistis ei?” Si autem dixerimus: “Ex hominibus”, omnis 25 populus lapidabit nos; certi enim sunt Ioannem prophetam esse.’ Et responderunt se nescire unde. Et ait eis Iesus: ‘Neque et ego dico uobis in qua potestate hec facio.’ Cepit autem dicere ad populum parabolam hanc: ‘Homo plantauit uineam et locauit eam colonis et peregre profectus est per multos annos. Et in tempore misit ad colonos seruum 30 ut de uinea darent ei; coloni autem cesum dimiserunt eum inanem. Et addidit alterum seruum; ipsi autem illum cedentes et afficientes contumeliis dimiserunt inanem. Et addidit ut tertium mitteret; ipsi autem et hunc uulnerantes eiecerunt. Dixit autem dominus uinee: “Quid faciam? Mittam filium meum dilectum; forsitan cum hunc uiderint 35

4 eum] ex deum corr. B1 6 tacuerint] ex tacuerunt corr. B1 10 circundabunt] sternent B 17 suspensus] om. B 33 ut...mitteret] ex tertium mittere corr. A2

- Mittam filium meum dilectum; forsitan cum hunc uiderint uerebuntur.” Videntes autem ipsum coloni, cogitauerunt intra se dicentes: “Hic est heres. Venite, occidamus eum, ut nostra fiat hereditas!” Et eicientes ipsum extra uineam occiderunt. Quid ergo faciet ipsis dominus uinee?
- 5 Veniet et perdet colonos istos et dabit uineam aliis.’ Cum autem audissent dixerunt: ‘Absit!’ Ipse autem conspicatus eos dixit: ‘Quid ergo hoc est quod scriptum est: *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli?* Omnis qui ceciderit super illum lapidem conquassabitur; super quem autem ceciderit, comminuet eum.’
- 10 Querebant autem pontifices et scribe mittere in eum manus in ipsa hora et timuerunt; cognouerunt enim quod ad ipsos dixerat parabolam istam. Et obseruantes miserunt insidiatores seipsos iustos esse dissimulantes, ut caperent sermonem suum, et ad tradendum eum magistratui et potestati
- 15 presidis. Et interrogauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Magister, scimus quod recte dicis et non accipis personam, sed uiam Dei in ueritate doces. Licet nobis dare tributum Cesari an non?’ Considerans autem calliditatem ipsorum dixit ad eos: ‘Quid me tentatis? Ostendite mihi denarium.’ Ipsi autem attulerunt. Et ait: ‘Cuius habet imaginem et superscriptionem?’ Respondentes autem dixerunt: ‘Cesaris.’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Reddite
- 20 ergo que sunt Cesaris, Cesari et que sunt Dei, Deo.’ Et non potuerunt capere uerbum istud coram populo et admirati in responsione sua tacuerunt. Accesserunt autem quidam sadduceorum, qui aduersantur non esse resurrectionem, et interrogauerunt eum dicentes: ‘Magister, Moyses scripsit nobis, si frater alicuius mortuus fuerit habens uxorem et hic sine
- 25 filiis obierit, ut accipiat frater eius uxorem et suscitet semen fratri suo. Septem ergo fratres erant: et primus accepta uxore mortuus est sine filiis; et accepit secundus uxorem et ipse mortuus est sine liberis, et tertius accepit eam eodem modo et septem et non reliquerunt filios et mortui sunt. Posterior omnibus mortua est et mulier. In resurrectione ergo,
- 30 cuius eorum erit uxor? Septem enim habuerunt eam uxorem.’ Et respondens dixit eis Iesus: ‘Filii huius seculi nubunt et nubuntur; qui autem digni habiti sunt frui seculo illo, et resurrectione mortuorum, neque nubunt neque nubuntur. Neque enim amplius mori potuerunt: equales enim angelis sunt et filii sunt Dei, cum filii sint resurrectionis.

B82r

9 comminuet] super illum lapidem *praem. B exp. B1* 11 cognouerunt] *ex cogitauerunt corr. B1* 24 hic...25 et] *om. B* 31 qui] *ducunt praem. A exp. A2* 33 nubuntur] *i. r. A2* 34 sint] *ex sunt corr. B1*

A51^v Quod autem resurgant mortui et Moyses ostendit in rubo, ubi dicit: *Dominum Deum Abraham et Deum Izach et Deum Iacob*. Non est autem Deus mortuorum sed uiuentium: omnes enim ei uiuunt.’ Respondentes autem quidam scribarum dixerunt: ‘Magister, bene dixisti.’ Amplius autem non
 B82^v audebant quicquam eum interrogare. Dixit autem ad ipsos: ‘Quomodo 5
 dicunt quidam Christum filium Dauid esse? Et ipse Dauid dicit in libro Psalmorum: *Dixit dominus domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*. Dauid igitur ipsum dominum uocat; et quomodo filius eius est?’ Audiente autem omni populo, dixit discipulis suis: ‘Attendite a scribis uolentibus ambulare in stolis et amantibus 10
 salutationes in foro et primas sedes in synagogis et primos recubitus in cenis, qui deuorant domos uiduarum et occasione longa orant. Hi percipient maius iudicium.’

21 Respiens autem uidit eos qui mittebant munera sua in gazophylacium, diuites. Vidit autem quandam uiduam 15
 pauperculam mittentem ibi duo minuta et dixit: ‘Vere dico uobis quod uidua hec pauper plus quam omnes misit. Nam omnes hi ex abundantia eorum miserunt in dona Dei; hec autem ex inopia sua omnem eius substantiam quam habuit immisit.’ Hec dicens clamabat: ‘Qui habet aures ad audiendum, audiat.’ Et quibusdam dicentibus de 20
 templo quod lapidibus bonis et donis ornatum esset dixit: ‘Hec que uidetis, uenient dies in quibus non relinquetur lapis super lapidem qui non destruat.’ Interrogauerunt autem ipsum dicentes: ‘Magister, quando igitur hec erunt, et quod signum erit cum hec fieri debent?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Videte ne seducamini; multi enim uenient in nomine meo 25
 dicentes quod “Ego sum”, et: “Tempus appropinquauit”. Ne igitur proficiscimini post eos. Cum autem audieritis bella et seditiones, ne terreamini; oportet enim hec fieri primum, sed non statim finis.’ Tunc dicebat ipsis: ‘Surget gens contra gentem et regnum aduersus regnum; et 30
 terremotus magni per loca et pestilentie et fames erunt, terroresque et signa magna de celo. Sed ante hec omnia incient in uos manus suas et persequentur tradentes in synagogas et custodias, ductos ad reges et principes, propter nomen meum; continget autem uobis in testimonium. Ponite ergo in cordibus uestris non meditari responsiones; ego enim dabo uobis os et sapientiam cui non poterunt contradicere neque 35

B83^r

- cui non poterunt contradicere neque resistere omnes aduersarii uestri. Trademini autem a parentibus et cognatis et amicis et fratribus, et necabunt ex uobis, et eritis exosi ab omnibus propter nomen meum. Et pilus de capite uestro non peribit. In sapientia uestra possidebitis animas
- 5 uestras. Cum autem uideritis circumiri ab exercitu Hierusalem, tunc cognoscite quod appropinquauit desolatio eius. Tunc qui in Iudea sunt fugient ad montes, et qui in medio eius sunt discedant, et qui in regionibus non intrent in eam, quoniam dies ultionis hi sunt, ut impleantur omnia que scripta sunt. Ve autem pregnantibus et
- 10 nutrientibus in illis diebus! Erit enim necessitas magna in terra et ira huic populo, et cadent in ore gladii et captiuabuntur in omnes gentes, et Hierusalem calcabitur a gentibus, donec adimpleantur tempora nationum. Et erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis, et in terra pressura gentium pre confusione tumultuantis et fluctuantis maris, arescentibus
- 15 hominibus pre timore et expectatione eorum, que superuenient uniuerso orbi. Virtutes enim celi mouebuntur. Et tunc uidebunt filium hominis uenientem in nube cum potestate et gloria multa. His autem fieri incipientibus, emergite et attollite capita uestra, quoniam appropinquat redemptio uestra.’ Et dixit parabolam hanc: ‘Videte ficum et omnes
- 20 arbores: cum producunt fructus iam, respicientes per uosipsos cognoscite quod prope est estas. Ita et uos, cum uideritis hoc fieri, cognoscite quod prope est regnum Dei. Amen dico uobis quod non preteribit generatio hec donec omnia fiant. Celum et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non preteribunt. Attendite autem uobisipsis, nequando
- 25 grauentur corda uestra in crapula et ebrietate et curis uite, et repentina super uos assistat dies illa; tamquam laqueus enim superueniet in omnes sedentes super faciem omnis terre. Vigilate igitur in omni tempore deprecantes, ut digni sitis fugere omnia que futura sunt, et stare coram filio hominis.’ Erat autem per dies docens in templo, per noctes autem
- 30 exiens morabatur in monte qui uocabatur Oliueti. Et omnis populus anticipabat ad ipsum, ut eum in templo audirent.

A52r

B83v

1 resistere] *ex restere corr. B1* 3 necabunt] *ex morte adficiunt corr. A2* 5 tunc...6 cognoscite] *ex tunc scitote corr. A2* 20 fructus] *ex fructum corr. B1* | uosipsos] *-s i. r. A2* 21 cognoscite] *cogno- i. r. A2* 22 cognoscite] *cognosci- i. r. A2* 25 ebrietate] *hebetate fort. A2*

22 Appropinquabat autem festiuitas Azymorum, que dicitur Pascha. Et querebant pontifices et scribe quomodo ipsum interficerent; timebant enim populum. Intrauit autem Satanas in Iudam qui cognominatur Scarioth, existentem in numero duodenario; et abiens locutus est cum pontificibus et principibus quomodo ipsum 5 traderet eis. Et gauisi sunt et composuerunt pecuniam ei dare. Et conuenit et querebat oportunitatem ut traderet ipsum eis sine turba. Venit autem dies Azymorum, in qua oportebat sacrificari Pascha. Et misit Petrum et Ioannem dicens: 'Profecti parate nobis Pascha, ut manducemus.' Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: 'Vbi uis paremus?' Ipse uero dixit 10 eis: 'Ecce introeuntibus uobis in ciuitatem occurret uobis amphoram aque baiulans; sequimini eum in domum in quam intrat. Et dicetis patrifamilias domus: "Dixit magister: Vbi est diuersorium ubi Pascha cum discipulis meis manducem?"' Et ille ostendet uobis cenaculum 15 magnum stratum; ibi parate.' Abeuntes autem inuenerunt sicut dixerat eis, et parauerunt Pascha. Et quando uenit hora, discubuit, et duodecim apostoli cum eo. Et ait ad eos: 'Desiderio desiderauim manducare hoc Pascha uobiscum antequam patiar. Dico enim uobis quod non amplius manducabo ex eo, donec impleatur in regno Dei.' Et accepto calice, gratias egit dicens: 'Accipite hoc et diuidite inter uos. Dico enim uobis 20 quod non bibam amodo de propagine uitis huius, donec ueniat regnum Dei.' Et accepto pane, gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens: 'Hoc est corpus meum, pro uobis tradendum. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' Eodem autem modo et calicem, postquam cenauit, dicens: 'Hic est calix nouum testamentum in sanguine meo, pro uobis 25 effundendo. Verumtamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa; et filius quidem hominis uadit secundum quod definitum est; uerumtamen ue homini illi per quem tradetur!' Et ipsi ceperunt querere intra seipsos quisnam esset ex eis qui hoc erat acturus. Facta est autem et contentio inter ipsos, quis eorum uideretur esse maior. Ipse autem dixit 30 eis: 'Reges gentium dominantur eis et qui potestatem habent in ipsas, benefactores uocantur. Vos autem non sic, sed qui maior est in uobis, fiat sicut minor, et qui princeps est, sicut minister. Quis enim maior est: qui recumbit, aut qui ministrat? Nonne qui recumbit? Ego autem sum in medio uestrum sicut ministrator. Vos autem estis qui permansistis 35 mecum in tentationibus meis; et ego dispono uobis, sicut disposuit mihi pater meus regnum, ut edatis et bibatis super mensam meam in regno

A52v

B84r

- bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo, et sedeatis super thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.' Ait autem dominus Simoni: 'Simon, ecce Satanás exquisiuit uos ut cribraret sicut triticum; ego autem rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua. Et tu, aliquando conuersus, confirma
- 5 fratres tuos.' Ipse autem dixit ei: 'Domine, tecum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire.' Ipse autem dixit: 'Dico tibi, Petre: Non cantabit hodie gallus priusquam ter negabis nosse me.' Et dixit eis: 'Quando misi uos sine sacco et pera et calciamentis, num aliquid defuit uobis?' Ipsi autem dixerunt: 'Nihil.' Dixit ergo eis: 'Sed nunc, qui habet
- 10 sacculum, tollat, similiter et peram; et qui non habet, uendat uestimentum suum et emat gladium. Dico enim uobis quod adhuc quod scriptum est oportet impleri in me: *Et cum iniquis deputatus est*. Etenim que scripta sunt de me finem habent.' Ipsi autem dixerunt: 'Domine, ecce hic gladii duo.' Ipse autem dixit eis: 'Satis est.' Et egressus ibat secundum
- 15 consuetudinem in montem Oliueti; secuti sunt autem eum et discipuli sui. Et cum esset in loco, dixit eis: 'Orate ne intretis in tentationem.' Et ipse auulsus est ab eis, quasi iactum lapidis, et positus genibus orabat dicens: 'Pater, si uis, transfer calicem istum a me! Verumtamen non uoluntas mea sed tua fiat.' Apparuit autem ipsi angelus de celo
- 20 confortans eum. Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat. Factus est autem sudor eius quasi gutta sanguinis descendentis in terram. Et cum surrexisset ab oratione et uenisset ad discipulos suos, inuenit ipsos dormientes pre tristitia et dixit eis: 'Quid dormitis? Surgite; orate ne intretis in tentationem.' Adhuc autem eo loquente, ecce turba, et qui
- 25 uocatus est Iudas, unus ex duodecim, precedebat eos, et appropinquauit Iesu, ut oscularetur eum. Iesus autem dixit ei: 'Iuda, osculo filium hominis tradis?' Videntes autem hi qui circa ipsum astabant quod futurum erat, dixerunt ei: 'Domine, si percutiemus in gladio?' Et percussit unus ex eis seruum pontificis et amputauit auriculam eius
- 30 dexteram. Respondens autem Iesus dixit: 'Sinite usque huc!' Et cum tetigisset auriculam eius, sanauit eum. Dixit autem Iesus ad eos qui uenerant ad se pontifices et magistratus templi: 'Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus? Cum quotidie uobiscum fuerim in templo, et non extendistis manus in me; sed hec est hora uestra et potestas
- 35 tenebrarum.' Comprehendentes autem ipsum, duxerunt et adduxerunt ad

B84v

A53r

B85r

1 thronos] *ex* tronos *corr.* A2 3 cribraret] cribaret AB 11 uestimentum] -m- *i. r. fort.* A1
 17 lapidis] *ex* lapides *corr.* B1 20 in] *i. r.* A1 30 dexteram] *ex* dextram *corr.* A2B1

domum pontificis. Petrus autem sequebatur a longe. Accenso igne in medio atrio et sedentibus, erat Petrus in medio eorum. Conspicata autem ancilla sedentem ad lumen et ipsum intuita, dixit: 'Et hic cum eo erat!' Ipse autem negauit eum dicens: 'Mulier, nescio ipsum.' Et paulo post alter uidens ipsum inquit: 'Et tu ex ipsis es!' Petrus autem dixit: 'Homo, non sum!' Et interuallo facto quasi unius hore, alius quidam affirmabat dicens: 'In ueritate et hic cum eo erat; Galileus enim est!' Ait autem Petrus: 'Homo, nescio quid dicis!' Et continuo eo adhuc loquente cantauit gallus. Et conuersus dominus respexit Petrum; et recordatus est Petrus uerbi domini, sicut dixerat ei quod 'Priusquam gallus cantet ter me negabis', et egressus foras Petrus fleuit amare. Et uiri qui tenebant eum, illudebant ei, et cedebant eum et uelauerunt ipsum et percutiebant faciem eius et interrogabant eum dicentes: 'Prophetiza: Quis est qui te percussit?' Et alia multa blasphemantes dicebant in ipsum. Et ut factus est dies, congregati sunt seniores populi et pontifices et scribe et adduxerunt eum in concilium suum dicentes: 'Si tu es Christus, dic nobis.' Ipse uero dixit eis: 'Si uobis dixerero, non credetis mihi; si autem et interrogauero, non respondebitis mihi, nec dimittetis. Amodo autem erit filius hominis sedens a dextris uirtutis Dei.' Dixerunt autem omnes: 'Tu ergo es filius Dei?' Ipse autem dixit eis: 'Vos dicitis quod ego sum.' Ipsi uero dixerunt: 'Quid amplius egemus testimonio? Ipsi enim audiuius de ore suo!'

23 Et surgens omnis multitudo eorum, duxerunt ipsum ad Pilatum. Ceperunt autem accusare ipsum dicentes: 'Hunc inuenimus subuertentem gentem et prohibentem tributa dari Cesari, dicentem seipsum regem esse.' Pilatus autem interrogauit ipsum dicens: 'Tu es rex Iudeorum?' Ipse autem, respondens ei, 'Tu dicis,' inquit. Pilatus autem dixit ad pontifices et ad turbas: 'Nullam causam inuenio in hoc homine.' Ipsi autem inualescebant dicentes quod 'Commouet populum docens per totam Iudeam incipiens a Galilea usque huc!' Pilatus autem audiens 'Galileam' interrogauit si homo Galileus erat et ut cognouit quod de Herodis potestate esset, remisit eum ad Herodem, existentem Hierosolimis his diebus. Herodes autem, uiso Iesu, gauisus est ualde: erat autem cupiens diu uidere ipsum, quoniam audiuerat multa de eo et sperabat signum aliquod ab ipso fieri.

3 lumen] lum B 18 autem] enim *praem. B exp. B1* 26 autem] dixit ad pontifices et ad turbas *add. B*

- sperabat signum aliquod ab ipso fieri. Interrogabat autem eum multis sermonibus; ipse autem nihil respondit ei. Stabant autem pontifices et scribe constanter accusantes eum. Spreuit autem eum Herodes cum exercitibus suis et illud eum induit ueste splendida et remisit ipsum
- 5 Pilato. Facti sunt autem amici Pilatus et Herodes in ea die adinuicem; preexistebant autem inimici inuicem. Pilatus autem, conuocatis pontificibus et magistratibus et populo, dixit ad eos: ‘Obtulistis mihi hominem hunc quasi auertentem populum, et ecce ego coram uobis percontatus nullam causam inuenio in homine isto ex his in quibus eum
- 10 accusatis, sed neque Herodes: remisi enim uos ad eum. Et ecce nihil dignum morte est actum ab eo. Emendatum ergo dimittam.’ Necesse autem habebat dimittere eis secundum festiuitatem unum. Exclamauit autem simul uniuersa turba dicens: ‘Tolle hunc et dimitte nobis Barabam!’, qui erat propter seditionem quandam factam in ciuitate et
- 15 homicidium missus in carcerem. Iterum ergo Pilatus acclamauit uolens dimittere Iesum, ipsi autem succlamauerunt dicentes: ‘Crucifige eum!’ Ipse autem tertio dixit ad eos: ‘Quid enim mali fecit iste? Nullam causam mortis inuenio in eo; emendatum igitur eum dimittam.’ Ipsi uero instabant uocibus magnis postulantes ut ipse crucifigeretur, et
- 20 inualescebant uoces eorum et pontificum. Pilatus autem adiudicauit fieri petitionem ipsorum: dimisit autem ipsis eum qui propter seditionem et homicidium missus fuerat in carcerem, quem petebant; Iesum uero tradidit uoluntati eorum. Et cum inducerent eum, apprehenderunt Simonem quendam Cirenensem uenientem de uilla et imposuerunt ei
- 25 crucem ut portaret post Iesum. Sequebatur autem eum magna multitudo populi et mulierum, que plangebant et lamentabantur eum. Conuersus uero ad eas Iesus dixit: ‘Filie Hierusalem, ne flete super me, sed super uos ipsas flete et super filios uestros, quoniam ecce uenient dies in quibus dicent: “Beate steriles et uteri qui non genuerunt, et ubera que
- 30 non lactauerunt!” Tunc incipient dicere montibus: “Cadite super nos!”, et collibus: “Cooperite nos!”, qui si in uiridi ligno hec faciunt, in sicco quid fiet?” Ducebantur autem et alii duo cum eo nequam ut interficerentur. Et postquam uenerunt ad locum qui dicitur Caluarie, ibi crucifixerunt eum, et nequam unum a dextris, et unum a sinistris. Iesus autem dicebat:

B86r

A54r

32 et...33 uenerunt] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

6 preexistebant] -t- *i. r.* A2 11 Emendatum] eum *add.* B 12 dimittere] *om.* B 25 ut portaret] *ex* portare *corr.* A2 32 et...33 uenerunt] *om.* B

B86v 'Pater, dimitte eis, quia nesciunt quid faciant.' Diuidentes autem
 uestimenta sua miserunt sortem. Et stabat populus intuens. Deridebant
 autem magistratus cum ipsis dicentes: 'Alios saluauit; seipsum salute, si
 hic est Christus Dei electus!' Illudebant autem ei et milites accedentes, et
 acetum offerentes ei dicentes: 'Si tu es rex Iudeorum, salua teipsum!' Erat 5
 autem titulus scriptus super eum, litteris Grecis, Latinis et Hebreis: 'Hic
 est rex Iudeorum.' Vnus autem eorum qui pendebant latronum
 blasphemabat ipsum dicens: 'Si tu es Christus, salua teipsum et nos!' Respondens
 autem alter increpabat ipsum dicens: 'Neque times tu Deum, quoniam in eadem
 damnatione es? Et nos quidem iuste; digna 10
 enim factis recepimus! Hic uero nihil mali perpetravit.' Et dicebat ad
 Iesum: 'Memento mei, domine, cum ueneris in regnum tuum.' Et dixit ei
 Iesus: 'Amen dico tibi: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.' Erat autem quasi
 hora sexta, et tenebre facte sunt in uniuersam terram usque ad horam
 nonam, et obscuratus est sol, et uelum templi scissum est in medium. Et 15
 clamans uoce magna Iesus ait: 'Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum
 meum'; et hec dicens expirauit. Videns autem centurio quod factum erat,
 glorificauit Deum dicens: 'Vere hic homo iustus erat!' Et omnes turbe
 eorum qui simul erant ad hoc spectaculum, uidentes que facta erant et
 A54v percutientes pectora sua reuertebantur. Stabant autem omnes noti eius a 20
 longe et mulieres que secute erant eum a Galilea uidentes hec. Et ecce uir
 nomine Ioseph, consultor existens, uir bonus et iustus – hic non
 consenserat consilio et operationi eorum – et erat a Barimathia ciuitate
 Iudeorum, qui expectabat regnum Dei, hic accessit ad Pilatum et petiit
 corpus Iesu et depositum inuoluit ipsum in sindone et posuit id in 25
 monumento exciso, ubi nullus positus fuerat. Et dies erat Parasceue,
 sabbatum illucescebat. Subsecute autem mulieres que cum ipso uenerant
 de Galilea, uiderunt monumentum, et quemadmodum positum erat
 corpus eius; reuerse autem parauerunt aromata et unguenta et quieuerunt
 B87r quidem sabato secundum mandatum. 30

24 Vna autem sabatorum, profundo diluculo, uenerunt ad
 monumentum, portantes que parauerant aromata et quidam
 cum eis. Inuenerunt autem lapidem reuolutum a monumento
 et ingresse non inuenerunt corpus domini Iesu. Et factum est, dum ipse
 de hoc ambigerent, et ecce duo uiri astiterunt ad eas in uestimentis 35
 fulgentibus. Cum timerent autem et declinarent uultum in terram,

4 ei] magistratus *praem.* B *exp.* B1 5 offerentes] *ex afferentes corr.* B1 23 a] *ex ab corr.* B1

Cum timerent autem et declinarent uultum in terram, dixerunt ad ipsas: 'Quid queritis uiuentem cum mortuis? Non est hic, sed surrexit. Mementote qualiter locutus est uobis, dum adhuc esset in Galilea, dicens quod oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere. Et recordate sunt uerborum eius et reuerse a monumento nuntiauerunt hec undecim et reliquis omnibus. Erant autem Maria Magdalena et Ioanna et Maria Iacobi; et cetera cum ipsis que dicebant hec ad apostolos. Et uisa sunt coram eis quasi deliramenta uerba ipsarum, et non credebant eis. Petrus autem surgens cucurrit ad monumentum et procumbens uidit lintamina posita sola; et abiit secum admirans quod factum fuerat. Et ecce duo ex ipsis ibant ea die in castellum distans per sexaginta stadia ab Hierusalem, cui nomen Emaus, et ipsi loquebantur adinuicem de his omnibus que acciderant. Et factum est, dum hi loquerentur et secum quererent, et ipse Iesus appropinquans ibat cum eis; oculi autem eorum tenebantur, ne eum cognoscerent. Dixit autem ad eos: 'Qui sunt sermones isti, quos confertis adinuicem ambulantes et estis tristes?' Respondens autem unus cui nomen Cleophas, dixit ad eum: 'Tu solus peregrinus es in Hierusalem et non cognouisti que facta sunt in ea his diebus?' Et dixit eis: 'Que?' Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: 'De Iesu Nazareno, qui fuit uir propheta, potens opere et sermone coram Deo et omni populo, et quomodo tradiderunt eum pontifices et magistratus nostri in damnationem mortis, et crucifixerunt eum. Nos autem sperabamus quod ipse redempturus erat Israel, sed cum his omnibus hodie tertia dies agitur ex quo hec facta sunt. Sed et mulieres quedam ex nostris terruerunt nos, que ante lucem fuerant ad monumentum et, non inuento corpore eius, uenerunt dicentes se etiam uisionem angelorum uidisse, qui dicunt eum uiuere. Et abierunt quidam ex nostris ad monumentum et ita inuenerunt sicut et mulieres dixerunt; ipsum autem non uiderunt.' Et ipse dixit ad eos: 'O stulti et tardi corde ad credendum in omnibus que locuti sunt prophete! Nonne hec oportuit pati Christum et intrare in gloriam suam?' Et incipiens a Moyse et omnibus prophetis interpretabatur eis in omnibus scripturis que de ipso erant. Et appropinquauerunt castello quo ibant, et ipse finxit longius ire. Et coegerunt ipsum dicentes: 'Mane nobiscum, quoniam aduesperascit et inclinata est dies.' Et intrauit, ut maneret cum eis. Et factum est, dum

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A55r

9 eis] ipsis *praem.* B *exp.* B1 21 sermone] *ex* sermone *corr.* A1 22 pontifices] potifices B
29 ipsum] Iesum B

ipse discumberet cum ipsis, accepit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit
 eis. Ipsorum autem oculi aperti sunt et cognouerunt eum; et ipse euauit
 ab eis. Et dixerunt adinuicem: 'Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis,
 dum loqueretur nobis in uia et dum aperiret nobis scripturas? Et
 surgentes eadem hora regressi sunt in Hierusalem et inuenerunt 5
 congregatos undecim et qui cum ipsis erant, dicentes quod 'Surrexit
 dominus uere et apparuit Simoni.' Et ipsi narrabant quecumque in uia, et
 ut innotuit eis in fractione panis. Dum autem ipsi hec loquerentur, Iesus
 ipse stetit in medio eorum et ait eis: 'Pax uobis!' Conturbati uero et
 conterriti effecti putabant se spiritum uidere. Et dixit eis: 'Quid turbati 10
 estis, et quare cogitationes ascendunt in cordibus uestris? Videte manus
 meas et pedes meos, quod ego ipse sum. Palpate et uidete, quod spiritus
 carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.' Et cum hoc dixisset,
 ostendit eis manus et pedes. Adhuc autem ipsis non credentibus et pre
 gaudio admirantibus, dixit eis: 'Habetis hic aliquod esculentum?' Ipsi 15
 autem attulerunt ei partem piscis assi et de fauo mellis. Et accipiens
 coram eis manducauit. Dixit autem eis: 'Hec sunt uerba que locutus sum
 ad uos, cum adhuc essem uobiscum, quod oportet impleri omnia que
 scripta sunt in lege Moysi et prophetis et psalmis de me.' Tunc aperuit eis
 mentem ut intelligerent scripturas. Et dixit eis quod 'Sic scriptum est et 20
 sic oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertia die, et predicare
 in nomine eius penitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes,
 incipientibus ab Hierosolima. Vos autem testes estis horum. Et ecce ego
 mitto promissum patris mei in uos; uos autem sedete in ciuitate
 Hierusalem, quoadusque induamini uirtute ex alto.' Eduxit autem eos 25
 foras usque in Bethaniam et, eleuatis manibus suis, benedixit eis. Et
 factum est, dum ipse eis benediceret, recessit ab eis et ferebatur in celum.
 Et ipsi adorantes eum regressi sunt in Hierusalem cum gaudio magno et
 erant semper in templo laudantes et benedicentes Deum.

B88r

John

- 1 In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat
uerbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta
sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est. In ipso uita erat,
5 et uita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebre eum non
comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a Deo; nomen ei erat Ioannes. Hic
uenit in testimonium, ut testificaretur de lumine, ut omnes crederent per
ipsum. Non erat ille lux, sed ut testificaretur de lumine. Erat lux uera,
que illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum. In mundo erat,
10 et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognouit. In
propria uenit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quicumque autem receperunt
eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius,
qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri,
sed ex Deo nati sunt. Et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis, et
15 uidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre, plenum gratie et
ueritatis. Ioannes testificatur de ipso et clamauit dicens: ‘Hic erat, quem
dixi: Qui post me uenturus est, ante me factus est, quia prior me erat.’ Et
ex plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus, et gratiam pro gratia; quoniam
lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est.
20 Deum nemo uidit umquam; unigenitus filius, qui est in sinu patris, ille
enarrauit. Et hoc est testimonium Ioannis, quando miserunt Iudei a
Hierosolimis sacerdotes et Leuitas, ut interrogarent eum: ‘Tu quis es?’ Et
confessus est et non negauit; et confessus est quod ‘Non sum ego
Christus.’ Et interrogauerunt eum: ‘Quid ergo? Helias es tu?’ Et dixit:
25 ‘Non sum.’ ‘Propheta es tu?’ Et respondit: ‘Non.’ Dixerunt ergo: ‘Quis
es? Vt responsum demus his qui nos miserunt. Quid dicis de teipso?’ Ait:
‘Ego uox clamantis in deserto: “Dirigite uiam domini”, sicut dixit Esaias
propheta.’ Et qui missi fuerant, erant ex phariseis; et interrogauerunt eum
et dixerunt ei: ‘Quid ergo baptizas, si tu non es Christus neque Helias
30 neque propheta?’ Respondit ei Ioannes dicens: ‘Ego baptizo in aqua;
medius autem uestrum stetit, quem uos nescitis. Ipse est qui post me
uenturus est qui ante factus est, cuius ego non sum dignus ut soluam
corrigiam calciamenti sui.’ Hec in Bethania facta sunt trans Iordanem,
ubi erat Ioannes baptizans. Altera die uidet Ioannes Iesum uenientem ad
35 se et dicit: ‘Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi. Hic est de quo dixi:

A55v

B88v

B89r

A56r

Post me uenit uir, qui ante me factus est, quia prior me erat. Et ego nesciebam eum, sed ut manifestetur in Israel, ideo ueni ego in aqua baptizans.' Et testificatus est Ioannes dicens quod 'Vidi spiritum descendentem sicut columbam de celo, et manentem super eum; et ego nesciebam ipsum, sed qui misit me ad baptizandum in aqua, ille mihi dixit: "Super quem uideris spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto." Et ego uidi et testificatus sum quod hic est filius Dei.' Altera die iterum stabat Ioannes et ex discipulis suis duo, et respiciens Iesum ambulans dicit: 'Ecce agnus Dei.' Et audierunt ipsum duo discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt Iesum. Conuersus autem Iesus et uidens eos sequentes dicit eis: 'Quid queritis?' Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: 'Rabi – quod dicitur interpretatum 'magister' – ubi habitas?' Dicit eis: 'Venite et uidete.' Venerunt et uiderunt ubi maneret, et manserunt apud eum die illa; hora erat quasi decima. Erat autem Andreas, frater Simonis Petri, unus ex duobus qui audierant a Ioanne et secuti fuerant eum. Inuenit hic primum fratrem proprium Simonem et dicit ei: 'Inuenimus Messiam', quod est interpretatum 'Christus'; et duxit eum ad Iesum. Intuitus autem eum Iesus dixit: 'Tu es Simon filius Iona; tu uocaberis Cephas', quod interpretatur 'Petrus'. In crastinum autem uoluit exire in Galileam et inuenit Philippum. Et dicit ei Iesus: 'Sequere me.' Erat autem Philippus a Bethsaida, de ciuitate Andree et Petri. Inuenit Philippus Nathanael et dicit ei: 'Quem scripsit Moyses in lege et prophete, inuenimus, Iesum filium Ioseph a Nazareth.' Et dixit ei Nathanael: 'A Nazareth potest aliquod bonum esse?' Dicit ei Philippus: 'Veni et uide.' Vidit Iesus Nathanael uenientem ad ipsum et dicit de eo: 'Ecce uere Israelita, in quo dolus non est.' Dicit ei Nathanael: 'Vnde me nosti?' Respondit Iesus et dicit ei: 'Antequam Philippus te uocaret, cum esses sub ficu, uidi te.' Respondit Nathanael et dicit ei: 'rabi, tu es filius Dei, tu es rex Israel!' Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: 'Quod dixi tibi: "Vidi te sub ficu", credis? Maius his uidebis.' Et ait ei: 'Amen, amen dico uobis: Amodo uidebitis celum apertum et angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes super filium hominis.'

2 manifestetur] manifestaretur B 4 de] descendente[m] *praem. B exp. B1* 5 sed] *ex se corr. A2* | ad baptizandum] *ex baptizare corr. A2* 15 a] ab B 17 interpretatum] *ex interpretatum corr. B1* 22 Quem] *que AB*

2 Et die tertio nuptie facte sunt in Cana Galilee, et erat mater Iesu ibi;
uocatus est autem et Iesus et discipuli sui ad nuptias. Et deficiente
uino, dicit mater Iesu ad ipsum: ‘Vinum non habent.’ Dicit ei Iesus:
‘Quid mihi et tibi, mulier? Nondum uenit hora mea.’ Dicit mater eius
5 ministris: ‘Quodcumque dixerit uobis, facite.’ Erant autem ibi hydie
lapidee sex posite secundum purificationem Iudeorum, capientes singule
metretas duas uel tres. Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Implete hydrias aqua.’ Et
impleuerunt eas usque ad summum. Et dicit eis: ‘Haurite nunc et ferte
architriclino.’ Et tulerunt; ut autem gustauit architriclinus aquam uinum
10 factam et non sciebat unde esset, ministri autem sciebant qui hauserant
aquam, uocat sponsum architriclinus et dicit ei: ‘Omnis homo primum
bonum uinum ponit et, cum inebriati fuerint, tunc id quod minus est; tu
seruasti bonum uinum usque adhuc.’ Hoc initium signorum fecit Iesus in
Cana Galilee et manifestauit gloriam suam, et crediderunt in eum
15 discipuli sui. Post hec descendit Capharnaum ipse et mater eius et fratres
sui et discipuli eius, et ibi manserunt non multis diebus. Et prope erat
Pascha Iudeorum, et ascendit Iesus Hierosolimam. Et inuenit in templo
uendentes boues et oues et columbas, et nummularios sedentes; et, cum
fecisset flagellum de funiculis, eiecit de templo et oues et boues, et
20 nummulariorum effudit nummum et mensas euertit; et his qui columbas
uendebant dixit: ‘Auferte hinc ista! Et ne facite domum patris mei
domum negotiationis.’ Recordati sunt autem discipuli sui quod scriptum
est: *Zelus domus tue comedit me*. Responderunt igitur Iudei et dixerunt ei:
‘Quod signum ostendis nobis, quod hec facis?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit
25 eis: ‘Soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo ipsum.’ Dixerunt
ergo Iudei: ‘Quadraginta et sex annos edificatum est templum hoc, et tu
in tribus diebus excitabis ipsum?’ Ille autem dicebat de templo corporis
sui. Cum ergo resurrexisset a mortuis, recordati sunt discipuli sui quod
hoc dicebat et crediderunt scripture et sermoni quem dixit Iesus. Cum
30 autem esset Hierosolimis in Pascha, in festiuitate, multi crediderunt in
nomine suo, uidentes signa eius que faciebat. Ipse autem Iesus non
credebat semetipsum eis, eo quod ipse nosset omnes, et quia opus ei non
erat, ut quis testificaretur de homine; ipse autem sciebat quis esset in
homine.

A56v

B90r

B90v

8 architriclino] architriclino AB ex architriclino corr. B1 9 architriclinus] architriclino AB

11 architriclinus] architriclino AB | ei] ex eis corr. B1 29 crediderunt] ex crediderunt corr. B1

3 Erat autem homo ex phariseis, nomine Nicodemus, princeps Iudeorum; hic uenit ad ipsum nocte et dixit ei: ‘Rabi, scimus quod a Deo uenisti magister: nemo enim potest hec signa facere que tu facis, nisi fuerit Deus cum eo.’ Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: ‘Amen, amen dico tibi: ‘Nisi quis natus fuerit desuper, non potest uidere regnum Dei.’ 5
A57r Dicit ad eum Nicodemus: ‘Quomodo potest homo nasci, senex existens? Numquid potest in uentrem matris sue iterato introire et nasci?’ Respondit Iesus: ‘Nisi quis natus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non potest intrare in regnum Dei. Quod natum est ex carne, caro est, et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est. Ne mireris quod dixi tibi: Oportet uos 10 nasci denuo. Spiritus ubi uult spirat, et uocem eius audis, sed nescis unde uenerit et quo iuerit; sic est omnis qui natus est ex spiritu.’ Respondit Nicodemus et dixit ei: ‘Quomodo possunt hec fieri?’ Respondit ei Iesus et dixit ei: ‘Tu es magister in Israel et hec ignoras? Amen, amen dico tibi quod id quod scimus loquimur et quod uidimus testificamur, et 15 testimonium nostrum non accipitis. Si terrena dixi uobis, et non creditis, quomodo si dixero uobis celestia credetis? Et nemo ascendit in celum, nisi qui de celo descendit, Filius hominis existens in celo. Et sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto, sic exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in ipsum non pereat, sed habeat uitam 20 eternam. Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat, sed habeat uitam eternam. Non enim misit Deus filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum, sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum. Qui credit in eum, non iudicatur; qui autem non credit, iam iudicatus est, quia non credit in nomine unigeniti filii Dei. Hoc autem est iudicium, quod lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem; erant enim opera eorum praua. Omnis enim qui praua agit, odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera sua; qui autem facit ueritatem, uenit ad lucem, ut manifestentur opera sua, quia in Deo sunt facta. Post hec uenit Iesus et 30 discipuli sui in Iudeam terram, et ibi commorabatur cum eis et baptizabat. Erat autem et Ioannes baptizans in Enon iuxta Salim, quia aque multe erant ibi, et ueniebant et baptizabantur; nondum enim missus fuerat Ioannes in carcerem. Facta est autem questio ex discipulis Ioannis cum Iudeis de purificatione. Et uenerunt ad Ioannem et dixerunt ei: 35

4 tibi] uobis *praem. B exp. B1* 12 iuerit] uenerit *praem. B exp. B1* 13 Quomodo... 14 ei] om. B 15 id] hic B | uidimus] nisi *praem. B exp. B1*

‘Rabi, qui erat tecum trans Iordanem, cui tu testificatus es, ecce hic baptizat et omnes ueniunt ad eum!’ Respondit Ioannes et dixit: ‘Non potest homo accipere quicquam, nisi fuerit ei datum de celo. Ipsi uos testificamini quod dixerim: Non sum ego Christus, sed quod missus sum
 5 ante illum. Qui habet sponsam sponsus est; amicus autem sponsi, qui stat et audit eum, gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi. Hoc igitur gaudium meum impletum est. Illud oportet crescere, me autem minui.’ Qui desursum uenit, super omnes est; existens autem de terra, de terra est et de terra loquitur. Qui de celo uenit, super omnes est; et quod uidit et
 10 audiuit, hoc testificatur, et testimonium suum nemo accipit. Qui autem acceperit eius testimonium, signauit quod uerax est. Quem enim misit Deus, uerba Dei loquitur, non enim ex mensura dat Deus spiritum. Pater diligit filium et omnia dedit in manu eius. Qui credit in filium habet uitam eternam; qui autem incredulus est filio, non uidebit uitam, sed ira
 15 Dei manet super eum.

A57v

B91v

4 Vt ergo cognouit dominus quod audierant pharisei quod Iesus plures discipulos facit et baptizat quam Ioannes, – quamuis Iesus ipse non baptizaret sed discipuli sui – dimisit Iudeam et abiit in Galileam. Oportebat autem ipsum transire per Samariam. Venit Iesus in
 20 ciuitatem Samarie, que dicitur Sychar, iuxta predium quod dedit Iacobo filio suo Ioseph; erat autem ibi fons Iacob. Iesus igitur fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic super fontem; hora autem erat quasi sexta. Venit mulier de Samaria ut hauriret aquam. Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Da mihi ad bibendum’; discipuli enim eius abierant in ciuitatem ut esculenta emerent. Dicit ergo
 25 ei mulier Samaritana: ‘Quomodo tu Iudeus cum sis, bibere a me postulas, que sum mulier Samaritana?’ Non enim coutuntur Iudei Samaritanis. Respondit Iesus et ait ei: ‘Si scires donum Dei et quis est qui dicit tibi: “Da mihi ad bibendum”, tu utique petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam.’ Dicit ei mulier: ‘Domine, et instrumentum hauriendi non habes,
 30 et puteus altus est; unde ergo habes aquam uiuam? Numquid tu maior es patre nostro Iacob, qui dedit nobis puteum, et ipse bibit ex eo et filii eius et pecora sua?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: ‘Omnis qui bibit ex hac aqua, sitiet iterum; qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei, non sitiet in seculum, sed aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aque salientis in

B92r

5 sponsam] sponsum AB 16 Vt] Et B 23 ad bibendum] ex bibere corr. A2
 27 donum] domum B | ad...28 bibendum] ex bibere corr. A2 32 aqua...33 ex] om. B

uitam eternam.’ Dicit ad eum mulier: ‘Domine, da mihi hanc aquam, ut non sitiam, neque ueniam huc ad hauriendum.’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Vade, uoca uirum tuum et ueni huc.’ Respondit mulier et dixit: ‘Non habeo uirum.’ Dixit ei Iesus: ‘Bene dixisti quod non habes uirum; quinque enim habuisti, et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir. Hoc uerum dixisti.’ Dicit ei mulier: ‘Domine, uideo quod propheta es tu. Patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt, et uos dicitis quod Hierosolimis est locus ubi adorare oportet.’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Mulier, crede mihi quod ueniet hora quando neque in monte hoc neque in Hierosolimis adorabitis patrem. Vos adoratis quod nescitis: nos adoramus quod scimus, quia salus ex Iudeis est. Sed uenit hora, et nunc est, quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate; etenim pater tales querit qui adorent eum Spiritus est Deus, et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare.’ Dicit ei mulier: ‘Scio quod Messias uenit, qui dicitur Christus; cum uenerit ille, annuntiabit nobis omnia.’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Ego sum qui loquor tecum.’ Et tunc uenerunt discipuli eius et mirabantur quod cum muliere loqueretur; nemo tamen dixit: ‘Quid queris aut quid loqueris cum ea?’ Reliquit ergo hydriam suam mulier et abiit in ciuitatem et dicit hominibus: ‘Venite, uidete hominem qui dixit mihi omnia quecumque feci; numquid hic est Christus?’ Exiuerunt de ciuitate et iuerunt ad ipsum. Interea interrogabant eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Rabi, manduca.’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Ego cibum habeo manducare quem uos nescitis.’ Dicebant ergo discipuli adinuicem: ‘Numquid aliquis attulit ei ad manducandum?’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui me misit, et perficiam opus eius. Nonne uos dicitis quod quartus mensis est et messis uenit? Ecce dico uobis: Eleuate oculos uestros et respicite regiones quod albe sunt iam ad messem! Et qui metit, mercedem accipit et congregat fructum in uitam eternam, ut et qui seminat, simul gaudeat et qui metit. In hoc enim sermo uerax, quod alius est qui seminat et alius qui metit. Ego misi uos ad metendum quod uos non seminastis; alii laborauerunt, et uos in laborem eorum introistis.’ Ex ciuitate autem illa multi Samaritanorum in eum crediderunt propter sermonem mulieris testificantis quod ‘Dixit mihi omnia quecumque feci!’ Vt ergo uenerunt ad eum Samaritani, rogauerunt ipsum ut apud eos

2 ad hauriendum] *ex haurire corr. A2* 18 Reliquit] Reliquid *B* 23 aliquis] *ex aliquid corr. B1* | ad...24 manducandum] *ex manducare corr. A2* 29 quod...30 qui¹] *i. r. A2*
30 ad metendum] *ex metere corr. A2*

A58r

B92v

maneret; et mansit ibi duos dies. Et multo plures crediderunt propter sermonem eius; et multi dicebant quod ‘Non amplius propter loquelam tuam credimus; ipsi enim audiuius et scimus quod hic est uere saluator mundi Christus!’ Post duos autem dies exiit inde et abiit in Galileam; ipse
 5 enim Iesus testificatus est quod propheta in propria patria honorem non habet. Quando ergo uenit in Galileam, susceperunt eum Galilei, conspicati omnia que fecerat Hierosolimis in festiuitate; etenim ipsi ad festiuitatem uenerant. Venit ergo Iesus iterum in Cana Galilee, ubi aquam uinum effecerat. Et erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur
 10 Capharnaum; hic cum audisset quod Iesus ueniret de Iudea in Galileam, abiit ad eum et rogauit ipsum ut descenderet et sanaret filium suum; nam moriturus erat. Dixit ergo Iesus ad eum: ‘Nisi signa et prodigia uideritis, non creditis.’ Dicit ad eum regulus: ‘Domine, descende priusquam moriatur puer meus.’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Vade, filius tuus uiuit.’ Et credidit
 15 homo sermoni quem dixit ei Iesus, et ibat. Iam autem eo descendente, serui sui occurrerunt ei et annuntiauerunt dicentes quod puer suus uiueret. Interrogabat autem ab eis horam in qua melius habuerat. Et dixerunt ei quod ‘Huiusmodi hora septima dimisit eum febris.’ Cognouit ergo pater quod in illa hora sanatus fuerat in qua dixerat ei Iesus quod ‘Filius tuus uiuit’, et credidit ipse et domus eius tota. Hoc iterum secundum
 20 signum fecit Iesus profectus de Iudea in Galileam.

A58v B93r

5 Post hec erat festiuitas Iudeorum, et ascendit Hierosolimam Iesus. Est autem Hierosolimis probatica piscina, que dicitur Hebraice
 Bethsaida, quinque porticus habens. In his iacebat multitudo magna
 25 infirmorum, cecorum, claudorum, aridorum, expectantium aque motum. Angelus enim oportuno tempore descendebat in piscinam et turbabat aquam. Qui igitur primus descendebat post turbationem aque, sanus fiebat a quacumque detinebatur egritudine. Erat autem ibi homo quidam triginta et octo annos habens in infirmitate. Hunc cum uidisset Iesus
 30 iacentem, et cognouisset quod iam multum tempus haberet, dicit ei: ‘Vis sanus fieri?’ Respondit ei infirmus: ‘Domine, hominem non habeo ut, cum turbata fuerit aqua, mittat me in piscinam; dum autem ego uenio, alius ante me descendit.’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Surge, tolle grabatum tuum et ambula.’ Et statim sanus factus est homo, et sustulit grabatum suum et

34 et¹ ... 133,1 sabatum] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

9 regulus] *om. B* 24 habens] *habent AB* 34 et¹ ... 133,1 sabatum] *om. B*

ambulabat. Erat autem sabatum in illa die. Dicebant ergo Iudei ei qui
 curatus fuerat: 'Sabatum est, non licet tibi tollere grabatum.' Respondit
 eis: 'Qui me sanum fecit, ille mihi dixit: "Tolle grabatum tuum et
 ambula."' Qui autem sanatus fuerat nesciebat quis esset; Iesus autem
 B93v declinauit a turba que erat in loco. Post hec inuenit Iesus eum qui erat in 5
 templo et dixit ipsi: 'Ecce sanus factus es; ne amplius pecces, ne deterius
 tibi aliquid fiat.' Abiit homo et annuntiauit Iudeis quod Iesus est qui fecit
 eum sanum. Et propter hoc persequabantur Iudei Iesum, et querebant
 eum interficere, quia hec faciebat in sabato. Iesus autem respondit eis:
 'Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor.' Propterea ergo magis 10
 querebant eum Iudei interficere, quia non solum soluebat sabatum, sed et
 patrem proprium dicebat, Deum equalem seipsum faciens Deo.
 Respondit ergo Iesus et dixit eis: 'Amen, amen dico uobis: Non potest
 filius a seipso facere quicquam, nisi qui uiderit patrem facientem;
 quicumque enim ille fecerit, hec et filius similiter faciet. Pater enim amat 15
 filium et omnia ostendit ei que ipse facit, et maiora his demonstrabit ei
 opera, ut uos admiremini. Sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat,
 A59r sic et filius quos uult uiuificat. Neque enim pater iudicat quemquam, sed
 omne iudicium dedit filio, ut omnes honorent filium, sicut honorant
 patrem. Qui non honorat filium, non honorat patrem, qui misit eum. 20
 Amen, amen dico uobis quod qui sermonem meum audit et credit ei qui
 me misit, habet uitam eternam et in iudicium non uenit, sed transiit a
 morte in uitam. Amen, amen dico uobis quod uenit hora, et nunc est,
 quando mortui audient uocem filii hominis et qui audierint uiuent. Sicut
 enim pater habet uitam in semetipso, sic dedit filio habere uitam in 25
 semetipso; et potestatem dedit ei ut iudicium faceret, quia filius hominis
 est. Ne miremini hoc, quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis
 sunt, audient uocem suam et procedent, qui bona fecerunt in
 resurrectionem uite, qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii. Non
 B94r possum ego facere quicquam a meipso; sicut audio, iudico, et iudicium 30
 meum iustum est, quia non quero uoluntatem meam, sed uoluntatem
 eius qui misit me, patris. Si enim ego testificor de meipso, testimonium
 meum non est uerum; alius est qui testificatur de me, et scio quod uerum

4 Iesus] Iessus B 6 ipsi] ex eipsi corr. B1 9 sabato] sabbatu B | respondit] qui fecit eum
 sanum *praem.* B *exp.* B1 10 Propterea] ex propter corr. *fort.* A1 26 ut...faceret] ex
 iudicium facere corr. A2 27 hora] ex hoora corr. B1 30 facere...meipso] a meipso facere
 quicquam AB *tr. fort.* A2 32 enim] *om.* B

est testimonium quod testificatur de me. Vos misistis ad Ioannem, et testificatus est ueritati; ego autem non ab homine testimonium accipio, sed hec dico ut uos saluemini. Ille erat lucerna accensa et euidens, uos autem uoluistis exultare ad horam in luce eius. Ego autem habeo
 5 testimonium maius Ioanne; opera enim que dedit mihi pater ut perficiam ea, ipsa opera que ego facio, testificantur de me quia pater me misit; et qui misit me pater, ipse testificatus est de me. Neque uocem eius audistis umquam, neque speciem suam uidistis, et uerbum eius non habetis in uobis manens, quia quem misit ille huic uos non creditis. Scrutamini
 10 scripturas, ubi uos putatis uitam eternam habere; et illa sunt que testificantur de me. Et non uultis uenire ad me ut uitam eternam habeatis. Gloriam ab hominibus non accipio, sed noui uos, quod non dilectionem habetis in uobis. Ego ueni in nomine patris mei, et non accipitis me; si alius ueniret in nomine proprio, illum accipiatis.
 15 Quomodo potestis uos credere, gloriam ab inuicem recipientes, et gloriam que a solo Deo est non querentes? Ne putetis quod ego accusabo uos apud patrem; est qui accusat uos: Moyses, in quo uos speratis. Si enim crederetis Moysi, crederetis utique mihi; de me enim ille scripsit. Si autem eius litteris non credetis, quomodo uerbis meis
 20 credetis?’

6 Post hec abiit Iesus trans mare Galilee, quod est Tyberiadis. Et sequebatur eum turba multa, quoniam uidebant signa eius que faciebat super egrotantibus. Abiit autem in montem Iesus et ibi
 25 sedebat cum discipulis suis. Erat autem prope Pascha, festiuitas Iudeorum. Cum ergo eleuasset Iesus oculos et uidisset quod turba multa uenerat ad eum, dicit ad Philippum: ‘Vnde ememus panes ut manducent hi?’ Hoc autem dicebat tentans eum; ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus. Respondit ei Philippus: ‘Ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis ut unusquisque eorum modicum quid accipiat!’ Dicit ei
 30 unus ex discipulis suis, Andreas frater Simonis Petri: ‘Est puerulus unus hic, qui habet quinque panes ordeaceos et duos pisciculos; sed hec quid sunt inter tantos?’ Dixit uero Iesus: ‘Facite homines discumbere.’ Erat autem herba multa in loco. Discubuerunt ergo uiri quasi numero quinque milia. Accepit ergo Iesus panes et, cum gratias egisset, dedit discipulis;
 35 discipuli autem discumbentibus. Similiter ex piscibus quantum uolebant.

B94v

A59v

18 crederetis] crederitis B 31 quid] qui B 32 herba] i. r. A2 33 multa] -a i. r. A2
 34 discipuli... 135,1 piscibus] om. B

autem discumbentibus. Similiter ex piscibus quantum uolebant. Vt autem impleti sunt, dicit discipulis suis: ‘Colligite que superauerunt fragmenta, ne pereant.’ Collegerunt ergo et impleuerunt duodecim cophinos fragmentorum ex quinque panibus ordeaceis que superfuerant his qui manducauerant. Homines ergo, conspicati quod fecisset signum Iesus, 5 dicebant quod ‘Hic est uere propheta, qui uenturus est in mundum!’ Iesus ergo, cum cognouisset quod uenturi essent, ut raperent eum et facerent ipsum regem, secessit in montem ipse solus. Vt autem serum factum esset, descenderunt discipuli sui ad mare et, cum ascendisset nauim, uenerunt trans mare in Capharnaum. Et tenebre iam facte erant, 10 et non uenerat ad eos Iesus. Mare autem, uento magno flante, surgebat. Cum ergo remigassent quasi stadia uiginti quinque aut triginta, uident Iesum ambulans super mare et prope nauim uenientem, et timuerunt. Ipse autem dicit eis: ‘Ego sum, ne terreamini!’ Voluerunt ergo accipere eum in naui, et statim nauis fuit ad terram ad quam ibant. Altera die 15 turba que stabat trans mare uidit quod nauicula alia non erat ibi nisi illa in quam ascenderant discipuli sui, et quod non introisset cum discipulis suis Iesus in nauiculam, sed soli discipuli eius abierant; alie autem uenerunt nauicule a Tiberiade prope locum ubi manducauerant panem, gratias egerunt domino. Cum ergo uidit turba quod Iesus non esset ibi neque 20 discipuli sui, ascenderunt nauiculas et uenerunt Capharnaum querentes Iesum. Et cum inuenissent eum trans mare, dixerunt ei: ‘Rabi, quando huc uenisti?’ Respondit eis Iesus et dixit: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis: Queritis me non quia uideritis signa, sed quia ex panibus manducastis et saturati estis. Operamini non cibum pereuntem, sed cibum manentem in 25 uitam eternam, quem filius hominis dabit uobis; hunc enim pater significauit Deus!’ Dixerunt ergo ad eum: ‘Quid faciemus ut operemur opera Dei?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit eis: ‘Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit ille.’ Dixerunt ergo ei: ‘Quod igitur tu facies signum, ut uideamus et credamus tibi? Quid operaris? Patres nostri manducauerunt 30 manna in deserto, sicut scriptum est: *Panem de celo dedit eis ad manducandum.*’ Dixit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis: Non Moyses dedit uobis panem de celo, sed pater meus dat uobis panem uerum de celo: panis enim uerus est, qui de celo descendit et dat uitam mundo.’

B95r

A60r

1 piscibus] discipulis A 11 magno] om. B 15 naui] ex nauim corr. B1 19 prope] i. r. A2 ubi] om. A ins. A2 21 ascenderunt] ex ascenderant corr. B1 31 ad...32 manducandum] ex manducare corr. A2

Dixerunt ergo ad eum: ‘Domine, semper da nobis hunc panem.’ Dixit autem eis Iesus: ‘Ego sum panis uite. Qui uenit ad me, non esuriet; et qui crediderit in me, non sitiet umquam. Sed dixi uobis quod et uidistis me, et non credidistis. Omne quod dat mihi pater, ad me ueniet, et eum qui

5 uenit ad me non eiciam foras, quia descendi de celo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui me misit. Hec est enim uoluntas eius qui misit me patris, ut omne quod dedit mihi non perdam ex eo, sed resuscitabo eum in ultima die. Hec est autem uoluntas eius qui misit me, ut omnis qui uidet filium et credit in eum habeat uitam eternam; et resuscitabo ego eum in ultima die.’ Murmurabant ergo Iudei de eo quod dixerat: ‘Ego sum panis qui de celo descendi’, et dicebant: ‘Nonne hic est filius Ioseph, cuius nos nouimus patrem et matrem? Quomodo ergo dicit iste quod “De celo descendi”?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit eis: ‘Ne murmuretis <in> inuicem. Nemo potest uenire ad me, nisi

15 pater qui misit me traxerit eum; et ego resuscitabo eum in ultima die. Scriptum est in prophetis: *Et erunt omnes docibiles Dei*. Omnis ergo qui audiuit a patre et didicit, uenit ad me. Non quia patrem uidit quisquam, nisi is qui a Deo, hic uidit patrem. Amen, amen dico uobis: Qui credit in me habet uitam eternam. Ego sum panis uite. Patres uestri manducauerunt manna in deserto et mortui sunt. Hic est panis de celo descendens, ut, si quis de eo ipso manducauerit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis uiuus, qui de celo descendi. Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane, uiuet in eternum; et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est quam ego dabo pro mundi uita.’ Pugnabant ergo Iudei adinuicem dicentes: ‘Quomodo

25 potest hic dare nobis carnem suam ad manducandum?’ Dixit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis: Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis uitam in uobis. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet uitam eternam; et ego resuscitabo eum in ultima die. Caro enim mea uere est cibus, et sanguis meus uere est potus. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum

30 sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Sicut uiuens misit me pater, et ego uiuo propter patrem, et qui manducat me, et ille uiuet propter me. Hic est panis qui de celo descendit, non sicut manducauerunt patres uestri

B95v

A60v

B96r

17 me...18 uidit] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

4 eum] *om. B* 5 faciam] *ex faciat corr. A2* 6 uoluntatem²] uoluntate *B* 7 mihi] *pater add. B* 9 filium] *-m i. r. A1* 14 in] *om. AB* 17 me...18 uidit] *om. B* 25 potest] *post B 29 uere] om. A ins. A2*

manna et mortui sunt; qui manducat me hunc panem, uiuet in eternum.’
 Hec dixit in synagoga docens in Capharnaum. Multi ergo qui audierant
 ex discipulis suis dicebant: ‘Durus est hic sermo! Quis potest ipsum
 audire?’ Sciens autem Iesus in seipso quod murmurarent de hoc discipuli
 sui, dixit eis: ‘Hoc uos scandalizat? Si igitur uideritis filium hominis 5
 ascendentem, ubi erat prius? Spiritus est qui uiuificat, caro non prodest
 quicquam; uerba mea, que ego loquor uobis, spiritus et uita sunt. Sed
 sunt ex uobis quidam qui non credunt.’ Sciebat enim ab initio Iesus, qui
 non essent credentes, et quis traditurus eum esset. Et aiebat: ‘Propter hoc
 dixi uobis quod nemo potest uenire ad me, nisi fuerit datum ei a patre 10
 meo.’ Ex hoc multi discipulorum suorum abiire retro et amplius cum eo
 non ambulabant. Dixit ergo Iesus ad duodecim: ‘Numquid et uos uultis
 abiire?’ Respondit ergo ei Simon Petrus: ‘Domine, ad quem ibimus?
 Verba uite eterne habes; et nos credidimus et cognouimus quod tu es
 Christus, filius Dei uiui. Respondit eis Iesus: ‘Nonne ego uos duodecim 15
 elegi? Et ex uobis unus diabolus est. Dicebat autem de Iuda Simonis
 Scariothis: erat enim hic traditurus eum, cum esset unus ex duodecim.

7 Et ambulabat Iesus in Galileam; non enim uolebat in Iudea
 ambulare, quoniam querebant ipsum Iudei interficere. Erat autem
 prope festiuitas Iudeorum, Scenofegia. Dixerunt ergo ad ipsum 20
 fratres sui: ‘Transi hinc et uade in Iudeam, ut et discipuli tui uideant
 opera tua que facis. Nemo quippe in occulto aliquid facit et queri ipse in
 propatulo esse. Si hoc facis, manifesta teipsum mundo.’ Neque enim
 fratres sui credebant in eum. Dicit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Tempus meum
 nondum adest, tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum. Non potest 25
 mundus odisse uos, me autem odit, quia ego testificor de eo quod opera
 sua praua sunt. Vos ascenditis ad hanc festiuitatem, ego nondum ascendo
 ad festiuitatem istam, quia tempus meum nondum impletum est.’ Cum
 autem hoc dixisset eis, mansit in Galilea. Vt autem ascenderunt fratres
 sui tunc et ipse ascendit ad festiuitatem, non manifeste, sed quasi in 30
 occulto. Iudei ergo querebant eum in festiuitate et dicebant: ‘Vbi est ille?’
 Et murmur multum erat de eo in turba. Alii nempe dicebant quod
 ‘Bonus’, alii aiebant quod ‘Non, sed seducit turbas!’. Nemo tamen
 manifeste loquebatur de eo propter metum Iudeorum. Iam autem
 festiuitate intercedente, ascendit Iesus in templum et docebat. Et 35

14 et¹ ... 15 uiui] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

7 que] *om. A ins. A2* 14 et¹ ... 15 uiui] *om. B* 15 eis] *ei B* 22 facit] *ex fecit corr. B1*

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A61r

- intercedente, ascendit Iesus in templum et docebat. Et mirabantur Iudei dicentes: ‘Quomodo hic litteras scit, cum non didicerit?’ Respondit ergo eis Iesus et dixit: ‘Mea doctrina non est mea, sed eius qui misit me. Si quis uoluerit uoluntatem eius facere, cognoscet ex doctrina utrum ex
- 5 Deo sit, an ego ex meipso loquar. Qui a seipso loquitur, gloriam propriam querit; qui autem querit gloriam eius qui misit ipsum, hic uerax est, et iniustitia in eo non est. Nonne Moyses dedit uobis legem? Et nemo ex uobis facit legem. Quid me queritis interficere?’ Respondit turba et dixit: ‘Demonium habes! Quis te querit interficere?’ Respondit
- 10 Iesus et dixit eis: ‘Vnum opus feci, et omnes admiramini. Propter hoc Moyses dedit uobis circumcisionem – non quia ex Moyse est sed ex patribus – et in sabato circumciditis hominem. Si circumcisionem accipit homo in sabato ut non soluatur lex Moysi, mihi indignamini quod totum
- 15 hominem sanum feci in sabato? Ne iudicetis secundum speciem, sed iustum iudicium iudicate.’ Dicebant igitur quidam ex Hierosolimitanis: ‘Nonne hic est quem querunt interficere? Et ecce palam loquitur, et nihil ei dicunt. Nunc aliquando cognouerunt uere principes quod hic est uere Christus? Sed scimus hunc unde sit, Christus autem quando uenerit, nemo cognoscet unde sit.’ Clamabat ergo Iesus in templo docens et
- 20 dicens: ‘Et me scitis et scitis unde sum. Et a meipso non ueni, sed est uerax qui me misit, quem uos nescitis. Ego scio ipsum, quia ab eo sum, et si dixero quod nescio eum, ero similis uobis, mendax. Et ego scio eum, quia ab ipso sum, et ille me misit.’ Querebant ergo eum apprehendere, et nemo immisit in eum manum, quia nondum uenit hora eius. Multi autem de turba crediderunt in eum et dicebant quod ‘Cum
- 25 Christus uenerit, numquid plura signa faciet his que hic fecerat?’ Audierunt pharisei turbam hec de eo murmurantem et miserunt pharisei et principes ministros, ut apprehenderent ipsum. Dixit ergo Iesus: ‘Adhuc modicum tempus uobiscum sum et uado ad eum qui misit me.
- 30 Queretis me et non inuenietis, et ubi sum ego uos non potestis uenire. Dixerunt ergo Iudei ad semetipsos: ‘Quo hic iturus est, quod nos non inuenimus ipsum? Numquid in dispersionem gentium iturus est et docturus gentes? Quis est iste sermo quem dixit: “Queretis me et non inuenietis” et “Vbi sum ego uos non potestis uenire”?’ In ultima autem
- 35 die magne festiuitatis stabat Iesus et clamabat dicens: ‘Si quis sitit, ueniat ad me et bibet qui credit in me. Sicut dixit scriptura: *Flumina de uentre eius*

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A61v B97v *fluent aque uiue.* Hoc autem dixit de spiritu, quem accepturierant credentes in ipsum. Nondum enim erat spiritus sanctus, quia Iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus. Multi ergo de turba, cum audissent uerba, dicebant: ‘Hic est uere propheta!’; alii dicebant: ‘Hic est Christus!’ <Quidam autem dicebant:> ‘Non enim ex Galilea Christus uenit?’ 5 Nonne scriptura dixit quod *Ex semine Dauid et de Bethleem castello, ubi erat Dauid, Christus uenit?* Dissensio ergo propter eum in turba facta est. Quidam autem ex eis uolebant eum apprehendere, sed nemo immisit super eum manus. Venerunt ergo ministri ad pontifices et phariseos et dixerunt eis illi: ‘Quare non adduxistis eum?’ Responderunt ministri: 10 ‘Numquam sic locutus est homo sicut hic homo.’ Responderunt ergo eis pharisei: ‘Numquid et uos seducti estis? Numquid aliquis ex principibus credidit in eum aut ex phariseis? Sed turba hec, que non nouit legem, maledicti sunt!’ Dicit Nichodemus ad ipsos, is qui nocte ad eum uenerat, unus existens ex ipsis: ‘Numquid lex nostra iudicat hominem, nisi 15 audiuerit ab ipso prius et cognouerit quicquid fecerit?’ Responderunt et dixerunt ei: ‘Numquid tu ex Galilea es? Scrutare et uide quod propheta a Galilea non surgit!’ Et iuit unusquisque in domum suam.

8 Iesus autem perrexit in montem Oliueti. Diluculo autem iterum uenit in templum, et omnis populus ueniebat ad eum, et sedens 20 docebat eos. Adducunt autem scribe et pharisei mulierem deprehensam in adulterio et statuerunt eam in medio et dicunt ei tentantes: ‘Magister, hec mulier modo in adulterio deprehensa est. In lege autem Moyses mandauit nobis ut tales lapidarentur; tu ergo quid dicis?’ Hoc autem dicebant tentantes eum, ut haberent unde eum accusarent. 25 Iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra. Vt autem perseuerauerunt interrogantes eum, erexit se et dixit ad ipsos: ‘Qui sine peccato est uestrum, primus in eam lapidem iaciat!’; et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra. Cum autem audissent et a conscientia redarguti essent, abibant singuli, incipientes a senioribus, et relictus est solus Iesus, et 30 mulier in medio existens. Erectus autem Iesus, et neminem conspicatus preter mulierem, dixit ei: ‘Vbi sunt illi accusatores tui? Nemo te condemnauit?’ Que ait: ‘Nemo, domine.’ Dixit autem Iesus: ‘Nec ego te condemno; uade et amodo ne amplius pecces.’ Iterum ergo locutus est

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5 Quidam...dicebant] *om. AB* 13 nouit] nocte ad eum *præm. B exp. B1* 14 uenerat] *ex uenerant corr. fort. A2* 24 ut...lapidarentur] *ex tales lapidare corr. A2* | Hoc] *hec B* 28 eam] *eum B* 29 essent] *om. A ins. A2* 31 et] *ut B*

- uade et amodo ne amplius pecces.’ Iterum ergo locutus est eis Iesus
 dicens: ‘Ego sum lux mundi; qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris,
 sed habebit lumen uite.’ Dixerunt ergo ei pharisei: ‘Tu de teipso
 testificaris; testimonium tuum non est uerum.’ Respondit Iesus et dixit
 5 eis: ‘Et si ego testificor de meipso uerum est testimonium meum, quia
 ego scio unde ueni et quo uado; uos nescitis unde ueni et quo uado. Vos
 secundum carnem iudicatis, ego non iudico quemquam. Et si iudico ego,
 iudicium meum uerum est, quia solus non sum, sed ego et qui misit me,
 pater. Et in lege uestra scriptum est quod duorum hominum
 10 testimonium uerum est. Ego sum testificatus de meipso, et testificatur de
 meipso qui misit me, pater.’ Dicebant ergo ei: ‘Vbi est pater tuus?’
 Respondit Iesus: ‘Neque me scitis neque patrem meum; si me sciretis, et
 patrem meum utique sciretis.’ Hec uerba locutus est Iesus in
 gazophilachio docens in templo; et nemo apprehendit eum, quia
 15 nondum uenerat hora sua. Dixit ergo iterum eis Iesus: ‘Ego uado, et
 queritis me et in peccato uestro moriemini! Quo ego uado, uos non
 potestis uenire.’ Dicebant ergo Iudei: ‘Numquid interficiet seipsum, quia
 dicit: “Quo ego uado, uos non potestis uenire”?’ Et dicebat eis: ‘Vos de
 deorsum estis, ego de sursum sum; uos de mundo hoc estis, ego non
 20 sum de hoc mundo. Dixi ergo uobis quod moriemini in peccatis uestris;
 si ergo non crederetis mihi quod ego sum; moriemini in peccatis uestris.’
 Dicebant ergo ei: ‘Tu quis es?’ Et dicit eis Iesus: ‘Principium, quia et
 loquor uobis! Multa habeo de uobis loqui et iudicare; sed qui misit me
 uerax est, et ego, que audio ab eo, hec dico in mundo.’ Et non
 25 cognouerunt quod patrem eius dicebat Deum. Dixit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Cum
 exaltaueritis filium hominis, tunc cognoscetis quod ego sum, et a meipso
 nihil facio, sed sicut me docuit pater meus, hec loquor. Et qui misit me,
 mecum est; et non reliquit me solum pater, quia que placita sunt ei facio
 semper.’ Hec eo loquente multi crediderunt in ipsum. Dicebat ergo Iesus
 30 ad Iudeos, eos qui ei crediderant: ‘Si uos manseritis in sermone meo, uere
 discipuli mei eritis et cognoscetis ueritatem, et ueritas liberabit uos.’
 Responderunt ei: ‘Semen Abrahe sumus et nemini seruiuimus umquam!
 Quomodo tu dicis quod “Liberi eritis”?’ Respondit eis Iesus: ‘Amen,
 amen dico uobis, quod omnis qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati.
 35 Seruus autem non manet in domo in eternum; filius manet in eternum. Si

A62r

B98v

19 hoc] *om. B i. m. B1* 22 quis] *ex qui corr. A2 qui B* 27 docuit] *dixit praem. B exp. B1*
 32 Abrahe] *ex Abraee corr. B1*

igitur filius uos liberauerit, uere liberi eritis. Scio quod semen Abrahe estis; sed queritis me interficere, quia sermo meus non cadit in uobis. Ego quod uidi apud patrem meum loquor; et uos que uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis.' Responderunt et dixerunt: 'Pater noster Abraham est.' Dicit eis Iesus: 'Si filii Abrahe essetis, opera Abrahe 5 faceretis. Nunc autem queritis me interficere, hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a Deo; hoc Abraham non fecit. Vos facite opera patris uestri.' Dixerunt ergo ei: 'Nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati; unum patrem habemus, Deum!' Dixit ergo eis Iesus: 'Si Deus pater uester esset, diligeretis utique me; ego enim ex Deo processi et 10 ueni, neque enim a meipso ueni, sed ille me misit. Quare loquelam meam non cognoscitis? Quia non potestis audire sermones meos. Vos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis facere. Ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit, quia non est ueritas in eo. Cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur, quia mendax est et pater eius. Ego 15 autem quoniam ueritatem dico non creditis mihi. Quis ex uobis arguit me de peccato? Si ueritatem dico, quare uos non creditis mihi? Qui est ex Deo, uerba Dei audit; ob hoc uos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis.' Responderunt ergo Iudei et dixerunt ei: 'Nonne bene dicimus nos quod Samaritanus es tu et demonium habes?' Respondit Iesus: 'Ego 20 demonium non habeo, sed honoro patrem meum, et uos inhonoratis me. Ego autem non quero gloriam meam; est qui querit et iudicet. Amen, amen dico uobis: Si quis sermonem meum seruauerit, mortem non uidebit in eternum.' Dixerunt ergo ei Iudei: 'Nunc cognouimus quod demonium habes. Abraham mortuus est et prophete, et tu dicis: "Si quis 25 sermonem meum seruauerit, mortem non gustabit in eternum." Numquid tu maior es patre nostro Abraham, qui mortuus est? Et prophete mortui sunt! Quem tu teipsum facis?' Respondit Iesus: 'Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est; est pater meus qui glorificat me, quem uos dicitis quod Deus uester est, et non cognouistis eum. Ego 30 autem noui eum. Et si dixero quod non nouerim eum, ero similis uobis, mendax; sed scio eum et sermonem eius seruo. Abraham exultauit ut uideret diem meum, et uidit et gaudisus est.' Dixerunt ergo Iudei ad eum: 'Quinquaginta annos nondum habes et uidisti Abraham?' Dixit ergo eis Iesus: 'Amen, amen dico uobis: Antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum.' 35

Tulerunt ergo lapides, ut iacerent in eum; Iesus uero latuit et exiuit de templo, transiens per medium eorum, et preteriit sic.

- 9 Et preteriens uidit hominem cecum a natiuitate. Et interrogauerunt eum discipuli sui dicentes: ‘Rabi, quis peccauit, hic aut parentes sui,
 5 ut cecus nasceretur?’ Respondit Iesus: ‘Neque hic peccauit neque parentes eius, sed ut manifestentur opera Dei in ipso. Me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me, donec dies est; ueniet nox quando nemo poterit operari. Quamdiu in mundo sum, lux sum mundi.’ Hec cum dixisset, expuit in terram et fecit lutum ex sputo et liniuit lutum super oculos ceci
 10 et dixit ei: ‘Vade et lauare in piscina Siloe!’, quod interpretatur ‘missus’. Abiit ergo et lauit et uenit uidens. Vicini ergo et qui uiderant eum prius quod cecus erat dicebant: ‘Nonne hic est qui sedebat et mendicabat?’; alii dicebant quod ‘Hic est!’; alii autem quod ‘Similis ei est.’ Ille dicebat quod ‘Ego sum!’ Dicebant ergo ei: ‘Quomodo aperti sunt oculi tui?’ Respondit
 15 ille et ait: ‘Homo qui dicitur Christus lutum fecit et liniuit oculos meos et dixit mihi: “Vade in piscinam Siloe et lauare!” Abii autem et laui et uidi.’ Dixerunt ergo ei: ‘Vbi est ille?’ Dicit: ‘Nescio.’ Adducunt eum ad phariseos qui olim cecus fuerat. Erat autem sabbatum quando lutum fecit Iesus et aperuit oculos suos. Iterum autem interrogabant ipsum et
 20 pharisei quomodo uidisset. Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Lutum posuit super oculos meos, et laui et uidi.’ Dicebat ergo ei ex phariseis quidam: ‘Hic homo non est a Deo, quia sabbatum non seruat!’; alii dicebant: ‘Quomodo potest homo peccator talia signa facere?’ Et dissensio erat inter eos. Et dicunt ceco: ‘Tu quid dicis de eo qui aperuit oculos tuos?’ Ipse autem
 25 dixit quod ‘Propheta est!’ Non crediderunt igitur Iudei de ipso quod cecus fuerat et respexerat, donec uocarent parentes eius qui uiderat. Et interrogauerunt eos dicentes: ‘Hic est filius uester, quem uos dicebatis quod cecus natus erat? Quomodo ergo nunc uidet?’ Responderunt autem parentes dicentes sui et dixerunt: ‘Scimus quod hic filius noster est et
 30 quod cecus natus est. Quomodo autem nunc uideat nescimus, aut quis aperuit oculos suos nos nescimus; is etatem habet, ipsum interrogate. Ipse de se loquetur!’ Hec dixerunt parentes sui, quia timebant Iudeos; iam enim composuerant Iudei, ut, si quis confiteretur ipsum Christum,

A63r

B100r

3 natiuitate] na- om. A i. m. A2 6 manifestentur] manifestarentur B 19 aperuit] ex
 aperuit corr. fort. A2 24 eo] te ipso praem. B exp. B1 | aperuit] ex aperuit corr. fort. A2
 32 loquetur] loquitur B | quia] qui B

extra synagogam fieret. Ob hoc parentes sui dixerunt quod ‘Etatem habet; ipsum interrogate!’ Vocauerunt ergo secundo hominem qui fuerat cecus, et dixerunt ei: ‘Da gloriam Deo! Nos scimus quod homo iste peccator est.’ Respondit ergo ille et dixit: ‘Si peccator est nescio; unum scio, quod cum cecus fuero, modo uideo.’ Dixerunt autem ei iterum: 5
 ‘Quid fecit tibi? Quomodo aperuit oculos tuos?’ Respondit eis: ‘Dixi uobis iam, et non auditis; quid iterum uultis audire? Numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri?’ Maledixerunt eum et dixerunt: ‘Tu sis discipulus illius, nos autem Moysi discipuli sumus. Nos scimus quod Moysi locutus est Deus, hunc autem nescimus unde sit.’ Respondit homo 10
 et dixit eis: ‘In hoc enim mirabile est quod uos nescitis unde est, et aperuit oculos meos! Scimus autem quod peccatores Deus non audit, sed si quis Dei cultor sit et uoluntatem eius facit, hunc audit. A seculo non est auditum quod quis aperuerit oculos ceci nati; nisi esset hic a Deo, non posset facere quicquam.’ Responderunt et dixerunt ei: ‘In peccatis tu 15
 natus es totus et tu doces nos?’ Et eiecerunt eum foras. Audiuit Iesus quod eiecerant eum foras et, cum inuenisset ipsum, dixit ei: ‘Tu credis in filium Dei?’ Respondit ille et dixit: ‘Et quis est, domine, ut credam in eum?’ Dixit autem ei Iesus: ‘Et uidisti ipsum et qui loquitur tecum, ille est.’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Credo, domine!’; et adorauit eum. Et dixit Iesus: 20
 ‘Ad iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni, ut qui non uident, uideant, et qui uiderint, ceci fiant.’ Et audierunt hec ex phariseis quidam, qui cum ipso erant, et dixerunt ei: ‘Numquid et nos ceci sumus?’ Ait eis Iesus: ‘Si ceci essetis, utique peccatum non haberetis. Nunc autem dicitis quod “Videmus!”; peccatum igitur uestrum manet.’ 25

10 Amen, amen dico uobis: Qui non intrat per ostium in habitaculum ouium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro; qui autem intrat per ostium, pastor est ouium. Huic ostiarius aperit, et oues uocem suam audiunt, et proprias oues uocat nominatim et educit eas. Et cum proprias oues emiseric, ante eas proficiscitur, et oues 30
 eum sequuntur, quia sciunt uocem eius; alienum autem non sequuntur, sed fugient ab eo, quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum.’ Hoc prouerbum dixit eis Iesus; illi autem non cognouerunt qualia essent que loqueretur eis. Dixit ergo iterum eis Iesus: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis quod

2 fuerat...3 iste] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

2 fuerat...3 iste] *om. B* 12 sed] *sicut add. B* 14 oculos] *om. A ins. A2* 19 et qui] *i. r. A2*
 21 Ad] *i. r. A2* Ante B 26 ostium] *ex hostium corr. B1*

- iterum eis Iesus: ‘Amen, amen dico uobis quod ego sum ostium ouium. Omnes quicumque uenerunt fures sunt et latrones, sed non audierunt eos oues. Ego sum ostium: per me si quis introierit, saluabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inueniet. Fur non uenit, nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat; ego ueni ut uitam habeant et abundanter habeant.
- 5 Ego sum pastor bonus: pastor bonus ponit animam suam pro ouibus; mercennarius autem et qui non est pastor, cuius non sunt oues proprie, uidet lupum uenientem et dimittit oues et fugit – et lupus rapit eas et dispergit oues – mercennarius autem fugit, quia mercennarius est, et non
- 10 est cura ei de ouibus. Ego sum pastor bonus: et cognosco meas, et cognoscor a meis, sicut cognoscit me pater, et ego cognosco patrem; et animam meam pono pro ouibus. Et alias oues habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ouili, et illas oportet me adducere, et uocem meam audiunt et fiet unus grex, unus pastor. Ob hoc pater me diligit, quia ego pono animam
- 15 meam, ut iterum sumam eam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a meipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Hoc mandatum accepi a patre meo.’ Dissensio ergo inter Iudeos iterum facta est propter sermones hos. Dicebant autem multi ex eis: ‘Demonium habet et insanit! Quid ipsum auditis?’ Alii dicebant: ‘Hec
- 20 uerba non sunt demonium habentis! Numquid demonium potest cecorum oculos aperire?’ Facta sunt autem Encenia Hierosolimis. Et hiemps erat; et ambulabat Iesus in templo in porticu Salominis. Circumdederunt ergo ipsum Iudei et dicebant ei: ‘Quousque animam nostram tollis? Si tu es Christus, dic nobis palam!’ Respondit eis Iesus:
- 25 ‘Dixi uobis, et non creditis; opera que ego facio in nomine patris mei, hec testificantur de me. Sed uos non creditis; non enim estis ex ouibus meis, sicut dixi uobis. Oues mee uocem meam audiunt, et ego cognosco eas, et sequuntur me, et ego uitam eternam do eis, et non peribunt in eternum, et non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea. Pater meus qui dedit
- 30 mihi, maior omnibus est, et nemo potest rapere de manu patris mei. Ego et pater unum sumus.’ Sustulerunt ergo iterum lapides Iudei ut lapidarent eum. Respondit eis Iesus: ‘Multa bona opera ostendi uobis ex patre meo; propter quod opus eorum lapidatis me?’ Responderunt ei Iudei dicentes: ‘De bono opere non lapidamus te, sed de blasphemia, et quia tu, homo
- 35 cum sis, facis teipsum Deum.’ Respondit eis Iesus: ‘Nonne scriptum est in lege uestra: *Ego dixi: dii estis?* Si illos dixit deos ad quos sermo Dei

B101r

A64r

B101v

factus est, et non potest solui scriptura, quem pater sanctificauit et misit in mundum, uos dicitis quod blasphemio, quia dixi: Filius Dei sum? Si non facio opera patris mei, ne credite mihi; si autem facio, et si mihi non credideritis, operibus credite, ut cognoscatis et sciatis quod pater in me est et ego in ipso.’ Querebant ergo eum rursus apprehendere; et exiuit de manu eorum. Et abiit iterum trans Iordanem, in locum ubi erat Ioannes primum baptizans, et mansit ibi. Et multi uenerunt ad eum et dicebant quod ‘Ioannes quidem nullum signum fecit; omnia autem quecumque dixit Ioannes de hoc, uera erant.’ Et multi ibi crediderunt in eum. 5

11 Erat autem quidam egrotans Lazarus a Bethania, de castello Marie et Marthe sororis sue. Erat autem Maria, que unxerat dominum unguento et exterserat pedes eius capillis suis, cuius frater Lazarus infirmabatur. Miserunt ergo sorores eius ad eum dicentes: ‘Domine, ecce quem amas infirmatur.’ Audiens autem Iesus dixit: ‘Infirmas eius non est ad mortem, sed pro gloria Dei, ut glorificetur filius Dei per eam.’ Diligebat autem Iesus Martham et sororem suam et Lazarum. Vt ergo audiuit quod infirmabatur, tunc quidem mansit in quo erat loco duobus diebus; deinde post hec dicit discipulis: ‘Eamus in Iudeam iterum.’ Dicunt ei discipuli: ‘Rabi, nunc querebant Iudei te lapidare, et iterum uadis illuc?’ Respondit Iesus: ‘Nonne duodecim hore sunt diei? Si quis ambulat in die, non offendit, quia lucem huius mundi uidet; si autem ambulauerit in nocte, offendit, quia lux non est in eo.’ Hec ait et post hec dicit discipulis: ‘Lazarus amicus noster dormit, sed uado ut a somno excitem eum.’ Dixerunt ergo discipuli eius: ‘Domine, si dormit saluabitur.’ Dixerat autem Iesus de morte eius, illi autem putauerunt quod de dormitione somni diceret. Tunc ergo dixit eis Iesus manifeste: ‘Lazarus mortuus est, et gaudeo propter uos, ut credatis, quod non eram ibi; sed eamus ad eum.’ Dixit ergo Thomas, qui dicitur Didimus, condiscipulis: ‘Eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo!’ Venit ergo Iesus in Bethaniam et inuenit eum iam quatuor dies habentem in monumento. Erat autem Bethania iuxta Hierosolimam quasi stadiorum quindecim. Multi autem ex Iudeis uenerant ad Mariam et Martham, ut consolarentur eas de fratre suo. Martha ergo ut audiuit quod Iesus uenit, occurrit ei; Maria autem domi sedebat. Dixit ergo Martha ad Iesum: ‘Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus! Sed et nunc scio 10 15 20 25 30 35

12 exterserat] -s- i. r. fort. A1 | Lazarus] ex Lasarus corr. A2 15 eam] -a- i. r. A1 -a- ins. A2 17 mansit] om. A i. r. A2 22 ambulauerit] om. B

- fuiſſes hic, frater meus non fuiſſet mortuus! Sed et nunc ſcio quod
 quecumque popoſceris a Deo dabit tibi Deus.’ Dicit ei Ieſus: ‘Reſurget
 frater tuus.’ Ait ei Martha: ‘ſcio quod reſurget in reſurrectione in ultima
 die.’ Dicit ei Ieſus: ‘Ego ſum reſurrectio et uita. Qui credit in me, etſi
 5 mortuus fuerit, uiuet; et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me, non morietur in
 eternum. Credis hoc?’ Ait ei: ‘Vtique, domine; ego credidi quod tu es
 Chriſtus filius Dei uiui, qui in hunc mundum ueniſti.’ Et cum hec
 dixiſſet, abiit et uocauit Mariam ſororem ſuam clanculum dicens:
 10 ‘Magiſter adeſt et uocat te.’ Illa ut audiuit, ſurgit cito et uenit ad eum;
 nondum enim uenerat Ieſus in caſtellum, ſed erat in loco ubi occurrerat
 ei Martha. Iudei ergo, qui erant cum ea in domo et conſolabantur ipſam,
 uidentes Mariam quod cito ſurrexit et abiit, ſecuti ſunt eam dicentes
 quod ‘Vadit ad monumentum ut ibi ploret.’ Maria ergo, ut uenit ubi erat
 Ieſus, ipſum conſpicata cecidit ad pedes ſuos dicens ei: ‘Domine, ſi
 15 fuiſſes hic, frater meus non eſſet mortuus!’ Ieſus ergo, ut uidit eam
 plorantem, et Iudeos qui cum ea uenerant complorantes, infremuit
 ſpiritu et turbauit ſeipſum et dixit: ‘Vbi poſuiſtiſti eum?’ Dicunt ei:
 ‘Domine, ueni et uide.’ Et lacrimatus eſt Ieſus. Dixerunt ergo Iudei:
 ‘Ecce quomodo amabat eum!’ Quidam autem ex ipſis dixerunt: ‘Non
 20 potuit hic qui aperuit oculos ceci, facere ut et iſte non moreretur?’ Ieſus
 ergo iterum fremens in ſeipſo, uenit ad monumentum; erat autem
 ſpelunca, et lapis ſuperpoſitus fuerat ei. Dixit Ieſus: ‘Tollite lapidem!’ Ait
 ei Martha, defuncti ſoror: ‘Domine, iam fetet; quatruiduanus enim eſt!’
 Dicit ei Ieſus: ‘Nonne dixi tibi quod ſi credideris, uidebis gloriam Dei?’
 25 Tulerunt ergo lapidem ubi fuerat defunctus poſitus. Ieſus autem eleuauit
 oculos ſurſum, et dixit: ‘Pater, gratias ago quod audisti me. Ego autem
 ſciebam quod ſemper me audis, ſed propter turbam circumſtantem dixi,
 ut credatur quod tu me miſiſti.’ Et cum hec dixiſſet, uoce magna
 clamauit: ‘Lazare, ueni huc!’ Et exiit, qui mortuus fuerat, ligatus pedes et
 30 manus initis; et facies eiſ ſudario erat ligata. Dicit eiſ Ieſus: ‘Soluite
 eum et ſinite abire.’ Multi autem ex Iudeis qui uenerant ad Mariam et
 Martham et uiderant que fecerat Ieſus, crediderunt in eum; quidam
 autem ex ipſis abierunt ad phariſeos et dixerunt eiſ quid fecit Ieſus.
 Congregauerunt ergo pontifices et phariſei concilium aduerſus Ieſum et
 35 dicebant: ‘Quid facimus, quod hic homo multa ſigna facit? Si

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A65r

B103r

dimiserimus ipsum sic, omnes credent in eum, et uenient Romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem!’ Vnus autem ex ipsis, Caiphas, cum esset pontifex anni illius, dixit eis: ‘Vos nescitis quicquam, nec cogitatis quod confert uobis, ut unus homo moriatur pro populo, et non tota gens pereat!’ Hec autem a seipso non dixit, sed cum esset pontifex anni illius, 5 prophetauit quod Iesus erat moriturus pro gente et non pro gente solum, sed ut filios Dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum. Ab illa igitur die consuluerunt, ut ipsum interficerent. Iesus autem iam non palam ambulabat inter Iudeos, sed abiit in regionem iuxta desertum, in ciuitatem que dicitur Effren, et ibi morabatur cum discipulis suis. Erat 10 autem prope Pascha Iudeorum, et ascenderunt multi Hierosolimam de regione ante Pascha, ut sanctificarent seipsos. Querebant igitur Iesum et dicebant adinuicem in templo stantes: ‘Quid uidetur uobis? Quod non uenit ad festiuitatem?’ Dederant autem pontifices et pharisei mandatum, ut si quis cognouerit ipsum, indicet ut comprehendant eum. 15

12 Iesus ergo ante sex dies Pasche uenit in Bethaniam, ubi fuerat Lazarus mortuus, quem suscitauit a mortuis. Fecerant ergo ei cenam ibi, et Martha ministrabat, Lazarus uero unus ex discumbentibus cum eo. Maria ergo accepit libram unguenti nardi fidelis pretiosi et unxit pedes Iesu et extersit capillis suis pedes eius; domus 20 autem impleta est ei odore unguenti. Dicit igitur unus ex discipulis suis, Iudas Simonis Scariothis, qui erat eum traditurus: ‘Quare hoc unguentum non est uenditum trecentis denariis et datum est pauperibus?’ Dixit autem hoc non quia de pauperibus ei cura esset, sed quia fur erat et loculos habebat, et ea que mittebantur portabat. Dixit ergo Iesus: ‘Sinite 25 eam, nam in diem sepulture seruauit ipsum. Pauperes enim semper habebitis uobiscum, me autem non semper habetis.’ Cognouit ergo turba multa ex Iudeis quod illic erat, et uenerunt non propter Iesum solum, sed ut Lazarum uiderent, quem suscitauerat a mortuis. Consuluerunt autem pontifices ut Lazarum interficerent, quia multi ob ipsum abibant ex 30 Iudeis et credebant in Iesum. In crastinum autem cum turba multa que conuenerat ad festiuitatem, audisset quod Iesus ueniebat Hierosolimam, acceperunt ramos palmarum et exiuerunt obuiam ei et clamabant: ‘Osanna! Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini Israel!’ Inuenit autem

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13 uobis] *ex nobis corr. B1* 18 uero] *enim B* 19 fidelis] *i. r. A2* 20 ei] *i. r. fort. A1*
 21 Scariothis] *ex Schariotis corr. B1* 27 habetis] *habebitis B* 33 Osanna] *o- i. m. A2 o Sanna B*

- Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini Israel!’ Inuenit autem Iesus asellum et sedit super eum, sicut scriptum est: *Ne timeas, filia Syon. Ecce rex tuus uenit sedens super pullum asine*. Hec autem non cognouerunt discipuli sui primum, sed quando glorificatus fuit Iesus, tunc recordati sunt quod
- 5 hec erant scripta de eo, et hec fecerunt ei. Testificabatur ergo turba, que erat cum eo, quando Lazarum uocauit de monumento et suscitauit eum a mortuis. Ob hec et obuiauuit ei turba, quod audiuit hoc ipsum fecisse signum. Pharisei ergo dixerunt intra seipsos: ‘Videte quod nihil proficitis? Ecce mundus post ipsum abiit!’ Erant autem quidam gentiles ex his qui
- 10 ascenderant ut adorarent in festiuitate; hi ergo accesserunt ad Philippum, qui erat a Bethsaida Galilee, et rogabant eum dicentes: ‘Domine, uolumus Iesum uidere.’ Venit Philippus et dicit Andree; et iterum Andreas et Philippus dicunt Iesu. Iesus autem respondit eis: ‘Venit hora ut glorificetur filius hominis. Amen, amen dico uobis: Nisi granum
- 15 frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum fert. Qui amat animam suam, perdet; et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in uitam eternam custodiet eam. Si mihi ministrat, me sequatur, et ubi sum ego, ibi et minister meus erit; et si quis mihi ministrauerit, honorabit eum pater. Nunc autem anima mea
- 20 turbata est. Et quid dicam? Pater, salua me ex hac hora? Sed propter hoc uenerunt in hanc horam. Pater, clarifica nomen tuum!’ Venit ergo uox de celo dicens: ‘Et clarificabo et iterum clarificabo.’ Turba ergo, que stabat et audiebat, dicebat tonitruum fuisse; alii dicebant: ‘Angelus ei locutus est.’ Respondit Iesus: ‘Non propter me hec uox facta est, sed propter
- 25 uos. Nunc iudicium est mundi huius, nunc princeps mundi huius eicietur foras; et ego, si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.’ Hoc dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus. Respondit ei turba: ‘Nos audiuimus ex lege quod Christus manet in eternum; quomodo tu dicis: “Oportet exaltare filium hominis”?’ Dixit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Adhuc
- 30 modicum lumen uobiscum est. Ambulate dum lucem habetis, ne tenebre uos comprehendant; et qui ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo uadit. Dum lucem habetis, credite in lucem, ut filii lucis efficiamini.’ Hec locutus est Iesus et abiit et abscondit se ab eis. Cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis, non credebant in eum, ut sermo Esaie prophete impleretur,
- 35 quem dixit: *Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium domini cui reuelatum*

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A66r

4 fuit] est *praem. B exp. B1* 8 proficitis] -tis *i. r. A2* 13 eis] ex ei *corr. A2* 21 de] iter. *B*
 35 reuelatum...149,1 est] -m est *i. r. A2*

est? Ob hoc non potuerunt credere, quod iterum dixit Esaias: *Excecauit oculos eorum et indurauit cor eorum, ut non uideant oculis et intelligant corde et conuertantur, et sanem eos.* Hec dixit Esaias, quando uidit gloriam suam et locutus est de eo. Verumtamen et ex principibus multi crediderunt in eum, sed propter phariseos non confitebantur, ut non extra synagogam fierent; dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam gloriam Dei. Iesus autem clamauit et dixit: ‘Qui credit in me, non credit in me sed in eum qui misit me; et qui uidet me, uidet eum qui misit me. Ego lux in mundum ueni, ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat. Et si quis uerba mea audierit et non crediderit, ego non iudico eum; non enim ueni ut iudicem mundum, sed ut saluem mundum. Qui spernit me et non accipit uerba mea, habet qui iudicet eum: sermo quem locutus sum, ille iudicabit eum in ultima die, quia ego ex meipso non sum locutus, sed qui misit me, pater, ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar. Et scio quod mandatum suum uita eterna est. Que ergo ego loquor, sicut dixit mihi pater, ita loquor.’

13 Ante festiuitatem uero Pasche, sciens Iesus quod uenerat hora eius ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad patrem, cum dilexisset suos, qui erant in mundo, in finem dilexit eos. Et cena facta, cum diabolus iam misisset in cor Iude Simonis Scariothis ut traderet eum, sciens Iesus quod omnia dedit pater in manus suas et quod a Deo exiuit et ad Deum uadit, surgit a cena et ponit uestimenta et, cum accepisset linteam, accinxit se. Deinde misit aquam in peluim et cepit lauare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo erat accinctus. Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum et dicit ei ille: ‘Domine, tu meos lauas pedes?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: ‘Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo, scies autem post hec.’ Dicit ei Petrus: ‘Non lauabis pedes meos in eternum!’ Respondit ei Iesus: ‘Si non lauero te, non habebis partem mecum.’ Dicit ei Simon Petrus: ‘Domine, non tantum pedes meos, sed et manus et caput!’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet, sed est mundus totus; et uos mundi estis, sed non omnes.’ Sciebat enim eum qui ipsum traderet; ob hoc dixit: ‘Non omnes mundi estis.’ Postquam ergo lauit pedes eorum accepit uestimenta sua, et cum recubisset iterum, dixit eis: ‘Scitis quid fecerim uobis? Vos uocatis me: ‘magister’ et: ‘domine’, et benedicitis; sum etenim. Si ergo laui pedes uestros, magister

7 Qui... 8 et] *om. B* 21 quod] *ex qui corr. fort. A2* 22 accinxit] *accinsit B* 25 et... 27 Iesus] *om. B*

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A66v

- laui pedes uestros, magister et dominus, uos debetis adinuicem lauare pedes. Exemplum enim dedi uobis, ut, quemadmodum ego feci uobis, ita et uos faciatis. Amen, amen dico uobis: Non est seruus maior domino suo, nec apostolus maior eo qui misit ipsum. Si hec scitis, beati eritis, si
- 5 feceritis ea. Non de omnibus uobis dico, ego scio quos elegerim, sed ut scriptura impleatur: *Qui manducat mecum panem, leuauit contra me calcaneum suum*. Amodo dico uobis priusquam fiat, ut cum factum fuerit credatis quod ego sum. Amen, amen dico uobis: Qui accipit si quem misero, me accipit; qui autem me accipit, accipit eum qui me misit.' Cum hec dixisset
- 10 Iesus, turbatus est spiritu et testificatus est et dixit: 'Amen, amen dico uobis quod unus ex uobis me tradet.' Aspiciebant ergo adinuicem discipuli, ambigentes de quo diceret. Erat autem recumbens unus ex discipulis suis in sinu Iesu, quem diligebat Iesus. Innuit ergo huic Simon Petrus ut interrogaret quisnam esset de quo diceret. Cum autem
- 15 recubisset ille ipse super pectus Iesu, dicit ei: 'Domine, quis est?' Respondit Iesus: 'Ille est cui ego intinctam buccellam porrexero.' Et cum intinxisset buccellam, dedit Iude Simonis Scariothis. Et post buccellam tunc introiuit in illum Satan. Dixit ergo ei Iesus: 'Quod facis, fac citius.' Hoc autem nemo cognouit discumbentium ad quod diceret ei; quidam
- 20 enim putabant quod quoniam oculos haberet Iudas, diceret ei Iesus: 'Eme ea quibus indigemus ad festiuitatem', ut pauperibus aliquid daret. Cum ergo accepisset ille buccellam, confestim exiuit (erat autem nox quando exiuit). Ait Iesus: 'Nunc clarificatus est filius hominis, et Deus clarificatus est in eo; si Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificabit
- 25 eum in semetipso, et continuo clarificabit eum. Filioli, adhuc modicum uobiscum sum; queretis me, et sicut dixi Iudeis: Quo ego uado, uos non potestis uenire, et uobis dico modo. Mandatum nouum do uobis, ut uos diligatis inuicem; in hoc cognoscent omnes quod mei discipuli estis: si dilectionem habueritis adinuicem.' Dicit ei Simon Petrus: 'Domine, quo
- 30 uadis?' Respondit ei Iesus: 'Quo uado, non potes me modo sequi, sequeris autem me posterius.' Dicit ei Petrus: 'Quare non possum te sequi modo? Animam meam pro te ponam.' Respondit ei Iesus:

7 cum] *om. A ins. A2* 11 adinuicem...12 discipuli] discipuli adinuicem *AB tr. fort. A2*
 16 buccellam] *ex buccellam corr. A1* 22 accepisset] *ex accepisse corr. A2* | erat...23
 Iesus] *om. A i. m. A2* 25 Filioli] *om. A ins. A2* 26 dixi] *-i i. r. fort. A1 dixit B* 32 Iesus]
 -us *i. r. A2*

‘Animam tuam pro me pones? Amen, amen dico tibi: Non cantabit gallus, donec ter me negabis.’

14 Et ait discipulis suis: ‘Non turbetur cor uestrum nec formidet. Credite in Deum et in me credite. In domo patris mei mansiones multe sunt; si autem non, dixissem uobis. Vado ad 5
parandum uobis locum. Et si abiero parabo uobis locum, iterum ueniam et accipiam uos ad meipsum, ut, ubi sum ego, uos sitis. Et quo ego uado scitis, et uiam scitis.’ Dicit ei Thomas: ‘Domine, nescimus quo uadis; et quomodo possumus uiam scire?’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita; nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me. Si cognouissetis me, et patrem 10
meum utique cognouissetis; et amodo cognoscetis et uidistis eum.’ Dicit ei Philippus: ‘Domine, ostende nobis patrem, et sufficit nobis.’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Tanto tempore uobiscum sum, et non cognouistis me, Philippe? Qui me uidet, uidet et patrem. Et quomodo dicis: “Ostende nobis patrem”? Non credis quod ego in patre, et pater in me est? Verba que 15
ego loquor uobis, a meipso non loquor; pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera. Credite mihi quod ego in patre, et pater in me est; si autem non propter opera ipsa credite mihi. Amen, amen dico uobis: Opera que ego facio, et ille faciet, et maiora his faciet, quia ego ad patrem meum uado. Et quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo, hoc faciam, ut 20
glorificetur pater in filio. Si diligitis in me, mandata mea seruare; et ego rogabo patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit uobis, ut maneat uobiscum in eternum, spiritus ueritatis, quem mundus non potest capere, quia non uidet neque cognoscit ipsum. Vos autem cognoscitis ipsum, quia apud uos manebit; et in uobis erit. Non relinquam uos orphanos, uenio ad uos. 25
Adhuc modicum, et mundus me non amplius uidet; uos autem uidebitis me, quia ego uiuo et uos uiuetis. In illa die uos cognoscetis quod ego sum in patre meo, et uos in me et ego in uobis. Qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea, ille est qui diligit me; qui autem diligit me, diligetur a patre meo, et ego diligam eum et manifestabo meipsum ei.’ Dicit ei Iudas, non 30
ille Scariothis: ‘Domine, et quid fuit, quod manifestaturus es teipsum nobis et non mundo?’ Respondit Iesus et dixit ei: ‘Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum seruabit, et pater meus diligit eum, et ad eum ueniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus; qui non diligit me,

5 ad parandum] *ex parare corr.* A2 12 eis] ei B 19 faciet¹] facit B 20 meo] me A
28 meo] me B

A67r

B106r

- sermones meos non seruat. Et sermo quem audistis, non est meus, sed eius qui misit me, patris. Hec locutus sum uobis apud uos manens. Paraclitus autem, spiritus sanctus, quem mittet pater in nomine meo, ille uos docebit omnia et suggeret uobis omnia quecumque dixero uobis.
- 5 Pacem meam do uobis; non sicut mundus dat, ego do uobis. Non turbetur cor uestrum, neque formidet. Audistis quod ego dixi uobis: Vado et uenio ad uos. Si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique quia dixi: Vado ad ipsum, quia pater meus maior me est. Et nunc dixi uobis, priusquam fieret, ut cum factum fuerit credatis. Non amplius multa loquar
- 10 uobiscum, uenit enim princeps mundi et in me non habet quicquam, sed, ut cognoscat mundus quod diligit patrem, et sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater, sic facio. Surgite, eamus hinc. Ego sum uitis uera, et pater meus agricola est. Omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum, tollet eum, et omnem qui fert fructum, purgabit eum, ut uberiores fructus ferat.
- 15 Iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum uobis. Manete in me, et ego in uobis. Sicut palmes non potest fructum facere a semetipso, nisi manserit in uita, sic nec uos, nisi in me manseritis.

B106v

A67v

- 15** Ego sum uitis, uos palmites. Qui manet in me, et ego in eo, hic fert fructum multum, quia sine me nihil potestis facere. Si quis
- 20 in me non manserit, mittetur foras sicut palmes et arescet, et colligent eum et in ignem iacent, et ardebit. Si manseritis in me, et uerba mea in uobis manserint, quodcumque uolueritis petetis, et fiet uobis. In hoc clarificatus est pater meus, ut fructum multum afferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli. Sicut dilexit me pater, et ego dilexi uos; manete in
- 25 dilectione mea. Si precepta mea seruaueritis, in dilectione mea manebitis, sicut ego mandata patris mei seruauit et mansi in eius dilectione. Hec locutus sum uobis, ut gaudium meum in uobis maneat, et gaudium uestrum impleatur. Hoc est preceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem, sicut dilexi uos; maiorem hac dilectione nemo habet, quam ut animam suam
- 30 ponat quis pro amicis suis. Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quecumque ego precipio uobis. Non amplius dicam uos seruos, quia seruus nescit quid faciat dominus eius; uos autem dixi amicos, quoniam omnia que audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis. Non uos me elegistis, sed ego elegi uos; ob hoc odit uos mundus. Et posui uos, ut eatis et fructum afferatis,
- 35 et fructus uester maneat, ut quodcumque petieritis patrem meum det

B107r

12 hinc] Here ends John 14 in the Vulgate.

4 et...omnia²] *om. B*

quodcumque petieritis patrem meum det uobis. Hoc mandatum do
 uobis: ut diligatis inuicem. Si mundus uos odit, cognoscite quod me
 priorem uobis odio habuit. Si de mundo fuissetis, mundus quod suum
 erat diligeret; quia uero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi uos de mundo,
 propterea odit uos mundus. Mementote sermonis quem ego dixi uobis: 5
 Non est seruus maior domino suo. Si me persecuti sunt, et uos
 persequentur; si sermonem meum seruauerunt, et uestrum seruabunt.
 Sed hec omnia facient uobis propter nomen meum, quoniam nesciunt
 eum qui misit me. Si non uenissem et locutus eis non fuissem, peccatum
 non haberent; nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo. 10
 Qui me odit, et patrem meum odit. Si opera non fecissem que nemo
 alius fecit, peccatum non haberent; nunc autem et uiderunt et oderunt
 me et patrem meum. Sed ut adimpleatur sermo qui in lege eorum
 scriptus est, quod oderunt me gratis. Cum autem uenerit paraclitus,
 quem ego mittam uobis, spiritum ueritatis, qui a patre procedit, ille 15
 testificabitur de me; et uos etiam testificabimini, quoniam ab initio
 mecum estis.

A68r

16 Hec locutus sum uobis, ut non scandalizemini. Extra synagogas
 facient uos; sed uenit hora, ut omnis qui interfecerit uos,
 arbitretur se obsequium diuini cultus offerre Deo. Et hec 20
 facient, quia non nouerunt patrem neque me. Sed hec locutus sum uobis,
 ut, cum uenerit hora eorum, reminiscamini quod ego dixi uobis. Hec
 autem uobis ab initio non dixi, quia uobiscum eram. Nunc autem uado
 ad eum qui misit me. Sed nemo ex uobis interrogat me “Quo uadis?” At
 quoniam hec locutus sum, uobis tristitia impleuit cor uestrum. Sed ego 25
 ueritatem dico uobis: Confert uobis ut ego uadam. Si enim ego non
 abiero, paraclitus non ueniet ad uos. Si autem abiero, mittam eum ad uos,
 et cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio:
 de peccato quidem, quoniam non credunt in me; de iustitia autem,
 quoniam ad patrem meum uado, et non amplius uidebitis me; de iudicio 30
 uero, quoniam princeps mundi huius iudicatus est. Adhuc habeo uobis
 multa dicere, sed non potestis portare modo. Cum autem uenerit ille,
 spiritus ueritatis, inducet uos in omnem ueritatem; non enim loquetur a
 semetipso, sed quecumque audiet loquetur, et que uentura sunt

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1 mandatum] *ex mando corr.* A2 2 cognoscite] *i. r.* A2 4 erat] *est praem. B exp. B1*
 14 quod] *om. B*

- annuntiabit uobis. Ille me clarificabit, quia de me accipiet. Omnia
 quecumque habet pater, mea sunt; ob hoc dixi qui ex me accipiet et
 annuntiabit uobis. Modicum, et non amplius uidebitis me, et iterum
 modicum, et uidebitis me, quia ego uado ad patrem.’ Dixerunt ergo ex
 5 discipulis suis adinuicem: ‘Quid est hoc quod dicit nobis: “Modicum, et
 non uidebitis me, et iterum modicum, et uidebitis me, et quia ego uado
 ad patrem”?’ Dicebant ergo: ‘Hoc quidem quod dicit, “modicum”,
 nescimus quid loquitur.’ Cognouit ergo Iesus quod uolebant eum
 10 interrogare et dixit eis: ‘De hoc queritis adinuicem quod dixi: “Modicum,
 et non uidebitis me, et iterum modicum, et uidebitis me”? Amen, amen
 dico uobis quod plorabitis et ululabitis uos, mundus autem gaudebit; uos
 uero contristabimini. Mulier, cum parit, tristitiam habet, quia uenit hora
 eius; cum autem peperit, non meminit pressure propter gaudium quia
 15 natus est homo in mundum. Et uos ergo tristitiam quidem nunc
 habebitis; iterum autem uidebo uos, et gaudebit cor uestrum, et gaudium
 uestrum nemo tollet a uobis. Et in illo die me non interrogabitis
 quicquam. Amen, amen dico uobis quod quecumque petieritis patrem in
 nomine meo, dabit uobis. Vsque modo non petistis in nomine meo.
 20 Petite et accipietis ut gaudium uestrum sit impletum. Hec in prouerbiis
 locutus sum uobis; sed uenit hora cum non amplius in prouerbiis loquar
 uobis, sed palam de patre meo annuntiabo uobis. In illa die in nomine
 meo petetis, et nunc dico uobis quod ego rogabo patrem pro uobis. Ipse
 enim pater amat uos, quia uos me amastis et credidistis quod ego a Deo
 exiui. Exiui a patre et ueni in mundum; iterum relinquo mundum et uado
 25 ad patrem.’ Dicunt ei discipuli sui: ‘Ecce nunc palam loqueris, et nullum
 prouerbum dicis. Nunc scimus quod scis omnia et non est opus tibi ut
 quis te interroget; in hoc credimus quia a Deo existi.’ Respondit eis Iesus:
 ‘Modo creditis? Ecce uenit hora et nunc uenit, ut dispergamini
 unusquisque in propria et me solum relinquantis; et non sum solus, quia
 30 pater mecum est. Hec locutus sum uobis, ut in me pacem habeatis; in
 mundo pressuram habebitis, sed confidite, ego uici mundum.’

B108r

A68v

- 17** Hec locutus est Iesus; et eleuauit oculos suos in celum et dixit:
 ‘Pater, uenit hora: clarifica filium tuum, ut et filius tuus clarificet
 te, sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis, ut omne quod
 35 dedisti ei det ipsi uitam eternam. Hec est autem uita eterna, ut

5 nobis] *om. B* 15 gaudebit...gaudium] *i. r. A2* 18 in] quicquam *praem. B exp. B1* 20 in
 prouerbiis] *om. B* 23 quia] quod *B* 31 mundo] *ex mundum corr. B1*

eternam. Hec est autem uita eterna, ut cognoscant te solum uerum
 Deum, et quem misisti, Iesum Christum. Ego te clarificaui in terra: opus
 consummaui quod dedisti mihi ut facerem: et nunc clarifica tu me, pater,
 apud te ipsum. Ea claritate quam habui priusquam mundus fieret
 apud te, manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi de 5
 mundo. Tui erant, et mihi eos dedisti, et sermonem tuum seruauerunt. Et
 nunc cognouerunt quod omnia que dedisti mihi abs te sunt, quia uerba
 que dedisti mihi, dedi eis, et ipsi acceperunt et cognouerunt uere quod ab
 te exiui, et crediderunt quod tu misisti. Ego pro his rogo; non pro
 mundo rogo, sed pro his quos dedisti mihi, quia tui sunt, et mea omnia 10
 tua sunt et tua mea; et clarificatus sum in eis. Et non amplius sum in
 mundo, et isti in mundo sunt, et ego ad te uenio. Pater sancte, serua eos
 in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi, ut sint unum sicut et nos. Quando eram
 cum eis in mundo, ego seruau i ipsos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi,
 custodiui, et nemo ex eis periit nisi filius perditionis, ut scriptura 15
 impleatur. Nunc autem ad te uenio et hec loquor in mundo, ut habeant
 gaudium meum impletum in semetipsis. Ego dedi eis sermonem tuum, et
 mundus eos odio habuit, quia non sunt ex mundo, sicut ego ex mundo
 non sum. Non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo, sed ut serues eos a malo. Ex
 mundo non sunt, sicut ego non sum de mundo. Sanctifica eos in ueritate 20
 tua; sermo tuus ueritas est. Sicut me misisti in mundum, et ego misi eos
 in mundum; et ego pro eis sanctifico meipsum, ut ei ipsi sanctificati sint
 in ueritate. Non pro ipsis autem solum rogo, sed et pro eis qui credituri
 sunt propter uerbum eorum in me, ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, pater,
 in me et ego in te, ut ipsi nobis sint: ut mundus credat quod tu me 25
 misisti. Et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi eis, ut sint unum, sicut
 nos unum sumus; ego in eis, et tu in me, ut sint consummati in unum: et
 ut cognoscat mundus quod tu me misisti et dilexisti eos, sicut et me
 dilexisti. Pater, quos dedisti mihi, uolo ut ubi sum ego et illi sint mecum,
 ut uideant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi, quia dilexisti me ante 30
 constitutionem mundi. Pater iuste, et mundus te cognouit; ego
 autem te cognoui, et hi cognouerunt quod tu me misisti, et notum feci
 eis nomen tuum et notum faciam, ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in eis sit, et
 ego in ipsis.

12 sunt] mundo *add. A exp. fort. A1* 28 dilexisti] ubi sum ego et sint mecum *praem. B exp. B1*

- 18 Hec cum dixisset Iesus, egressus est cum discipulis suis trans torrentem Cedron, ubi erat hortus, in quem intrauit ipse et discipuli sui. Sciebat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, locum, quod Iesus frequenter conuenerat illuc cum discipulis suis. Iudas ergo, cum accepisset cohortem et a pontificibus et phariseis ministros, uenit illuc cum laternis, facibus et armis. Iesus autem sciens omnia que uentura erant ad eum, egressus dixit ad eos: ‘Quem queritis?’ Responderunt ei: ‘Iesum Nazarenum.’ Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Ego sum!’ Stabat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, cum eis. Vt ergo dixit eis quod ‘Ego sum’, abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum ergo interrogauit eos: ‘Quem queritis?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Iesum Nazarenum.’ Respondit Iesus: ‘Dixi uobis quod ego sum. Si ergo me queritis, sinite hos abire’, ut impleretur sermo quem dixit quod *Quos dedisti mihi non perdidisti ex eis quemquam*. Simon ergo Petrus, habens gladium, extraxit eum et percussit pontificis seruum et abscidit ei auriculam dextram. Erat autem nomen seruo Malchus. Dixit ergo Iesus Petro: ‘Mitte gladium in uaginam suam; calicem quem dedit mihi pater, nunc quidem bibam ipsum.’ Cohors ergo et tribunus et ministri Iudeorum comprehenderunt Iesum et ligauerunt eum et adduxerunt ipsum ad Annam primum; erat enim socer Caiphe, qui erat pontifex anni illius. Erat autem Caiphas, qui consuluerat Iudeis quod ‘Confert unum hominem mori pro populo.’ Sequebatur autem Iesum Simon Petrus et alius discipulus. Discipulus autem ille erat notus pontifici et introiuit cum Iesu in atrium pontificis; Petrus autem stabat ad ostium foris. Exiuit ergo discipulus alius, qui erat notus pontifici, et dixit ostiariae et introduxit Petrum. Dicit ergo ancilla ostiaria Petro: ‘Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis huius?’ Dicit ille: ‘Non sum.’ Stabant autem serui et ministri et prunas faciebant, quoniam frigus erat, et calefaciebant; erat autem cum eis Petrus stans et calefaciens se. Pontifex igitur interrogauit Iesum de discipulis suis et de doctrina eius. Respondit ei Iesus: ‘Ego semper docui in synagoga et in templo, ubi omnes Iudei conueniunt, et in occulto locutus sum nihil. Quid me interrogas? Interroga eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum eis; ecce isti sciunt que dixerim ego.’ Cum autem hec dixisset, unus ministrorum assistens dedit alapam Iesu dicens: ‘Sic respondes pontifici?’ Respondit ei Iesus: ‘Si male locutus sum, testificare de malo; si autem bene, cur me cedis?’ Misit ipsum Annas ligatum ad Caipham Pontificem. Erat autem Simon Petrus

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A69v

B110r

stans et calefaciens se. Dixerunt ergo ei: 'Numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es?' Negavit ille et dixit: 'Non sum.' Dicit unus ex seruis pontificis, cognatus eius cuius Petrus abscidit auriculam: 'Non ego te uidi in orto cum eo?' Iterum ergo negavit Petrus; et statim gallus cantauit. Adducunt ergo Iesum a Caipha in pretorium. Erat autem mane. Et ipsi non introierunt in pretorium, ut non contaminarentur, sed ut manducarent Pascha. Exiuit ergo Pilatus ad eos et dixit: 'Quam accusationem affertis aduersus hunc hominem?' Responderunt et dixerunt ei: 'Si non esset hic malefactor, non utique tradidissemus eum tibi.' Dixit eis Pilatus: 'Accipite ipsum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum!' Dixerunt ergo ei Iudei: 'Nobis non licet interficere quemquam', ut sermo Iesu impleretur quem dixit, significans qua morte esset moriturus. Introiuit ergo iterum in pretorium Pilatus et uocauit Iesum et dixit ei: 'Tu es rex Iudeorum?' Respondit ei Iesus: 'Tu a temetipso hoc dicis, an alii tibi dixerunt de me?' Respondit Pilatus: 'Numquid ego Iudeus sum? Gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi; quid fecisti?' Respondit Iesus: 'Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo; si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum, ministri utique mei decertarent ut non traderer Iudeis. Nunc autem regnum meum non est hinc.' Dicit ergo ei Pilatus. 'Ergo rex es tu?' Respondit Iesus: 'Tu dicis quod rex sum ego. Ego ad hoc natus sum et in hoc ueni in mundum, ut testificer ueritati; omnis qui est ex ueritate, audit uocem meam.' Dicit ei Pilatus: 'Quid est ueritas?' Et cum hoc dixisset, iterum exiuit ad Iudeos et dicit eis: 'Ego autem nullam inuenio in eo causam. Est autem consuetudo ut unum dimittam uobis in Pascha; uultis ergo dimitti uobis regem Iudeorum?' Clamauerunt ergo iterum omnes dicentes: 'Non hunc, sed Barabam!' Erat autem Barabas latro.

B110v

19 Tunc igitur apprehendit Pilatus Iesum et flagellauit. Et milites, plectentes coronam de spinis, imposuerunt eius capiti et ueste purpurea circumdederunt eum et dicebant: 'Aue, rex Iudeorum!', et dabant ei alapas. Exiuit ergo iterum Pilatus foras et dixit eis: 'Ecce adduco eum uobis foras, ut cognoscatis quod nullam in eo causam inuenio.' Exiuit ergo foras Iesus, portans spineam coronam et purpureum uestimentum. Et dicit eis: 'Ecce homo!' Cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices et ministri, clamauerunt dicentes: 'Crucifige, crucifige ipsum!' Dicit eis Pilatus: 'Accipite eum uos et crucifigite, ego enim non inuenio in ipso causam.' Responderunt ei Iudei: 'Nos legem habemus, et

A70r

35

- Responderunt ei Iudei: 'Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem nostram debet mori, quoniam seipsum filium Dei fecit.' Postquam audiuit Pilatus hunc sermonem, magis timuit, et ingressus est in pretorium iterum et dixit ad Iesum: 'Vnde es tu?' Iesus autem
- 5 responsionem non dedit ei. Dicit ergo ei Pilatus: 'Mihi non loqueris? Nescis quod potestatem habeo ut crucifigam te et potestatem habeo ut dimittam te?' Respondit Iesus: 'Non haberes potestatem aduersus me ullam, nisi datum esset tibi desuper; ideo qui me tradidit tibi, maius peccatum habet.' Exinde querebat Pilatus dimittere ipsum; Iudei autem
- 10 clamabant dicentes: 'Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cesaris! Omnis enim qui se regem facit, contradicit Cesari.' Pilatus ergo, cum audisset hos sermones, adduxit foras Iesum et sedit pro tribunali in loco qui dicitur Lithostrotos, Hebraice autem '*Golgotha*'. Erat autem Parasceue Pasche, hora quasi sexta. Et dicit Iudeis: 'Ecce rex uester!' Ipsi autem clamabant
- 15 dicentes: 'Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum!' Dicit eis Pilatus: 'Regem uestrum crucifigam?' Responderunt pontifices: 'Non habemus regem nisi Cesarem.' Tunc igitur tradidit eum ipsis ut crucifigeretur. Susceperunt autem Iesum et ducebant. Et baiulans crucem suam exiuit in eum qui dictus est 'Caluarie locus', et dicitur Hebraice '*Golgotha*', ubi ipsum
- 20 crucifixerunt et cum eo alios duos hinc et hinc, medium autem Iesum. Scripsit autem et titulum Pilatus et posuit super crucem; erat autem scriptum: 'Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum'. Hunc ergo titulum multi Iudeorum legerunt, quia prope ciuitatem erat locus ubi crucifixus fuerat Iesus; et erat scriptum Hebraice, Grece et Latine. Dicebant ergo Pilato
- 25 pontifices: 'Ne scribas: "Rex Iudeorum", sed quod ille dixit: "Rex sum Iudeorum"?' Respondit Pilatus: 'Quod scripsi, scripsi.' Milites ergo postquam crucifixerunt Iesum, acceperunt uestimenta suo et fecerunt quatuor partes, unicuique militi partem, et tunicam. Erat autem tunica inconsutilis, desuper contexta per totum. Dixerunt ergo adinuicem: 'Non
- 30 scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de ea, cuius erit', ut scriptura impleretur dicens: *Partiti sunt sibi uestimenta mea et super uestem meam miserunt sortem*. Et milites quidem hoc fecerunt. Stabant autem iuxta crucem Iesu mater eius Maria et soror matris sue, Maria Cleophe, et Maria Magdalena. Cum ergo uidisset Iesus matrem et discipulum astantem quem diligebat, dicit matri

B111r

1 ei Iudei] Iudei ei B tr. B1 5 responsionem] -m i. r. A1 | non^l] i. r. A1 6 ut crucifigam] ex crucifigendi corr. A2 | ut²...7 dimittam] ex dimittendi corr. A2 10 Omnis] ex omnes corr. B1 13 Lithostrotos] licostrates B

A70v

sue: ‘Mulier, ecce filius tuus.’ Deinde dicit discipulo: ‘Ecce mater tua.’ Et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in propria. Post hec conspicatus Iesus quod omnia iam consummata sunt, ut consummaretur scriptura que dixit: *Sitio*. Vas ergo positum erat aceto plenum; ipsi autem impleuerunt

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spongiam aceto et hysopo circumposuerunt et obtulerunt ori eius. 5 Postquam ergo accepit acetum, Iesus dixit: ‘Consummatum est!’ Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. Iudei ergo, ut non manerent in cruce corpora in sabato, quoniam Parasceue erat – erat enim magna dies illius sabati – rogauerunt Pilatum ut frangerentur eorum crura et tollerentur. Venerunt ergo milites et primi quidem frangerunt crura et alterius qui cum 10 eo crucifixus erat; ad Iesum autem cum uenissent, ut uiderunt ipsum iam mortuum, non frangerunt eius crura, sed unus militum lancea latus suum aperuit, et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua. Et qui uidit, testificatus est, et uerum est testimonium suum, et ille scit quod uera dicit, ut uos credatis. Facta sunt autem hec, ut scriptura impleretur: *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, et 15 iterum alia scriptura dicit: *Videbunt in quem transfixerunt*. Post hec autem rogauit Pilatum Ioseph a Barimathia, discipulus Iesu, sed occultus ob metum Iudeorum, ut tolleret corpus Iesu; et permisit Pilatus. Venit ergo et tulit corpus Iesu. Venit autem et Nicodemus, qui uenerat ad Iesum nocte primum, ferens mixturam myrrae et aloes quasi libras centum. 20 Acceperunt ergo corpus et ligauerunt ipsum linteis cum aromatibus, sicut sepeliendi Iudeis mos est. Erat autem in loco ubi crucifixus fuerat hortus, et in horto monumentum nouum, in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat. Ibi ergo propter Parasceue Iudeorum, quia prope erat monumentum, posuerunt Iesum. 25

20 Vna autem sabatorum Maria Magdalena uenit mane, tenebris adhuc existentibus, ad monumentum et uidit lapidem sublatum a monumento. Currit ergo et uenit ad Simonem Petrum et ad alium discipulum, quem diligebat Iesus, et dicit eis: ‘Tulerunt dominum de monumento, et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum!’ Exiit ergo Petrus et 30 alius discipulus, et uenerunt ad monumentum. Currebant autem duo simul, et alius discipulus precurrit citius Petro et uenit primus ad monumentum et, cum se inclinasset, uidit linteamina posita; non tamen intrauit. Venit ergo Simon Petrus sequens eum et introiuit in monumentum; et uidit linteamina posita et sudarium, quod fuerat super 35

B112r

2 propria] suam *praem.* B exp. B1 4 ergo] ex ego *corr.* A2 8 in] *om.* A ins. A1 18 et...19 Iesu] *om.* B 20 aloes] aleos B 31 et¹...simul] *om.* B 33 cum...34 et²] *om.* B

linteamina posita et sudarium, quod fuerat super caput eius, non cum
 linteaminibus positum, sed separatim inuolutum in unum locum. Tunc
 ergo introiit et alius discipulus, qui uenerat primus ad monumentum, et
 uidit et credidit. Nondum enim sciebant scripturam, quod oportebat eum
 5 a mortuis resurgere. Abierunt ergo discipuli ad semetipsos. Maria autem
 stabat ad monumentum foris plorans. Dum ergo fleret, inclinauit se et
 prospexit in monumentum et uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes, unum
 ad caput et unum ad pedes, ubi positum fuerat corpus Iesu. Et dicunt ei
 illi: 'Mulier, quid ploras?' Dicit eis: 'Quia tulerunt dominum meum, et
 10 nescio ubi posuerunt eum. Et hec cum dixisset, conuersa est retrorsum
 et uidit Iesum stantem et nesciebat quod Iesus esset. Dicit ei Iesus:
 'Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris?' Illa, existimans quod hortulanus
 esset, ait ei: 'Domine, si tu asportasti eum, dic mihi ubi posuisti eum, et
 ego ipsum tollam.' Dicit Iesus: 'Maria!' Conuersa illa ait ei: 'Rabboni!',
 15 quod dicitur 'magister'. Dicit ei Iesus: 'Ne me attingas, nondum enim
 ascendi ad patrem meum; uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis: Ascendo
 ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum, et Deum meum et Deum uestrum.'
 Venit Maria Magdalena annuntians discipulis quod uiderat dominum et
 hec dixerat ei. Sero autem facto die illa una sabatorum, cum fores essent
 20 clause ubi erant discipuli congregati propter metum Iudeorum, uenit
 Iesus et stetit in medio et ait eis: 'Pax uobis!' Et cum hec dixisset,
 ostendit eis manus et latus eius. Gauisi ergo sunt discipuli, uiso domino.
 Dicit igitur eis Iesus iterum: 'Pax uobis! Sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto
 25 uos.' Et cum hoc dixisset, insufflauit et dicit eis: 'Accipite spiritum
 sanctum. Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum
 retinueritis, retenta sunt. Thomas autem, unus ex duodecim, qui dicitur
 Didimus, non erat cum eis quando uenit Iesus. Dixerunt ergo ei alii
 discipuli: 'Vidimus dominum!' Ipse autem dixit eis: 'Nisi uidero in
 30 manibus suis figuram clauorum et mittam digitum meum in figuram
 clauorum et mittam manum meam in latus eius, non credam.' Et post
 dies octo iterum erant discipuli eius intus, et Thomas cum eis. Venit
 Iesus ianuis clausis et stetit in medio et dixit: 'Pax uobis!' Deinde dixit
 Thome: 'Infer digitum tuum huc et uide manus meas et affer manum
 tuam et mitte in latus meum, et ne sis incredulus sed fidelis!' Respondit
 35 Thomas et ait ei: 'Dominus meus et Deus meus!' Dicit ei Iesus: 'Quia

A71r

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13 et] i. r. A2 14 ei] om. B 16 uade...17 uestrum²] om. B 17 uestrum¹] et patrem meum
 add. A

uidisti me, Thoma, credidisti. Beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt!’ Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Iesus coram discipulis suis, que non sunt scripta in libro hoc; hec autem scripta sunt, ut credatis quod Iesus est Christus filius Dei, et ut credentes uitam habeatis in nomine eius.

21 Post hec manifestauit semetipsum Iesus discipulis suis ad mare 5
Tiberiadis; manifestauit autem se sic. Erant simul Simon Petrus
et Thomas, qui dicitur Didymus, et Nathanael, qui erat a Cana
Galilee, et filii Zebedei et alii ex discipulis suis duo. Dicit eis Simon
Petrus: ‘Vado pescari.’ Dicunt ei: ‘Venimus et nos tecum.’ Exierunt et
ascenderunt confestim in nauim; et illa nocte nihil prehenderunt. Mane 10
autem iam facto, stetit Iesus in litore; non tamen discipuli cognouerunt
quod Iesus esset. Dicit ergo eis Iesus: ‘Pueri, numquid pulmentarium
habetis?’ Responderunt ei: ‘Non.’ Ipse autem dixit eis: ‘Mittite in
dexteram nauigii partem rete et inuenietis.’ Miserunt ergo rete et non
amplius poterant ipsum trahere pre multitudine piscium. Dicit ergo 15
discipulus ille, quem diligebat Iesus, Petro: ‘Dominus est!’ Simon igitur
Petrus, cum audisset quod dominus est, tunica succinxit se – erat enim
nudus – et iecit seipsum in mare; alii autem discipuli nauigio uenerunt,
non enim erant procul a terra, sed quasi cubitis ducentis, trahentes rete
piscium. Vt ergo descenderunt in terram, uiderunt prunas positas et 20
piscem superpositum et panem. Dixit eis Iesus: ‘Afferte de piscibus quos
prehendistis nunc.’ Ascendit Simon Petrus et traxit rete in terram,
plenum piscibus magnis centum quinquaginta tribus; et cum tanti essent,
non est scissum rete. Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Venite, prandete.’ Nemo autem
discipulorum audebat interrogare: ‘Tu quis es?’ Scientes quod dominus 25
est. Venit Iesus et accepit panem et dabat eis et piscem similiter. Hoc iam
tertio manifestatus est Iesus discipulis suis, cum surrexisset a mortuis.
Cum ergo prandissent, dicit Simoni Petro Iesus: ‘Simon Iona, diligis me?’
Dicit ei: ‘Vtique, domine, tu scis quod amo te.’ Dicit ei: ‘Pasce oues
meas.’ Dicit ei iterum secundo: ‘Simon Iona, diligis me?’ Dicit ei: ‘Vtique, 30
domine, tu scis quod amo te.’ Dicit ei: ‘Pasce oues meas.’ Dicit ei tertio:
‘Simon Iona, amas me?’ Contristatus est Petrus quod dixerat ei tertio:
‘Amas me?’ Et dixit ei: ‘Domine, tu omnia scis, tu nosti quod amo te.’
Dicit ei: ‘Pasce oues meas. Amen dico tibi: Cum esses iunior, cingebas
teipsum et ambulabas quo uolebas; cum autem senueris, extends manus 35

A71v

B113r

- tuas, et alius te cinget et feret quo non uis.’ Hoc autem dixit significans
qua morte esset clarificaturus Deum. Et cum hec dixisset, ait ei: ‘Sequere
me.’ Conuersus Petrus uidit illum discipulum, quem diligebat Iesus,
sequentem, et qui recubuerat in cena super pectus suum et dixerat ei:
5 ‘Domine, quis est qui tradet te?’ Hunc cum audisset Petrus, dicit ad
Iesum: ‘Hic autem quid?’ Dicit ei Iesus: ‘Si eum uolo manere donec
ueniam, quid ad te? Tu me sequere.’ Exiuit ergo sermo hic inter fratres
quod discipulus ille non moritur. Et non dixit ei Iesus quod non moritur,
sed: ‘Si eum uolo manere donec ueniam, quid ad te?’ Hic est discipulus
10 ille qui testificatur de his et scripsit hec, et scimus quod uerum est
testimonium suum. Sunt autem et alia multa que fecit Iesus, que si per
singula scriberentur, nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui
scribendi sunt libros.

B113v

Romans

- 15 **1** Paulus seruus Iesu Christi, uocatus apostolus, segregatus in
euangelium Dei, quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in
scripturis sanctis de filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine Dauid
secundum carnem, qui predestinatus est filius Dei in uirtute secundum
spiritum sanctificationis et resurrectione mortuorum, Iesu Christi domini
20 nostri, per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatum ad obedientiam fidei
in omnibus gentibus pro nomine suo, in quibus estis et uos uocati Iesu
Christi, omnibus qui sunt Rome dilectis Dei, uocatis sanctis: gratia uobis
et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Primum quidem
gratias ago Deo meo per Iesum Christum pro omnibus uobis, quod fides
25 uestra annuntiatur in toto mundo; testis enim meus est Deus, cui
deserui in spiritu meo in euangelio filii sui, ut sine intermissione
memoriam uestri facio, semper in orationibus meis obsecrans si
quomodo iam aliquando prosperum iter habeam in uoluntate Dei
ueniendi ad uos. Desidero enim uidere uos, ut impartiar uobis aliquam
30 gratiam spiritualem ad confirmandum uos, hoc autem est ad simul
consolandum in uobis per eam que inuicem est fidem uestram ac meam.
Nolo autem uos ignorare, fratres, quod sepenumero proposui uenire ad

A72r

B114r

B114v

1 non uis] nouis B 17 carnem] carne B 19 et] ex AB 20 gratiam] gloriam *praem.* B
27 uestri] ex uestram *corr.* B1 29 aliquam] aliqua B

uos et prohibitus sum usque adhuc, ut aliquem fructum habeam et in uobis, sicut et in ceteris gentibus. Et grecis et barbaris, et sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum. Sic quod est in me promptum etiam uobis qui Rome estis euangelizare. Non enim erubesco euangelium Christi: uirtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti, Iudeo primum et Greco. Iustitia enim Dei in ipso reuelatur ex fide in fidem, sicut scriptum est: *Iustus autem ex fide uiuet*. Reuelatur enim ira Dei de celo super omnem impietatem et iniustitiam hominum eorum, qui ueritatem in iniustitia detinent, quia, quod notum est, Dei manifestum est in eis; Deus namque eis manifestauit. Inuisibilia enim eius a creatione mundi ex operibus factis intellecta conspiciuntur, et sempiterna uirtus sua et diuinitas, ut ipsi sint inexcusabiles; quia, cum cognouissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed euauerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum. Dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt, et mutauerunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis et uolucrum et quadrupedum et serpentum. Quare tradidit eos Deus in desideria cordium suorum in immunditiam, ut inhonorent corpora sua in semetipsis, qui transmutauerunt ueritatem Dei in mendacium et coluerunt et deseruierunt creature preter creatorem, qui est benedictus in secula. Amen. Ideo tradidit eos Deus in passiones ignominie. Femine enim eorum immutauerunt naturalem usum in eum qui est preter naturam; similiter et mares, dimisso naturali usu femine, exarserunt in desiderio suo, masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes et conuenientem mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui in semetipsis recipientes. Et sicut non probauerunt Deum habere in notitia, tradidit eos Deus in reprobum sensum ad faciendum ea que non conueniunt, repletos omni iniquitate, malitia, fornicatione, auaritia, nequitia, plenos inuidia, homicidio, contentione, dolo, malignitate, susurriones, detractores, Deo odibiles, contumeliosos, superbos, elatos, repertoires malorum, parentibus inobedientes, insipientes, incompositos, importunos, fedifragos, immisericordes. Qui cum iustitiam Dei cognouissent, non intellexerunt quod qui talia agunt digni sunt morte, non solum qui faciunt ea, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus.

2 et³] *om. A ins. A2* 3 promptum] proptum B 9 est²] eis B 10 creatione] -tione *i. r. A2*
 17 suorum] s- -o- *i. r. fort. A2* 20 deseruierunt] *ex deseruunt corr. B1* 25 erroris] corporis
AB -oris i. r. A2 | Et] *om. AB ins. A2*

A72v

B115r

- 2 Qua propter inexcusabilis es, o homo omnis qui iudicas. In quo enim iudicas alterum, teipsum condemnas; eadem enim agis, qui iudicas. Scimus autem quod iudicium Dei est secundum ueritatem in eos qui talia agunt. Existimas autem, o homo qui iudicas eos qui talia
- 5 agunt, et facis ea, quod tu effugies iudicium Dei? An diuitias bonitatis sue et patientie et longanimitatis contemnis, ignorans quod benignitas Dei ad penitentiam te adducit? Secundum autem duritiam tuam et impenitens cor thesaurizas tibi ipsi iram in die ire et reuelationis et iusti iudicii Dei, qui reddit unicuique secundum opera sua: his quidem secundum
- 10 patientiam boni operis gloriam et honorem et incorruptionem querentibus uitam eternam; his autem qui sunt ex contentione et non acquiescunt ueritati, credunt autem iniquitati, indignatio et ira. Tribulatio et angustia in omnem animam hominis operantis malum, Iudei primum et Greci; gloria autem et honor et pax omni operanti bonum, Iudeo
- 15 primum et Greco. Non enim est acceptio personarum apud Deum! Nam quicumque sine lege peccauerunt, sine lege peribunt; et quicumque in lege peccauerunt, per legem iudicabuntur. Non enim auditores legis iusti sunt apud Deum, sed factores legis iustificabuntur. Nam cum gentes, que legem non habent, naturaliter que legis sunt faciunt. Isti legem non
- 20 habentes sibi ipsis sunt lex; qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis, contestificante conscientia eorum et inter se, cogitationibus accusantibus aut defendentibus, in die cum iudicabit Deus occulta hominum secundum euangelium meum per Iesum Christum. Si autem tu Iudeus cognominaris et requiescis in lege et gloriaris in Deo, et nosti uoluntatem et probas utiliora instructus per legem, confidis teipsum
- 25 ducem esse cecorum, lumen eorum qui in tenebris sunt, eruditorem insipientium, magistrum infantium, habentem formam cognitionis et ueritatis in lege. Qui ergo alium doces, teipsum non doces? Qui predicas non furandum, furaris? Qui dicis non mechandum, mecharis? Qui
- 30 abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis? Qui in lege gloriaris, per preuaricationem legis Deum inhonoras? *Nomen enim Dei per uos blasphematur inter gentes*, sicut scriptum est. Circumcisio quidem prodest, si legem obseruas; si autem preuaricator legis sis, circumcisio tua preputium facta est. Si igitur preputium iustitias legis custodiat, nonne preputium
- 35 eius in circumcissione reputabitur? Et iudicabitur quod ex natura

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14 autem] *om. B* 15 acceptio] acceptatio *B* 18 sed] *om. B* 21 cogitationibus] cogitantes *praem. B exp. B1* 25 teipsum] et ipsum *B* 26 lumen] et eorum *praem. B exp. B1* 32 quidem] *ex enim corr. B1*

B116r iudicabitur quod ex natura preputium est, legem perficiens, te, qui per litteram et circumcisionem preuicator legis es. Non enim qui in manifesto Iudeus est, nec que in manifesto in carne est circumcisio est, sed qui in abscondito Iudeus est, circumcisio cordis in spiritu non littera, cuius laus non ex hominibus sed ex Deo est. 5

3 Quid igitur amplius Iudei est, aut que utilitas circumcisionis? Multum per omnem modum. Primum quidem, quia credita sunt eloquia Dei. Quid enim si quidam eorum non crediderunt? Numquid incredulitas eorum fidem Dei euacuabit? Absit! Est autem Deus uerax, omnis uero homo mendax, sicut scriptum est: *Vt iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincas cum iudicaris.* Si autem iniquitas nostra iustitiam Dei commendat, quid dicemus? Numquid iniquus est Deus, qui infert iram? Secundum hominem dico. Absit! Alioquin quomodo iudicabit Deus mundum? Si enim ueritas Dei in meo mendacio abundauit in gloriam eius, quid adhuc et ego tamquam peccator iudicor? Et non sicut blasphemamur et sicut iniquiunt quidam nos dicere quod 'Faciamus mala, ut ueniant bona'? Quorum damnatio iusta est. Quid igitur? Precellimus? Non omnino! Causati enim sumus Iudeos et Grecos omnes sub peccato esse, sicut scriptum est: *Non est iustus quisquam, non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum. Omnes declinauerunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum. Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, linguis suis dolose agebant, uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum, quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est; ueloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem, contritio et calamitas in uis suis, et uiam pacis non cognouerunt. Non est timor Dei coram oculis eorum.* Scimus autem quod, quecumque lex dicit, eis qui in lege sunt loquitur, ut omne os obstruatur, et subditus fiat omnis mundus Deo; quia ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro coram eo, per legem enim cognitio peccati. Nunc autem sine lege iustitia Dei manifestata est, testificata sub lege et prophetis. Iustitia autem Dei est per fidem Iesu Christi, in omnes et super omnes qui credunt. Non enim est distinctio: omnes enim peccauerunt et egent gloria Dei, iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius et per redemptionem que est in Christo Iesu; quem preposuit Deus propitiatorem per fidem in sanguine suo ad ostensionem iustitie sue, propter remissionem precedentium delictorum in sustentatione Dei, 10 15 20 25 30

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1 preputium] prepetium B 2 es] om. A ins. A2 7 omnem] -em i. r. fort. A2 11 nostra] ex uestra corr. B1 14 abundauit] ex abundabit corr. B1 16 ut] i. r. A2 25 loquitur] loquiquitur B

propter remissionem precedentium delictorum in sustentatione Dei, ad ostensionem iustitiae suae in presenti tempore, ut sit ipse iustus et iustificans eum qui ex fide est Iesu. Vbi ergo glorificatio? Exclusa est. Per quam legem? Operum? Non, sed per legem fidei. Arbitramur ergo fide
 5 iustificare hominem sine operibus legis. An Iudeorum Deus solum? Non autem et gentium? Vtique et gentium, quoniam unus Deus, qui iustificat circumcisionem ex fide et preputium per fidem. Legem igitur destruimus per fidem? Absit, sed legem statuimus.

- 10 **4** Quid ergo dicemus inuenisse Abraham patrem nostrum secundum carnem? Si enim Abraham ex operibus iustificatus est, habet gloriam, sed non apud Deum. Quid enim scriptura dicit? *Credidit autem Abraham Deo, et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam*. Ei autem qui operatur, merces non <reputatur> secundum gratiam sed secundum debitum; ei uero qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui iustificat impium,
 15 reputatur fides sua ad iustitiam, secundum propositum gratiae Dei, sicut et Dauid dicit beatitudinem hominis, cui Deus imputat iustitiam sine operibus: *Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus uir, cui non imputabit dominus peccatum*. Beatitudo ergo hec in circumcisione an in preputio? Dicimus enim quod reputata est Abrahae
 20 fides ad iustitiam. Quomodo ergo reputata est? In circumcisione an in preputio? Non in circumcisione sed in preputio; et signum accepit circumcisionis, signaculum iustitiae fidei, quae est in preputio, ut sit ipse pater omnium credentium per preputium, ut reputetur et ipsis ad iustitiam, et si pater circumcisionis non his qui sunt ex circumcisione
 25 solum, sed etiam his qui sectantur uestigia fidei, quae est in preputio, patris nostri Abraham. Non enim per legem promissio Abrahae aut semini suo, ut ipse heres esset mundi, sed per iustitiam fidei; si enim qui ex lege heredes sunt, exinanita est fides, abolita est promissio. Lex enim iram operatur; nam ubi non est lex, nec preuaricatio. Idcirco ex fide, ut
 30 secundum gratiam firma sit promissio omni semini, non ei qui ex lege est solum, sed ei qui ex fide est Abrahae – qui est pater omnium nostrum, sicut scriptum est quod *Patrem multarum gentium posui te* – ante Deum, cui credebatur, qui uiuificat mortuos et uocat ea quae non sunt tamquam ea quae sunt; qui preter spem in spe credidit, ut fieret ipse pater multarum

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A74r

1 propter] in presenti tempore ut sit ipse iustus *praem. B exp. B1* 5 solum] *ex solus corr. B1*
 13 reputatur] *om. AB* 20 preputio] *prepetio B* 24 circumcisione] *circunsione B*
 27 iustitiam] *legem praem. B exp. B1*

credidit, ut fieret ipse pater multarum gentium, secundum id quod dictum est: *Sic erit semen tuum sicut stelle celi et sicut arena que est in littore maris.* Et non est infirmatus in fide nec consideravit corpus suum iam emortuum, cum fere centum esset annorum, nec mortificationem uulue Sare; in promissione autem Dei non hesitavit diffidentia, sed confortatus est fide, dans gloriam Deo, et certificatus quod quecumque promisit Deus potens est et facere. Et ideo reputatum est ei ad iustitiam. Non est autem scriptum propter eum solum quod reputatum est ei, sed etiam propter nos, quibus reputabitur, credentibus in eum, qui suscitavit Iesum dominum nostrum a mortuis, qui traditus est propter delicta nostra et resurrexit propter iustitiam nostram.

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5 Iustificati igitur ex fide, pacem habeamus ad Deum per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, per quem accessum habemus ad fidem in gratiam istam, in qua stamus et gloriamur in spe glorie Dei. Non solum autem, sed etiam gloriamur in tribulationibus, scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia uero probationem, probatio autem spem; spes uero non confundit, quia caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis. Adhuc enim Christus, cum infirmi essemus, secundum tempus pro impiis mortuus est. Vix enim pro iusto quis moritur; nam pro bono forsitan quis et audeat mori. Commendat autem suam caritatem in nobis Deus, quoniam si cum adhuc peccatores essemus, Christus pro nobis mortuus est. Multo igitur magis iustificati nunc in sanguine suo, ab ira per ipsum saluabimur. Si enim cum inimici essemus reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem filii sui, multo magis reconciliati saluabimur in uita sua; non solum autem, sed et gloriamur in Deo per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, per quem nunc reconciliationem accepimus. Idcirco, sicut per unum hominem peccatum in mundum intrauit et per peccatum mors, et sic in omnes homines mors pertransiuit, in quo omnes peccauerunt. Vsque enim ad legem peccatum erat in mundo; peccatum autem non imputabatur, cum lex non esset, sed regnauit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysem etiam in eos qui non peccauerunt in similitudinem preuaricationis Ade, qui est figura

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2 est¹] ei *add.* AB *exp. fort.* A2B1 7 iustitiam] -am *i. r.* A2 | Non...8 eum] *i. r.* A2
8 solum...9 nos] *om.* A *i. m.* A2 16 operatur] *i. r.* A1 23 nunc] *om.* A *ins. fort.* A2
26 gloriamur] nunc reconciliationem accepimus *praem.* B *exp.* B1 27 unum] uanum B

futuri. Sed non sicut delictum, ita et donum; si enim unius delicto multi mortui sunt, multo magis gratia Dei et donum in gratia unius hominis Iesu Christi in plures abundauit. Et non sicut per unum qui peccauit donum; iudicium enim ex uno in condemnationem, gratia autem ex multis delictis in iustificationem. Si enim unius delicto mors regnauit per unum, multo magis qui abundantiam gratie et donationis iustitiae acceperunt, in uita regnabunt per unum Iesum Christum. An igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem, sic et per unius iustitiam in omnes homines in iustificationem uite; sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi, ita et per obedientiam unius iusti constituuntur multi. Lex autem subintrauit, ut abundaret delictum; ubi autem abundauit peccatum, superabundauit et gratia, ut ceu regnauit peccatum in morte, ita et gratia regnet per iustitiam in uitam eternam per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.

A74v

15 **6** Quid ergo dicemus? Permanebimus in peccato, ut gratia abundet? Absit! Qui mortui sumus peccato, quomodo adhuc uiuimus in eo? An ignoratis quod quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus? Consepulti ergo sumus cum eo per baptismum in morte, ut quemadmodum surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos in nouitate uite ambulemus. Si enim complantati facti sumus similitudini mortis sue, simul et resurrectionis erimus; hoc cognoscentes quod uetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruat corpus peccati, ut ultra nos non seruiamus peccato. Qui enim mortuus est, iustificatus est a peccato. Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo, credimus quod et simul uiuimus cum eo; scientes quod Christus resurgens a mortuis non amplius moritur, mors ei ultra non dominabitur. Quod autem mortuum est, peccato mortuum est semel; quod uero uiuit, uiuit Deo. Ita et uos existimate uosmetipsos mortuos quidem esse peccato, uiuentes autem Deo in Christo Iesu domino nostro. Non ergo regnet peccatum in uestro mortali corpore, ut obediat ei in concupiscentiis suis, sed ne exhibeatis membra uestra arma iniquitatis peccato, sed exhibete uosipsos Deo tamquam ex mortuis uiuentes et membra uestra arma iustitiae Dei. Peccatum enim uobis non dominabitur; non enim estis sub lege sed sub gratia. Quid igitur? Peccabimus, quia non

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1 si] in gratia unius hominis *praem. B exp. B1* 10 hominis] homines *A* 11 obedientiam] inobedientiam *B* | unius] hominis *add. B* 13 regnet] *ex regnat corr. B1* 21 similitudini] similitudinem *B* 26 moritur] moriturus *B* 31 iniquitatis] nequitie *praem. B exp. B1*

sub lege sed sub gratia. Quid igitur? Peccabimus, quia non sumus sub lege sed sub gratia? Absit! Nescitis quod, cui exhibetis uosipsos seruos ad obedientiam, serui estis eius cui obeditis, siue peccati ad mortem, siue obedientie ad iustitiam? Gratia autem Deo quod fuistis serui peccati, obedistis autem ex corde in eam doctrine figuram in qua traditi estis, 5 liberati autem a peccato serui facti estis iustitie. Humanum dico propter infirmitatem carnis uestre. Sicut enim exhibuistis membra uestra famulantia immunditie et iniquitati in iniquitatem, sic nunc exhibete membra uestra famulantia iustitie in sanctificatione. Cum enim serui essetis peccati, liberi fuistis iustitie. Quem ergo fructum habuistis tunc, in 10 illis in quibus nunc erubescitis? Finis enim illorum mors! Nunc autem liberati a peccato, serui autem facti Deo, habetis fructum uestrum in sanctificationem, finem autem uitam eternam! Stipendia enim peccati mors, gratia autem Dei uita eterna in Christo Iesu domino nostro.

7 An ignoratis, fratres – cognoscentibus enim legem loquor – quod 15 lex dominatur homini quanto tempore uiuit? Que enim sub uiro est mulier, uiuente uiro ligata est legi; si autem mortuus fuerit uir, liberata est a lege uiri. Igitur uiuente uiro uocabitur adultera si fuerit cum altero uiro; si autem mortuus fuerit uir, liberata est a lege, ut non sit ipsa adultera si fuerit cum altero uiro. Itaque, fratres mei, et uos mortificati 20 estis legi per corpus Christi, ut sitis uos alterius, qui ex mortuis resurrexit, ut fructificemus Deo. Cum enim essemus in carne, passiones peccatorum, que erant per legem, operabantur in membris nostris, ut fructificarent morti; nunc autem soluti sumus a lege, morientes in eo in quo detinebamur, ita ut nos seruamus in nouitate spiritus et non in 25 uetustate littere. Quid ergo dicemus? Lex peccatum? Absit! Sed peccatum non cognoui nisi per legem; concupiscentiam enim nesciebam nisi lex diceret: *Non concupisces*. Occasione autem accepta, peccatum per mandatum operatum est in me omnem concupiscentiam; sine lege enim peccatum mortuum erat. Ego autem sine lege uiuebam aliquando; sed, 30 cum uenisset mandatum, peccatum reuixit. Ego autem mortuus eram, et inuentum est mihi mandatum, quod erat ad uitam, hoc esse ad mortem; peccatum enim, occasione accepta, per mandatum seduxit me et per ipsum interfecit. Itaque lex quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum. Bonum ergo mihi factum est mors? Absit! Sed 35

26 ergo] *ex ego corr. A2* 27 nesciebam] *ex nesciebamur corr. B1*

peccatum, ut appareat peccatum, per bonum mihi mortem operatum est; ut fiat per superabundantiam peccator peccatum per mandatum. Scimus enim quod lex spiritualis est; ego autem carnalis sum, uenundatus sub peccato. Quod enim operor non cognosco; non enim quod uolo, hoc
 5 ago, sed quod odi, hoc facio. Si autem quod nolo, hoc facio, consentio legi quod bona est. Nunc autem non amplius ego operor ipsum, sed quod habitat in me, peccatum. Scio enim quod non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum; uelle enim adiacet mihi, operari autem bonum non inuenio. Non enim quod uolo facio, bonum, sed quod nolo, malum,
 10 hoc ago. Si autem quod nolo ego hoc facio, non amplius ego operor ipsum, sed quod inhabitat in me, peccatum. Inuenio igitur legem uolenti mihi facere bonum, quod mihi malum adiacet. Igitur lex mihi uolenti bona est. Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem; ideo autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis mee
 15 et captiuantem me in lege peccati, que est in membris meis. Miser ego homo! Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Gratias ago Deo per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum! An ergo ego ipse mente quidem seruio legi Dei, carne autem legi peccati.

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8 Nulla igitur nunc damnatio his qui in Christo Iesu sunt, non
 20 secundum carnem ambulantes sed secundum spiritum; lex enim spiritus uite in Christo Iesu liberauit me a lege peccati et mortis. Quod enim impossibile erat legi, in qua infirmabatur per carnem, Deus, filium suum cum misisset in similitudinem carnis peccati de peccato, damnavit peccatum in carne, ut iustificatio legis impleretur in nobis, qui
 25 non secundum carnem sed secundum spiritum ambulamus. Qui enim secundum carnem sunt, que carnis sunt sapiunt; qui autem secundum spiritum, ea que sunt spiritus. Prudentia enim carnis mors est, prudentia autem spiritus uita et pax; idcirco prudentia carnis inimica est Deo, legi enim Dei non subicitur, neque enim potest. Qui enim in carne sunt, Deo
 30 placere non possunt. Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in spiritu, si quidem spiritus Dei habitat in uobis. Si quis autem spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est eius. Si autem Christus in uobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus autem uiuit propter iustificationem. Si autem spiritus eius qui suscitauit Iesum a mortuis,
 35 habitat in uobis, qui suscitauit Christum a mortuis uiuificabit et mortalia corpora uestra propter inhabitantem spiritum eius in uobis. An ergo, fratres, debitores sumus, non carni, ut secundum carnem uiuamus. Si

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enim secundum carnem uixeritis, moriemini; si autem spiritu opera carnis mortificaueritis, uiuetis. Quicumque enim spiritu Dei aguntur, hi sunt filii Dei. Non enim accepistis spiritum seruitutis iterum in timore, sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: ‘Abba, pater!’ Ipse enim spiritus contestificatur spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei. Si autem filii, et heredes: heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi, si quidem compatimur ut simul et glorificemur. Existimo enim quod non sunt condigne passiones presentis temporis ad futuram gloriam, que reuelabitur in nobis. Expectatio enim creature reuelationem filiorum Dei expectat; uanitati enim creatura subiecta est, non uolens sed propter eum qui subiecit eam, in spe, quod ipsa creatura liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis in libertatem glorie filiorum Dei. Scimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit usque ad presens; non solum autem, sed etiam ipsi primitias spiritus habentes, et nos ipsi intra nosmetipsos ingemiscimus adoptionem filiorum expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri. Spe enim saluati sumus; spes autem que uidetur non est spes; quod enim uidet quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non uidemus speramus, per patientiam expectamus. Eodem autem modo et spiritus coadiuuat infirmitates nostras; quid enim oramus secundum quod oportet, nescimus, sed ipse spiritus superassistit pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus; qui autem scrutatur corda, scit que sit prudentia spiritus, quoniam secundum Deum assistit pro sanctis. Scimus autem quod diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, his qui secundum propositum uocati sunt sancti. Nam quos presciuit et predestinauit conformes imagines filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus; quos autem predestinauit, hos et uocauit; et quos uocauit, hos et iustificauit; quos autem et iustificauit, hos et glorificauit. Quid ergo dicimus ad hec? Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Qui proprio filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit ipsum, quomodo non etiam cum eo omnia nobis donabit? Quis accusabit aduersus electos Dei? Deus, qui iustificat? Quis est qui condemnet? Christus, qui mortuus est, magis autem qui et resurrexit, et est ad dexteram Dei, qui assistit pro nobis? Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi? Tribulatio an angustia an persecutio an fames an nuditas an periculum an gladius? Sicut scriptum est quod *Propter te mortificamur tota die, existimati quidem tamquam oves occisionis*. Sed in his omnibus superamus, propter eum qui dilexit nos. Certus sum enim quod neque mors neque uita neque angeli neque principatus neque uirtutes neque presentia neque futura neque altitudo

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neque profunditas neque aliqua alia creatura poterit nos separare a caritate Dei, que est in Christo Iesu domino nostro.

- 9 Veritatem dico in Christo, non mentior, contestificante mihi conscientia mea in spiritu sancto, quod mihi tristitia est magna et
 5 continuus dolor cordi meo. Orabam enim ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis, qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem, qui sunt Israelite, quorum adoptio est filiorum et gloria et testamentum et legislatio et obsequium cultus et promissiones, quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem; qui est in omnibus Deus benedictus
 10 in secula. Amen. Non est autem possibile quod exciderit uerbum Dei. Non enim omnes qui ex Israel sunt, hi Israelite sunt; neque qui semen Abrahe sunt, omnes filii, sed: *In Izach uocabitur tibi semen*. Hoc est, non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei, sed qui filii promissionis estimantur in semine; promissionis enim uerbum istud: *Secundum hoc tempus ueniam, et erit Sare*
 15 *filius*. Non solum autem, sed etiam Rebecha ex uno concubitum habens, Izach patre nostro; cum enim non dum nati fuissent aut aliquid boni aut mali egissent, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non ex operibus sed ex uocante dictum est ei quod *Maior seruiet minori*; sicut scriptum est: *Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odi*. Quid ergo dicemus? Numquid
 20 iniquitas est apud Deum? Absit! Moysi enim dixit: *Miserebor cuius utique miserebor, et misericordiam prestabo cuius miserebor*. Igitur neque uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Dicit enim scriptura Pharaoni quod *In hoc ipsum excitauit te, ut ostenderem in te uirtutem meam, et ut annuntietur nomen meum in uniuersa terra*. Igitur cuius uult miseretur, et quem uult indurat.
 25 Dices ergo mihi: ‘Quid adhuc conqueritur? Voluntati enim sue quis resistit?’ Ergo o homo, tu quis es, qui respondeas contra Deum? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit: ‘Quid me fecisti sic?’ An non habet potestatem figulus ex eadem luti massa facere aliquod quidem uas in honorem, aliquod uero in contumeliam? Si autem uolens Deus
 30 ostendere iram et notam facere potestatem suam, sustinuit etiam multa longanimitate uasa ire aptata in interitum ad perditionem et ut notificaret diuitias glorie sue in uasa misericordie que preparauit in gloriam, quos

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6 qui¹] *iter*. B 13 estimantur] extimantur A | semine] *ex semen corr.* B1 14 enim... istud] *i. r.* A2 15 habens] geminos filios *add.* A *exp. fort.* A2 16 patre] *ex patri corr.* A2 nostro] *ex nostri corr.* A2 21 uolentis] *ex uolentes corr.* B1 22 miserentis] *miserantis B* 24 meum] *tuum AB* 26 quis] *qui B* 28 aliquod] *ex aliquid corr.* B1

euocauit nos non solum ex Iudeis, sed etiam ex gentibus? Vt in Osee dicit: *Vocabo 'Non plebem meam' 'Plebem meam' et 'Non dilectam' 'Dilectam' et 'Non misericordiam consecutam' 'Misericordiam consecutam'.* Et erit in loco ubi dictum est eis: *'Non populus meus uos', et hi uocabuntur filii Dei uiuentis.* Esaias autem clamat pro Israel: *Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel tamquam arene maris, reliquie saluabuntur. Verbum enim consummans et abbrevians est in iustitia quoniam uerbum abbreviatum faciet dominus super terram.* Et sicut predixit Esaias: *Nisi dominus exercituum reliquisset nobis semen, sicut Sodoma utique facti essemus et sicut Gomorra utique similes fuisset.* Quid ergo dicemus? Quod gentes, que non sequebantur iustitiam, apprehenderunt iustitiam, iustitiam autem que ex fide est; Israel autem persequens legem iustitie non peruenit. Quare? Quia non ex fide, sed quasi ex operibus legis; offenderunt enim in lapidem offensionis, sicut scriptum est: *Ecce pono in Syon lapidem offensionis et petram scandalī; et omnis qui crediderit in eum non confundetur.*

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10 Fratres, bona uoluntas cordis mei et deprecatio ad Deum pro Israel in salutem. Testificor enim eis quod zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam; ignorantes enim Dei iustitiam et propriam querentes statuere, iustitiam iustitie Dei non sunt subiecti; finis enim legis in iustitiam omni credenti. Moyses enim scribit quod *Iustitiam que ex lege est, quicumque seruauerit ea homo uiuet et in ipsis.* Que autem ex fide est iustitia sic dicit: *Ne dixeris in corde tuo: 'Quis ascendet in celum?'*, hoc est Christum deducere; aut *'Quis descendet in abyssum?'*, hoc est Christum a mortuis reducere. Sed quid dicit Scriptura? *Prope est uerbum in ore tuo et in corde tuo;* hoc est uerbum fidei, quod predicabimus. Quod si confitearis in ore tuo: *'Dominum Iesum!'*, et credideris in corde tuo quod Deus ipsum suscitauit a mortuis, saluaberis. Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. Dicit enim scriptura: *Omnis qui credit in eum non confundetur.* Nam non est distinctio Iudei et Greci, idem namque est dominus omnium, diues in omnes qui inuocant ipsum; omnis enim qui inuocauerit nomen domini saluabitur. Quomodo ergo inuocabunt in quem non crediderunt? Quomodo autem credent ei quem non audierunt? Quomodo uero audient sine predicante? Quomodo autem predicabunt nisi mittantur? Sicut scriptum est: *Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem euangelizantium bona.* Sed non omnes obedierunt

euangelio; Esaias enim dicit: *Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro?* Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per uerbum Dei. Sed dico: Numquid audierunt? Et quidem in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum. Sed dico: Numquid Israel non cognouit? Primus Moyses

5 dicit: *Ego ad emulationem uos adducam in 'Non gentem'; in gentem insipientem irritabo uos.* Esaias autem audet et dicit: *Inuentus sum a non querentibus me; manifestatus factus sum his qui me non interrogabant.* Ad Israel autem dicit: *Tota die expandi manus meas ad populum incredulum et contradicentem.*

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- 11 Dico ergo: Numquid Deus repulit populum suum? Absit!
- 10 Etenim ego Israelita sum, ex semine Abrahe, de tribu Benjamin. Non repulit Deus populum suum quem presciuit. An nescitis in Helia quid dicit scriptura? Quemadmodum interpellat Deum aduersus Israel dicens: *Domine, prophetas tuos occiderunt et altaria tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et querunt animam meam.* Sed quid dicit ei
- 15 oraculum? *Reliqui mihi ipsi septem milia uirorum qui non curuauerunt genua ipsi Baal.* Sic ergo et in presenti tempore reliquie secundum electionem gratie facte sunt. Si autem per gratiam, non iam ex operibus, quoniam gratia non amplius sit gratia. Si autem ex operibus non amplius est gratia, quia
- 20 opus non amplius est opus. Quid ergo? Quod querebat Israel, hoc non est consecutus, electio autem consecuta est; ceteri uero excecati sunt, sicut scriptum est: *Dedit eis Deus spiritum compunctionis, oculos ut non uideant, et aures ut non audiant, usque ad hodiernum diem.* Et Dauid dicit: *Fiat mensa eorum in laqueum et in captionem et in scandalum et in retributionem ipsis.* *Obscurentur oculi eorum ut non uideant, et dorsum eorum semper incurua!* Dico
- 25 ergo: Numquid sic offenderunt ut caderent? Absit! Sed delictum eorum salus est gentibus, ut eos emulentur. Si autem delictum eorum diuitie sunt mundi et diminutio eorum diuitie sunt gentium, quanto magis plenitudo eorum! Vobis enim dico gentibus: Quamdiu quidem ego sum gentium apostolus, ministerium meum glorificabo, si quo modo ad
- 30 emulandum prouocem carnem meam et saluabo aliquos ex eis. Si enim amissio eorum reconciliatio est mundi, que acceptio nisi uita ex mortuis? Quod si delibatio sancta, et massa, et si radix sancta, et rami. Quod si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt, tu autem, cum oleaster esses, insertus es in ipsis et particeps radices et pinguidinis oliue factus es, ne gloriaris
- 35 aduersus ramos; quod si gloriaris, non tu radicem portas, sed radix te. Dices ergo: 'Fracti sunt rami, ut ego inserar.' Bene; propter

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‘Fracti sunt rami, ut ego inserar.’ Bene; propter incredulitatem fracti sunt, tu autem fide stetisti. Ne alta sapias, sed time: si enim Deus naturalibus ramis non pepercit, nequaquam tibi parcat. Vide ergo bonitatem et seueritatem Dei: in eos qui ceciderunt, seueritatem; in te autem bonitatem, si permanseritis in bonitate, quoniam et tu excideris. Sed si illi non permanserint in incredulitatem, inserentur; potest enim Deus iterum inserere ipsos! Etenim si tu ex naturali excisus es oleastro et preter naturam insertus es in bonam oliuam, quanto magis hi qui secundum naturam inserentur proprie oliue. Non enim uolo uos ignorare, fratres, mysterium hoc, ut non sitis apud uosipsos prudentes, quia cecitas ex parte in Israel contigit ipsum quo plenitudo gentium intrauit, et sic omnis Israel saluabitur, sicut scriptum est: *Veniet ex Syon, qui eripiat, et auertat impietatem a Iacob; et hoc ipsis a me testamentum, cum abstulero peccata eorum.* Secundum euangelium quidem inimici autem propter uos, secundum uero electionem dilecti patres; sine penitentia enim sunt dona et uocatio Dei! Sicut enim et uos aliquando non credidistis Deo, nunc autem misericordiam consecuti estis ob incredulitatem ipsorum, ita et isti nunc non crediderunt in uestram misericordiam, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur. Conclisit enim Deus omnes in incredulitatem, ut omnium misereatur! O altitudo diuitiarum et sapientie et scientie Dei! Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et inuestigabiles uie sue! Quis enim cognouit mentem domini? Aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? Aut quis ante dedit ei et retribuetur ipsi? Quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia. Ipsi gloria in secula. Amen.

12 Rogo ergo, fratres, per miserationes Dei, ut constituatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuentem, sanctam, Deo beneplacentem, rationabile obsequium uestrum; et ne conformemini huic seculo, sed reformamini in nouitate intellectus uestri, ut probetis que sit uoluntas Dei, bona et beneplacens et perfecta. Dico enim, per gratiam que data est mihi, omnibus qui sunt inter uos non plus sapere quam oporteat sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem, unicuique sicut Deus diuisit mensuram fidei. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, membra autem non eundem habent actum, sic multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singula

3 ergo] ex ego corr. A2 9 proprie] ex prope corr. B1 | oliue] naturae praem. B exp. B1
20 sapientie] sapientia B | scientie] scientia B 31 Deus] om. A ins. A2 33 singula] singuli B

autem adinuicem membra. Habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam que data est uobis differentes, siue prophetiam secundum proportionem fidei, siue ministerium in ministerio, siue docens in doctrina, siue exhortans in exhortatione, tribuens in simplicitate, prestando
 5 in festinatione, miserans in hilaritate. Caritas sine simulatione. Odientes malum, adherentes bono; fraternam caritatem inuicem diligentes, honorem inuicem preuenientes, sollicitudine non pigri, spiritu feruentes, domino seruientes, spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes, orationi perseuerantes, necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes, hospitalitatem
 10 sectantes. Benedicite persecutoribus uestris; benedicite et ne maledicatis! Gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus. Idipsum inuicem sentientes, non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes. Ne sitis prudentes apud uosmetipsos. Nemini malum pro malo reddentes; prouidentes bona coram omnibus hominibus; si possibile est, quod ex
 15 uobis est, cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes; non uosmetipsos ulciscentes, dilecti, sed date locum ire. Scriptum est enim: *Mihi uindicta et ego retribuam, dicit dominus. Si ergo exurit inimicus tuus, ciba ipsum; si sitit, potum da ei. Hoc enim faciens, carbones ignis congeres super caput suum.* Ne uincaris a malo, sed uince in bono malum.

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20 **13** Omnis anima potestatibus excelsis subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo; potestates autem que sunt, a Deo ordinate sunt. Itaque, qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resistunt, sibi ipsis damnationem relinquunt. Principes enim non sunt timori bonorum operum, sed malorum. Vis autem non timere
 25 potestatem? Fac bonum, et habebis laudem ex ea; Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum. Si autem malum feceris, time; non enim frustra gladium portat; Dei enim minister est, ultor in iram ei qui malum facit. Idcirco necesse est ut subditi sitis, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter
 30 conscientiam. Ideo enim et tributa prestatis; ministri enim Dei sunt in hoc ipsum seruientes. Reddite ergo omnibus debita: cui tributum tributum, cui uectigal uectigal, cui timorem timorem, cui honorem honorem. Nemini quicquam debentes, nisi ut inuicem diligatis: qui enim diligit alterum, legem impleuit. Nam: Non adulterabis, non occides, non furaberis, non falso testificaberis, non concupisces, et si quod aliud est
 35 mandatum, in hoc sermone instauratur: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam*

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20 subdita sit] sit subdita B 25 ex ea] om. B 29 enim¹] om. A i. m. A2 34 falso testificaberis] ex falsum testimonium dices corr. A2

hoc sermone instauratur: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum*. Dilectio proximi malum non operatur; plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio. Et hoc scientes tempus quod hora est iam nos de somno surgere, nunc enim propior est nostra salus quam cum credidimus. Nox precessit, dies autem appropinquauit. Abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis. Vt in die honeste ambulemus: non in comessionibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et in impudiciis, non in contentione et emulatione; sed induimini dominum Iesum Christum et carnis prouidentiam ne faciatis in desideriis. 5

14 Infirmum autem in fide assumite, non in disceptationibus cogitationum. Qui quidem credit manducare se omnia; qui autem infirmus est, olera manducet. Is qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat; et qui non manducat, manducantem non iudicet, Deus enim ipsum assumpsit. Tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum seruum? Proprio domino stat aut cadit; stabit autem, potens est enim Deus statuere ipsum. Aliquis iudicat diem inter diem, aliquis uero iudicat omnem diem; unusquisque in proprio sensu abundet. Qui sapit diem, domino sapit; et qui non sapit diem, domino non sapit; et qui manducat, domino manducat, gratias enim agit Deo; et qui non manducat, domino non manducat et gratias agit Deo. Nemo enim nostrum sibi ipsi uiuit et nemo nostrum sibi moritur; siue enim uiuimus, Deo uiuimus, siue morimur, Deo morimur. Siue ergo uiuamus, siue moriamur, domini sumus. Ad hoc enim Christus et mortuus est et resurrexit et reuixit, ut et uiuis et mortuis dominetur. Tu autem quid iudicas fratrem tuum? Aut et tu quid spernis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim astabimus ad tribunal Christi; scriptum est enim: *Vino ego, dicit dominus, quod mihi flectetur omne genu, et omnis lingua confitebitur Deo*. Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro seipso rationem reddet Deo. Non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus, sed hoc iudicate magis, ne apponatis offendiculum fratri uel scandalum. Scio et confido in domino Iesu quod nihil commune per ipsum, nisi ei qui existimat quid commune esse, illi commune est. Si autem propter cibum frater tuus contristatur, non amplius secundum caritatem ambulas. Ne cibo tuo illum perdas, pro quo Christus mortuus est! Non ergo 10 15 20 25 30

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2 plenitudo... 5 appropinquauit] *om. B* 4 Nox] -x i. r. A2 7 ebrietatibus] *ex ebrietatibus corr. A2* 14 quis] qui B | iudicas alienum] alienum iudicas B tr. B1 24 quid¹] *ex qui corr. B1* 27 nostrum] *ex uestrum corr. B1* 28 iudicemus] induemus B

- quo Christus mortuus est! Non ergo blasphemetur bonum uestrum! Non est enim regnum Dei esca et potus, sed iustitia et pax et gaudium in spiritu sancto; qui enim in his Christo, seruit beneplacens est Deo et probatus est hominibus. Que ergo pacis sunt, sectemur, et que
- 5 edificationis sunt inuicem custodiamus. Ne propter cibum destruat is opus Dei! Omnia quidem munda sunt, sed malum est homini qui per offendiculum manducat. Bonum est non manducare carnem neque uinum bibere, ne in eo frater tuus offendatur aut scandalizetur aut infirmetur. Tu <quam> fidem habes penes teipsum, habe coram Deo.
- 10 Qui autem discernit si manducauerit, damnatus est, quia non ex fide est; omne autem quod non est ex fide, peccatum est. Ei uero qui potest uos percutere secundum euangelium meum et predicationem Iesu Christi secundum reuelationem mysterii temporibus eternis taciti, nunc autem per scripturas propheticas manifestati, secundum preceptum eterni Dei
- 15 in obedientiam fidei in omnes gentes cogniti; soli sapienti Deo per Iesum Christum, cui gloria in secula. Amen.

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- 15 Debemus autem nos potentes imbecillitates impotentium sustinere, et non nobis ipsis placere. Vnusquisque uestrum proximo suo placeat in bonum ad edificationem; etenim non
- 20 sibi ipsi Christus placuit, sed sicut scriptum est: *Impropria impropertium tibi ceciderunt super me*. Quaecumque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus. Deus autem patientie et consolationis det uobis idipsum sapere adinuicem secundum Christum Iesum, ut unanimes uno ore
- 25 glorificetis Deum et patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi. Idcirco suscipite inuicem, sicut et Christus suscepit uos, in gloriam Dei. Dico autem Christum Iesum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis pro ueritate Dei ad confirmandum promissiones patrum, gentes autem pro misericordia glorificare Deum, sicut scriptum est: *Propter hoc confitebor tibi in gentibus, domine, et nomini tuo cantabo*. Et iterum dicit: *Letamini, gentes, cum populo suo*, et rursus: *Laudate dominum, omnes gentes, et laudate ipsum omnes populi*. Et rursus Esaias ait: *Erit radix Iesse, et qui exurget principari a gentibus: in eum gentes sperabunt*. Deus autem spei impleat uos omni gaudio et pace in
- 30 credendo, ut abundetis in spe in uirtute spiritus sancti. Certus sum
- 35 autem, fratres mei, et ipse ego de uobis, quod et ipsi pleni estis Dei benignitate, repleti omni cognitione, potentes et alios admonere.

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B126r

1 bonum] nomen *praem*. B exp. B1 9 Tu] om. AB 28 glorificare] glorificate AB

potentes et alios admonere. Audacius autem scripsi uobis fratres ex parte, ut commonefaciam uos propter gratiam que data est mihi a Deo, ut sim minister Christi Iesu in gentibus, sanctificans euangelium Dei, ut fiat oblatio gentium bene accepta, sanctificata in spiritu sancto. Habeo igitur gloriam in Christo Iesu in his que sunt ad Deum; non enim audebo aliquid loqui eorum que per me non efficit Christus in obedientiam gentium, in uerbo et opere, in uirtute signorum et prodigiorum, in uirtute spiritus sancti, ita ut ab Hierusalem per circuitum usque ad Illiricum repleuerim euangelium Christi, sic autem honorator euangelii, non ubi nominatus est Christus, ne super alienum fundamentum edificarem, sed sicut scriptum est: *Quoniam quibus non est annuntiatum de eo, uidebunt, et qui non audierint, intelligent.* Idcirco plurimum impediabar uenire ad uos; et prohibitus sum usque adhuc. Nunc autem non amplius locum habens in regionibus his, cupiditatem uero habens ueniendi ad uos a multis annis, ut si in Hispaniam proficiscar, ueniam ad uos. Spero enim preteriens uidere uos et a uobis premitti illuc, si uobis primum ex parte fruius fuero. Nunc autem proficiscor Hierusalem ministraturus sanctis; probauerunt enim Macedonia et Achaia collationem aliquam facere in pauperes sanctorum qui sunt in Hierusalem. Placuit namque eis, et debitores sunt eorum; nam si spiritualium eorum participes facte sunt gentes, debent et in carnalibus ministrare ipsis. Hoc igitur cum consummauero et assignauero eis fructum hunc, per uos proficiscar in Hispaniam; scio autem quod ueniens ad uos, in abundantiam benedictionis euangelii Christi ueniam. Rogo autem uos, fratres, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et per caritatem spiritus sancti, ut adiuuetis me in orationibus uestris pro me ad Deum, ut liberer ab infidelibus qui sunt in Iudea, ut ministerium meum acceptum fiat in Hierosolimam sanctis, ut ueniam ad uos in gaudio pro uoluntate Dei ut requiescam uobiscum. Deus autem pacis sit cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

16 Commendo autem uobis Pheben sororem nostram, que est in ministerio ecclesie que est Cenchris, ut eam suscipiatis in domino digne sanctis et assistatis ei in quocumque negotio uestri indiguerit, etenim ipsa astitit multis et mihi ipsi. Salutate Priscam et Aquilam coadiutores meos in Christo Iesu, qui pro anima mea colla sua

7 uirtute¹] uirtu B 8 ab] *ex ad corr.* B1 11 de eo] Deo B 18 enim] autem B 26 me¹] *iter.* A *exp. fort.* A1 et *praem.* B | liberet] liberet AB 32 ei] *om.* A *ins.* A2 33 coadiutores] - t- i. r. A2

- in Christo Iesu, qui pro anima mea colla sua supposuerunt, quibus non solus ego gratias ago, sed etiam cuncte ecclesie gentium, et domesticam eorum ecclesiam. Salutate Philetum dilectum meum, qui est primitiuus Achaie in Christo Iesu. Salutate Mariam, que multum laborauit in nobis.
- 5 Salutate Andronicum et Iuliam cognatos et concaptiuos meos, qui sunt insignes in apostolis et ante me fuerunt in Christo. Salutate Ampliatum dilectum meum in domino. Salutate Vrbantum cooperatorem nostrum in Christo et Stachen dilectum meum. Salutate Apellem probum in Christo. Salutate eos qui sunt ex Aristoboli domo. Salutate Herodianum
- 10 cognatum meum. Salutate eos qui sunt Narcissi existentes in domino. Salutate Triphenam et Triphonam, que laborant in domino. Salutate Persidem dilectam, que multum laborauit in domino. Salutate Rufum electum in domino et matrem suamet meam. Salutate Ansicretum, Phlegontiam, Hermem, Patrobam, Hermam et qui cum eis sunt fratres.
- 15 Salutate Philologum et Iuliam et Nereum et sororem suam et Olimpiadem et omnes qui cum eis sunt sanctos. Salutate inuicem in osculo sancto. Salutant uos ecclesie Christi. Rogo autem uos, fratres, ut obseruetis eos qui dissensiones et scandala preter doctrinam quam uos didicistis faciunt, et declinate ab ipsis; tales enim domino nostro Iesu
- 20 Christo non seruiunt sed uentri suo, et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium. Vestra enim obedientia in omnes processit; gaudeo igitur in uobis. Volo autem uos sapientes quidem esse in bono, simplices uero in malo. Deus autem pacis conterat Sathanam sub pedibus uestris uelociter. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi
- 25 uobiscum. Salutat uos Timotheus cooperator meus et Lucius et Iason et Sosipater cognati mei. Saluto uos et ego Tertius, qui scripsi epistolam in domino. Salutat uos Caius hospes meus et totius ecclesie. Salutat uos Erastus paterfamilias ciuitates et Quartus frater. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

A80r

B127r

11 Triphenam] Rufum *praem. B exp. B1*

I Corinthians

A80v

1 Paulus, uocatus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei, et Sosthenes frater, ecclesie Dei que est Corinthi, sanctificatis in

Christo Iesu, uocatis sanctis cum omnibus qui inuocant nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi in omni eorum loco et uestro: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Gratias ago Deo meo

5

B127v

semper pro uobis in gratia Dei, que data est uobis in Christo Iesu, quod in omnibus ditati estis in eo, in omni uerbo et in omni scientia, sicut testimonium Christi confirmatum est in uobis, ita ut nihil uobis desit in ullo gratie dono, expectantibus reuelationem domini nostri Iesu Christi;

10

qui et conformabit uos usque in finem sine crimine in die domini nostri Iesu Christi. Fidelis est Deus, per quem uocati estis in communitatem filii sui Iesu Christi domini nostri. Rogo autem uos, fratres, per nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut id ipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in uobis dissensiones, sitis autem perfecti in eodem intellectu et in eadem scientia.

15

Manifestatum est enim mihi de uobis, fratres mei, ab his qui sunt Chloes, quod contentiones sunt inter uos. Hoc autem dico, quia unusquisque uestrum dicit: ‘Ego quidem sum Pauli’, ‘Ego uero Apollo’, ‘Ego autem Cephe’, ‘Ego uero Christi’. An diuisus est Christus? Numquid Paulus crucifixus est pro uobis, an in nomine Pauli baptizati estis? Gratias ago Deo quod neminem uestrum baptizauim nisi Crispum et Caium, ne quis dicat quod in nomine meo baptizauerim. Baptizauim autem et Stephane domum; ceterum nescio si quem alium baptizauerim. Non enim misit me Christus ut baptizarem sed ut euangelizarem, non in sapientia uerbi, ut non euacuetur crux Christi. Verbum enim crucis pereuntibus quidem

25

stultitia est, nobis autem qui saluamur uirtus Dei est. Scriptum est enim: *Perdam sapientiam sapientum et prudentiam prudentum reprobabo*. Vbi sapiens? Vbi scriba? Vbi conquisitor huius seculi? Nonne stultam fecit Deus sapientiam huius mundi? Nam quia in Dei sapientia non cognouit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam predicationis saluare credentes. Quoniam et Iudei signa petunt, et Greci sapientiam querunt, nos autem predicamus Christum crucifixum, Iudeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam; eis autem qui uocantur, Iudei et

30

B128r

6 Deo] *iter. A exp. fort. A1* **20** Gratias] autem *add. A exp. fort. A1* **21** baptizauim] *ex baptizauerim corr. B1* | nisi] Baptizauim autem *praem. B exp. B1*

Greci, Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam, quoniam quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est hominibus, et quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus. Videte enim uocationem uestram, fratres, quia multi sapientes secundum carnem, non multi potentes, non multi nobiles; sed
 5 stulta mundi elegit Deus ut confundat sapientes, et infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia, et ignobilia et contemptibilia mundi elegit Deus et ea que non sunt ut ea que sunt destrueret, ut non gloriatur omnis caro coram Deo. Ex ipso autem uos estis in Christo Iesu, qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo et iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio, ut
 10 quemadmodum scriptum est: *Qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur.*

A81r

2 Et ego, cum uenissem ad uos, fratres, ueni non in sublimitate sermonis aut sapientie annuntians uobis testimonium Dei. Non enim iudicaui me scire aliquid inter uos nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum. Et ego in infirmitate ac timore et tremore multo fui
 15 apud uos, et sermo meus et predicatio mea non in persuasibilibus humane sapientie uerbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et uirtutis, ut fides uestra non sit in sapientia hominum sed in uirtute Dei. Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos, sapientiam uero non huius seculi neque principum huius seculi, qui destruuntur, sed loquimur Dei sapientiam in
 20 mysterio, absconditam, quam predestinauit Deus ante secula in gloriam nostram, quam nullus principum huius seculi cognouit; si enim cognouissent, numquam profecto dominum glorie crucifixissent. Sed sicut scriptum est: *Que oculus non uidit et auris non audiuit et in cor hominis non ascendit, que preparauit Deus his qui diligunt eum.* Nobis autem reuelauit Deus
 25 per spiritum suum; Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam profunda Dei. Quis enim scit hominum que sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est? Sic et que Dei sunt, nullus scit nisi spiritus Dei. Nos autem accepimus non spiritum huius mundi, sed spiritum qui ex Deo est, ut sciamus que a Deo per gratiam donata sunt nobis; que et loquimur non
 30 in docibilibus humane sapientie, sed in docibilibus spiritus sancti uerbis, spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes. Animalis autem homo non percipit ea que spiritus Dei sunt, stultitia enim ei est, et non potest intelligere quod spiritualiter iudicatur; spiritualis autem iudicat omnia, ipse autem a

B128v

1 Greci] ex Grec corr. fort. A1 5 sapientes] fortia *pruem.* B exp. B1 14 tremore] tre- i. r. A2 16 uirtutis] fuit add. A exp. A2 32 spiritus] a deo per gratiam *pruem.* B exp. B1 | ei est] est ei B tr. B1

nemine iudicatur. Quis enim cognouit mentem domini, aut quis instruxit eum? Nos autem mentem Christi habemus.

3 Et ego, fratres, non potui uobis loqui non quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus, tamquam paruulis in Christo. Lac uobis potum dedi, et non cibum, nondum enim poteratis intelligere. Sed ne adhuc nunc potestis, adhuc enim carnales estis. Cum enim emulatio et contentio et dissensiones inter uos sint, nonne et carnales estis et secundum hominem ambulatis? Cum enim quis dicit: ‘Ego quidem sum Pauli’, alius autem: ‘Ego sum Apollo’, nonne carnales estis? Quis igitur est Paulus? Quis autem Apollo? Nonne ministri, per quos credidistis? Et unicuique sicut dominus dedit. Ego plantaui, Apollo adaquauit, sed Deus adauxit; itaque neque qui plantat, neque qui adaquat est aliquid, sed qui adauget, Deus. Qui autem plantat et qui adaquat, unum sunt; unusquisque uero propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem. Dei enim sumus cooperatores: Dei agricultura, Dei edificatio estis. Secundum gratiam Dei que data est mihi, tamquam sapiens architectus fundamentum posui; alius autem superedificat. Vnusquisque autem uideat quomodo superedificet; fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus. Si quis autem superedificat supra hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, fenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus manifestum fiet; dies enim manifestabit: quod in igne reuelabitur, et uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod superedificauit, mercedem accipiet; si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur. Ipse autem saluabitur, sic uero quasi per ignem. Nescitis quod templum Dei estis et spiritus Dei habitat in uobis? Si quis templum Dei uiolauerit, disperdet hunc Deus; templum enim Dei sanctum est, qui estis uos. Nemo seipsum seducat; si quis uidetur inter uos sapiens esse in hoc seculo, stultus fiat, ut efficiatur sapiens. Sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est apud Deum; scriptum est enim: *Comprehendam sapientes in astutia sua*, et iterum: *Dominus nouit cogitationes sapientum quod uane sunt*. Itaque nullus inter homines gloriatur. Omnia namque uestra sunt, siue Paulus siue Apollo siue Cephas siue mundus siue uita siue mors siue presentia siue futura, omnia uestra sunt, uos autem Christi, Christus

autem Dei.

4 Sic uos existimet homo ut ministros Christi et dispensatores
mysteriorum Dei. Quod autem est reliquum queritur inter
dispensatores, ut fidelis quis inueniatur. Mihi autem pro minimo
est, ut a uobis diiudicet aut ab humano die. Sed neque me ipsum
5 diiudico; nihil enim mihi ipsi conscius sum, sed nec in hoc iustificatus
sum. Qui autem diiudicat me, dominus est! Itaque ne iudicetis aliquid
ante tempus, quoadusque ueniat dominus, qui illuminabit abscondita
tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium; et tunc laus erit unicuique a
Deo. Hec autem, fratres, transfiguraui in meipsum et Apollo propter uos,
10 ut in uobis discatis: 'Ne super id quod scriptum est sapiatis', ut unus pro
uno non infletur aduersus alterum. Quis enim te diiudicat? Quid autem
habes quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non
acceperis? Iam saturati estis, iam ditati estis. Sine nobis regnauestis; atque
utinam regnaueritis, ut et nos uobiscum regnaremus. Puto enim quod
15 Deus nos apostolos ultimos demonstraui tamquam moribundos,
quoniam spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus. Nos
stulti propter Christum, uos uero prudentes in Christo; nos infirmi, uos
autem fortes; uos honorati, nos autem inhonorati. Vsque in presentem
horam et exurimus et sitimus et nudi sumus et colaphis cedimur et
20 instabiles sumus et laboramus propriis manibus operantes; obiurgamur et
benedicimus, persecutionem patimur et sustinemus, blasphemamur et
obsecramus; tamquam purgamentum huius mundi facti sumus, omnium
putamina, usque modo. Non ut confundam uos hec scribo, sed ut filios
meos dilectos moneo; si enim decem milia pedagogorum habeatis in
25 Christo, sed non multos patres; in Christo enim Iesu per euangelium ego
uos genui. Rogo ergo uos: imitatores mei estote! Sicut et ego Christi.
Ideo misi ad uos Timotheum, qui est filius meus dilectus et fidelis in
domino, qui uos commonefaciet uias meas, que sunt in Christo, sicut
ubique in omni ecclesia doceo. Tamquam autem me non uenturo ad uos,
30 inflati sunt quidam; ueniam autem celeriter ad uos, si dominus uoluerit,
et cognoscam non sermonem eorum qui inflati sunt, sed uirtutem; non
enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in uirtute. Quid uultis? In uirga
ueniam ad uos an in caritate et spiritu mansuetudinis?

B129v

A82r

B130r

35 5 Omnino auditur inter uos fornicatio que neque in gentibus
inuenitur, ita ut uxorem patris sui aliquis habeat. Et uos inflati estis
et non magis luxistis ut tollatur de medio uestrum quisquis hoc
opus fecerit? Ego quidem absens corpore, presens autem spiritu, iam
iudicaui ut presens eum qui sic operatus est, in nomine domini nostri

ut presens eum qui sic operatus est, in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, congregatis uobis et spiritu meo cum uirtute domini nostri Iesu Christi, tradere talem Satane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus saluetur in die domini Iesu. Non est bona gloriatio uestra. Nescitis quod modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit? Expurgate ergo uetus fermentum, ut sitis noua 5 conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus! Itaque epulemur, non in fermento ueteri neque in fermento malitie et nequitie, sed in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis. Scripsi uobis in epistola: Ne commisceamini fornicariis. Et non omnino fornicariis huius mundi aut auaris aut rapacibus aut idolorum cultoribus, alioquin 10 debueratis de hoc mundo exisse! Nunc autem scripsi uobis: Ne commisceamini si is qui frater nominatur inter uos est fornicator aut auarus aut idolorum cultor aut contumeliosus aut ebriosus aut rapax; ut cum tali non comedatis. Quid enim mihi de his qui foris sunt iudicare? 15 Nonne de his qui intus sunt uos iudicatis? Eos autem qui foris sunt Deus iudicabit.

B130v

A82v

6 Auferte nequam ex uobisipsis! Audet aliquis uestrum habens negotium ad alterum iudicare in iniquis et non in sanctis? An nescitis quod sancti mundum iudicabunt? Et si in uobis iudicabitur mundus, indigni estis de minimis iudiciis? An nescitis quod angelos 20 iudicabimus? Numquid et secularia? Secularia igitur iudicia si habueritis, contemptibiles qui sunt in ecclesia constituite ad iudicandum? Ad uerecundiam uestram dico! Sic non est inter uos sapiens ullus qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum? Sed frater cum fratre in iudicio contendet, et hoc quidem apud infideles? Iam omnino delictum in uobis est, quod 25 iudicia habetis inter uos! Quare non magis iniuriam accipitis, quare non magis defraudamini? Et uos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis, et hoc fratribus! An nescitis quod iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt? Ne erretis: neque fornicarii, neque idolorum cultores, neque adulteri, neque molles, neque 30 masculorum concubitores, neque fures, neque ebriosi, neque auari, neque contumeliosi, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt. Et hec aliquando fuistis. Sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis, sed iustificati estis in nomine domini Iesu et in spiritu Dei nostri! ‘Omnia mihi licent!’ Sed non omnia conferunt. ‘Omnia mihi licent!’ Sed ego sub nullius redigar potestate.

17 uobisipsis] Here ends 1 Corinthians 5 in the Vulgate.

12 is] autem *praem.* B *exp.* B1

‘Cibus uentri et uenter cibus!’ Deus autem et hunc et hos destruet. Corpus uero non fornicationi ac domino, sed dominus corpori; Deus
 5 faciam membra meretricis? Absit! An nescitis quod qui adheret meretrici, unum corpus efficitur? *Erunt*, inquit, *duo in carne una*. Qui autem adheret domino, unus spiritus est. Fugite fornicationem! Omne peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo extra corpus est; qui autem fornicatur, in corpus proprium peccat. An nescitis quod corpus uestrum templum est
 10 spiritus sancti, qui in uobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis uestri? Empti enim estis pretio magno! Glorificate et portate Deum in corpore uestro et in spiritu uestro, quecumque sunt Dei.

B131r

7 De quibus autem scripsistis mihi, bonum est homini mulierem non tangere; propter fornicationes autem unusquisque uxorem suam
 15 habeat, et unaqueque proprium uirum habeat. Vxori uir debitam beniuolentiam reddat; similiter autem uxor uiro. Vxor proprii corporis potestatem non habet, sed uir; similiter autem et uir proprii corporis potestatem non habet, sed uxor. Ne fraudetis inuicem, nisi ex consensu ad tempus, ut uacetis ieiunio et orationi, et iterum in idipsum conuenite,
 20 ne tentet uos Satanas propter incontinentiam uestram. Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium. Volo enim omnes homines esse sicut et meipsum; sed unusquisque proprium gratie donum habet a Deo, quidam sic, quidam uero non sic. Dico autem non nuptis et uiduis: Bonum est ipsis si sic permanent sicut et ego; si autem se non
 25 continent, nubant. Melius est enim nubere quam uri. His autem qui nupserunt, precipio non ego sed dominus uxorem a uiro non discedere. Si autem discesserit, maneat innupta uel uiro reconcilietur, et uir uxorem non dimittat. Ceteris autem ego dico, non dominus: Si quis frater uxorem habet infidelem, et ipsa consentit habitare cum eo, non dimittat eam; et si
 30 qua mulier habet uirum infidelem, et ipse consentit habitare cum ea, non dimittat eum. Sanctificatus est enim uir infidelis per uxorem, et sanctificata est uxor infidelis per uirum. Alioquin filii uestri immundi essent; nunc autem sancti sunt. Si autem infidelis discedit, discedat. Non

A83r

B131v

16 uxor] et uir proprii corporis potestatem non habet *praem.* B exp. B1 29 eo] *om.* A *ins.* A2 31 uxorem] fidelem *add.* A exp. *fort.* A2 32 uirum] fidelem *add.* A exp. *fort.* A2 33 discedit] *ex* descendit *corr.* *fort.* A2 | discedat] *ex* discedat *corr.* *fort.* A2

enim seruituti addictus est frater aut soror in talibus; in pace autem uocauit nos Deus. Quid enim scis, uxor, si uirum saluabis? Aut quid scis, uir, si uxorem saluabis? Nisi unicuique, sicut diuisit Deus, unumquemque, sicut uocauit dominus, ita ambulet; et sic in omnibus ecclesiis doceo. Circumcisis quis uocatus est? Non adducat preputium! 5
In preputio quis uocatus est? Non circumcidatur! Circumcisio nihil est, et preputium nihil est, sed observatio mandatorum Dei. Vnusquisque in qua uocatione uocatus est, in ea permaneat. Seruus uocatus es? Non sit tibi cure; sed si potes fieri liber, magis utere! Qui enim in domino uocatus est seruus, libertus est domini; similiter et qui liber uocatus est, 10
seruus Christi est. Pretio empti estis. Ne efficiamini serui hominum. Vnusquisque in quo uocatus est, fratres, in hoc remaneat apud Deum. De uirginibus autem preceptum domini non habeo, sententiam autem do, tamquam misericordiam consecutus a domino ut fidelis sim. Existimo ergo hoc bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem, quod 15
bonum est homini sic esse. Ligatus es uxori? Ne queras solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? Ne queras uxorem. Si autem nupseris, non peccasti; et si nupserit uirgo, non peccauit. Tribulationem autem carnis habebunt tales, ego autem uobis parco. Hoc autem dico, fratres, tempus breue est; reliquum est ut qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes sint, et qui 20
flent tamquam non flentes, et qui gaudent tamquam non gaudentes, et qui emunt tamquam non possidentes, et qui utuntur hoc mundo tamquam non utentes; preterit enim figura huius mundi. Volo autem uos sine sollicitudine esse. Qui autem sine uxore est, cogitat que sunt domini, 25
quomodo placeat domino; qui autem cum uxore est, sollicitus est que sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, atque diuisus est. Et mulier et uirgo innupta cogitat que domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu; que autem nupta est, cogitat que sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uiro. Hoc autem ad utilitatem uestram dico, non ut laqueum uobis iniciam, sed ut ad id quod honestum est et quod facultatem prebeat ut sine 30
impedimento ad dominum oretis. Si quis autem se turpiter facere existimat super uirgine sua si sit superadulta, et sic debet fieri, quod uult faciat, non peccat si nubat. Qui autem stetit in corde suo firmus, non habens necessitatem, potestatem autem habeat proprie uoluntatis, et hoc iudicauit in corde suo seruare uirginem suam, bene facit; itaque et qui 35

4 uocauit] *ex uouit corr. A2* 8 es] *ex est corr. B1* 15 ergo] *ego B* 23 preterit] *ex poterit corr. B1* 32 superadulta] *ex superadultera corr. B1*

B132r

A83v

uirginem suam maritat, bene facit, qui autem non maritat, melius facit. Vxor alligata est legi quanto tempore uir suus uiuit. Si autem dormierit uir suus, libera est; cui uult nubat, tantum in domino. Beatior autem erit si sic permanserit, secundum meam sententiam; puto autem quod ego
5 spiritum Dei habeam.

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8 De his uero que idolis immolantur, nouimus quod omnes scientiam habemus. Scientia inflat, caritas uero edificat. Si quis autem existimat se scire aliquid, nondum cognouit quemadmodum eum oporteat scire; si quis autem diligit Deum, hic cognitus est ab eo. De
10 cibus ergo qui idolis immolantur, scimus quod nihil est idolum in mundo et quod nullus Deus alter nisi unus. Etenim si sunt qui dicantur dii siue in celo siue in terra, siquidem sunt dii multi et domini multi, sed nobis unus est Deus pater, ex quo omnia et nos in ipso et unus dominus Iesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum. Sed non in omnibus est
15 scientia; quidam autem cum conscientia idoli usque nunc quasi idolo immolata manducant, et conscientia ipsorum, cum sit infirma, polluitur. Cibus autem nos non commendat Deo; neque enim si manducauerimus abundabimus, neque si non manducauerimus deficiemus. Videte autem ne aliquo modo hec licentia uestra offendiculum fiat infirmis. Si quis
20 enim uiderit eum qui habet scientiam in idolo recubentem, nonne conscientia sua, cum sit infirma, edificabitur ad manducandum idolo immolata? Et peribit infirmus frater in tua scientia, per quem Christus mortuus est! Sic autem peccantes in fratres et percutientes conscientiam eorum infirmam, in Christum peccatis. Quapropter si cibus scandalizat
25 fratrem meum, non manducabo carnem in eternum, ne fratrem meum scandalizem.

9 Non sum apostolus? Non sum liber? Nonne Iesum Christum dominum nostrum uidi? Nonne opus meum uos estis in domino? Si aliis non sum apostolus, at tamen uobis sum; signaculum enim
30 apostolatus mei uos estis in domino. Mea defensio ad eos qui me interrogant hec est. Nunquid non habemus potestatem manducandi et bibendi? Numquid non habemus potestatem mulierem sororem
35 ~~circumducendi et circumcidendi utique apostoli? Quis plantat dominum et dephrauit eum~~ solus ego et Barnabas non habemus potestatem hec operandi? Quis

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7 Si... 8 scire²] *om. B* 17 abundabimus... 18 deficiemus] *om. B* 28 apostolus] apostulus
B 31 circumducendi] circumcidendi *AB*

umquam? Quis plantat uineam et de fructu eius non comedit? Quis pascit gregem et de lacte gregis non manducat? Numquid secundum hominem hec loquor? Aut nonne et lex hec dicit? In lege enim Moysi scriptum est: *Non alligabis os bouis triturantis*. Numquid de bobus cura est Deo? An propter nos omnino dicit? Propter nos enim scripta sunt, 5 quoniam debet in spe qui arat arare, et qui triturat in spe fructus percipiendi. Si nos uobis spiritualia seminamus, magnum est si carnalia uestra metamus? Si alii potestatis uestre participes sunt, nonne magis nos? Sed non usi sumus hac potestate, sed omnia sustinemus, ne offendiculum prebeamus euangelio Christi. Nescitis quod qui sacramenta 10 operantur, de sacris manducant? Qui altario deseruiunt, cum altario participantur? Ita et dominus ordinauit ut hi qui euangelizant, de euangelio uiuant. Ego autem nullo horum usus sum. Nec hec scripsi ut sic fiat in me; melius est enim mihi mori quam ut quis gloriam meam euacuet. Nam si euangelizauero, non est mihi gloria; necessitas enim mihi 15 incumbit. Ve autem mihi est si non euangelizauero! Si autem uolens hec ago, mercedem habeo; si autem inuitus, dispensatio mihi credita est. Que ergo est merces mea? Vt euangelizans sine sumptu ponam euangelium Christi, ut non abutar potestate mea in euangelio. Cum enim liber essem ex omnibus, omnium me seruum feci ut plures lucrarer. Et factus sum 20 Iudeis tamquam Iudeus ut Iudeos lucrarer; his qui sub lege sunt quasi sub lege essem, ut eos qui sub lege erant lucrarer; et his qui sine lege erant tamquam sine lege essem, cum sine lege Dei non essem, sed in lege essem Christi, ut lucrarer eos qui sine lege erant; factus sum infirmus infirmis, ut infirmos lucrarer; omnibus omnia factus sum ut quosdam 25 omnino saluarem. Hoc autem facio propter euangelium ut particeps eius efficiar. Nescitis quod hi qui in stadio currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit brauium? Sic currite ut comprehendatis. Omnis autem qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet. Illi profecto ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant, nos uero incorruptibilem. Ego ergo sic 30 curro non quasi abscondite, sic pugno non quasi erem uerberans; sed castigo corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo, ne, cum aliquatenus aliis predicauerim, ipse reprobus efficiar.

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10 Nolo autem uos ignorare, fratres, quod patres nostri omnes sub
 nube fuerunt et omnes per mare transierunt et omnes in Moyse
 baptizati sunt in nube et in mari et omnes eundem cibum
 spiritualem manducauerunt et omnes eundem potum spiritualem
 5 biberunt; bibebant enim de spirituali, consequente eos petra; petra autem
 erat Christus. Non in pluribus eorum beneplacitum est Deo, nam
 prostrati sunt in deserto. Hec autem figure facte sunt nostri, ut non
 simus concupiscentes malorum, sicut illi concupierunt. Neque idolatre
 efficiamini, ceu quidam eorum; sicut scriptum est: *Sedit populus ut*
 10 *manducaret et biberet, et surrexerunt ut luderent.* Neque fornicemur, sicut
 quidam eorum fornicati sunt, et ceciderunt una die uiginti tria milia.
 Neque tentemus Christum, sicut et quidam eorum tentauerunt, et a
 serpentibus perierunt. Neque murmuraueritis, sicut quidam eorum
 murmurauerunt, et perierunt ab exterminatore. Hec autem omnia figure
 15 contingebant illis; scripta sunt autem ad admonitionem nostram, in quos
 fines seculorum deuenerunt. Itaque qui se existimat stare, uideat ne
 cadat. Tentatio uos non apprehendat nisi humana; potens est autem
 Deus, qui non sinet uos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet cum
 tentatione etiam prouentum, ut possitis sustinere. Propter quod, dilecti
 20 mei, fugite ab idolatria. Vt prudentibus dico; iudicate uos quod dico:
 Calix benedictionis cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis
 Christi est? Et panis quem frangimus, nonne participatio corporis Christi
 est? Quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus: omnes enim de
 uno pane et de uno calice participamus. Videte Israellem secundum
 25 carnem: nonne qui manducant hostias participes sunt altaris? Quid ego
 dico? Quod idolum aliquid sit aut quod idolis immolatum sit aliquid? Sed
 quod quicumque immolant gentes, demoniis immolant et non Deo; nolo
 autem uos socios fieri demoniorum. Non potestis calicem domini bibere
 et calicem demoniorum; non potestis mense domini participes esse et
 30 mense demoniorum. An emulamur dominum? Numquid fortiores eo
 sumus? ‘Omnia mihi licent!’ Sed non omnia conferunt. ‘Omnia mihi
 licent!’ Sed non omnia edificant. Nemo quod suum est querat, sed
 unusquisque id quod alterius. Omnia que in macello uenduntur,
 manducate, nihil interrogantes propter conscientiam; domini enim est

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1 patres] ex patres corr. B1 9 ut manducaret] ex manducare corr. A2 | biberet] ex bibere
 corr. A2 10 ut luderent] ex ludere corr. A2 | sicut] ex ut corr. B1 11 uiginti] triginta B
 18 faciet] ex faciat corr. B1

terra et plenitudo eius. Si quis uero infidelium uos inuitauerit et uolueritis
B134v ire, omne quod apponitur uobis manducate, nihil discernentes propter
 conscientiam. Si quis autem dixerit uobis: ‘Hoc idolis immolatum est’, ne
 comedatis, propter illum qui iudicauit et propter conscientiam: domini
A85r enim est terra et plenitudo. Conscientiam autem dico non tuam, sed eam 5
 que est alterius. Vt quid enim libertas mea iudicatur ab aliena conscientia?
 Si ego gratie participo, quid blasphemor pro eo quod gratias ago? Siue
 ergo manducatis siue bibitis sine aliquid facitis, omnia ad gloriam Dei
 facite. Sine offensione estote Iudeis et gentibus et ecclesie Dei, sicut et
 ego per omnia omnibus placeo, non querens utilitatem meam, sed eam 10
 que est multorum, ut saluentur.

11 Imitatores mei estote sicut et ego Christi. Laudo autem uos,
 fratres, quod per omnia mei meministis et, sicut tradidi uobis,
 traditiones tenetis. Volo autem uos scire quod omnis uiri caput 15
 est Christus, caput uero mulieris uir, caput autem Christi Deus. Omnis
 uir orans uel prophetans uelato capite, deturpat caput suum; omnis
 autem mulier orans uel prophetans detecto capite, deturpat caput suum:
 unum enim et idem est ac si calua esset. Si enim non uelatur mulier,
 tondeatur! Si autem turpe est mulieri tonderi uel decaluari, ueletur. Vir 20
 enim non debet uelare caput, cum imago et gloria Dei sit. Mulier autem
 gloria uiri est. Non enim est uir ex muliere; sed mulier ex uiro. Etenim
 non est creatus uir propter mulierem, sed mulier propter uirum. Ideo
 debet mulier uelamen habere super caput propter angelos. Verumtamen
 neque uir sine muliere; neque mulier sine uiro in domino. Sicut enim
 mulier ex uiro, ita et uir per mulierem. Omnia autem ex Deo inter 25
 uosipsos iudicate an decet mulierem detectam ad Deum orare uel
B135r <non>. Nonne ipsa natura docet uos quod uir quidem si comam nutriat,
 ignominia est ei; mulier autem si comam nutriat, gloria est ipsi? Quoniam
 coma pro uelamine ei data est. Si quis autem uidetur contentiosus esse,
 nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque ecclesie Dei. Hoc autem 30
 precipiens non laudo quod non in melius sed in deterius conuenitis.
 Primum enim conuenientibus uobis in ecclesia, audio inter uos
 dissensiones esse et aliqua ex parte credo. Nam oportet inter uos hereses
 esse, ut qui probati sint inter uos manifesti fiant. Conuenientibus ergo
 uobis in unum, non contigit dominicam cenam manducare; unusquisque 35

6 Vt...conscientia] *om. B* 16 omnis] Vnum enim et idem est *præm. B exp. B1* 26 non]
om. AB

dominica cenam manducare; unusquisque enim propriam cenam preoccupat ad manducandum, et aliquis quidem exurit, aliquis uero ebrius est. Numquid enim domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum? An ecclesiam Dei contemnitis et confunditis eos qui non
 5 habent? Quid uobis dicam? Laudabo uos in hoc? Non laudo. Ego enim accepi a domino quod et tradidi uobis, quod dominus Iesus in ea nocte qua tradebatur accepit panem, et gratias agens fregit, et dixit: ‘Accipite, manducate: hoc est corpus meum quod pro uobis tradetur; hoc facite in meam commemorationem.’ Eodem modo et calicem, postquam cenauit,
 10 dicens: ‘Hic calix nouum testamentum est in meo sanguine; hoc facite quotienscumque bibetis in meam commemorationem.’ Quotienscumque enim manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bibetis, mortem domini annuntiabitis, donec ueniat. Itaque quicumque manducauerit panem hunc aut biberit calicem domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis
 15 domini. Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane edat et de calice bibat; qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit non diiudicans corpus domini. Ideo inter uos multi infirmi et imbecilles
 20 condempnemur. Itaque, fratres, cum conuenitis ad manducandum, inuicem expectate. Si quis uero exurit, domi manducet, ut non in iudicium conueniatis. Cetera autem cum uenero disponam.

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12 De spiritualibus autem, fratres, nolo uos ignorare. Scitis quando
 25 gentes eratis quemadmodum ad idola muta ducebamini allecti. Ideo notum uobis facio quod nemo spiritu Dei loquens dicit: ‘Anathema Iesu’, et nemo potest dicere: ‘Dominum Iesum’ nisi in spiritu sancto. Diuisiones autem gratiarum sunt, idem uero spiritus; et diuisiones ministeriorum sunt, et idem dominus, et diuisiones operationum sunt, idem autem est Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Vnicuique uero
 30 datur manifestatio spiritus ad utilitatem. Alicui enim datur per spiritum sermo sapientie, alii autem sermo scientie secundum eundem spiritum, alii uero fideles in eodem spiritu, alii autem gratia sanitatum in eodem spiritu, alii uero opera uirtutum, alii prophetie, alii discretio spirituum, alii genera linguarum; alii interpretatio sermonum; hec autem omnia operatur
 35 unus atque idem spiritus, et diuidit propria unicuique ceu uult. Sicut enim corpus unum est et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis unius, cum sint multa, unum sunt corpus, sic et Christus; etenim in uno

B136r spiritu nos omnes in unum corpus baptizati sumus, siue Iudei siue gentiles siue serui siue liberi, et omnes in uno spiritu potati sumus. Etenim corpus non est unum membrum sed multa. Si dixerit pes quod ‘Non sum manus, non sum de corpore’, non ideo non est de corpore; et si dixerit auris quod ‘Non sum oculus, non sum de corpore’, non ideo non est de corpore. Si totum corpus oculus, ubi auditus? Et si totum auditus, ubi odoratus? Nunc autem Deus posuit membra, unumquodque eorum in corpore, sicut uoluit. Si autem essent omnia unum membrum, ubi corpus? Nunc autem multa quidem membra, unum uero corpus. Non potest autem oculus dicere manui: ‘Te non indigeo’, uel iterum caput pedibus: ‘Vobis non indigeo’, sed multo magis que uidentur membra corporis infirmiora esse necessaria sunt, et que putamus ignobiliora membra esse corporis, his honorem abundantiorum circumponimus, et que turpia sunt nostra abundantiorum honestatem habent, que autem honesta nostra non indigent. Sed Deus contemperauit corpus, deficienti abundantiorum honorem tribuens, ut non sit dissensio in corpore, sed ad idipsum adinuicem sollicita sint membra. Et si quidem patitur unum membrum, compatiantur omnia membra; siue gloriatur unum membrum, congaudeant omnia membra. Vos estis corpus Christi et membra ex parte. Et quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia primum apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores, postea uirtutes, deinde gratias sanitatum, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum, interpretationes sermonum. Numquid omnes apostoli? Numquid omnes prophete? Numquid omnes doctores? Numquid omnes uirtutes? Numquid omnes gratias habent curationum? Numquid omnes linguis loquuntur? Numquid omnes interpretantur? Emulamini autem dona meliora. Et adhuc secundum excessum uiam uobis demonstro.

B136v **13** Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum es sonans aut cymbalum tinniens. Et si habuero prophetiam et nouerim mysteria omnia et omnem scientiam, et si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum. Et si distribuero omnes facultates meas in cibos pauperum et si tradidero corpus meum, ita ut ardeat, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil proficio. Caritas patiens est, benigna est, caritas non emulatur, caritas non agit perperam, non inflatur, non est ambitiosa, non querit que sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat

querit que sua sunt, non irritatur, non cogitat malum, non gaudet super iniquitatem, congaudet autem ueritati; omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Caritas numquam excidit. Siue autem prophetie, euacuabuntur; siue lingue, cessabunt; siue scientia, destruetur. Ex parte
 5 autem cognoscimus et ex parte prophetamus; cum uero uenerit quod perfectum est, tunc euacuabitur quod ex parte est. Cum essem paruulus, loquebar ut paruulus, sapiebam ut paruulus, cogitabam ut paruulus; cum autem factus essem uir, euacuaui que erant paruuli. Videmus enim nunc per speculum in enigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem; nunc cognosco ex
 10 parte, tunc autem cognoscam, sicut et cognitus sum. Nunc autem manet fides, spes, caritas, tria hec; maior autem his est caritas.

14 Sectamini caritatem, emulamini autem spiritualia, magis autem ut prophetetis. Qui enim loquitur lingua, non hominibus loquitur, sed Deo; nemo enim audit, spiritu autem loquitur
 15 mysteria. Qui enim prophetat, hominibus loquitur edificationem et exhortationem et consolationem. Qui loquitur lingua, semetipsum edificat; Qui autem prophetat, ecclesiam edificat. Volo autem uos omnes loqui linguis, magis autem ut prophetetis; nam maior est qui prophetat quam qui loquitur linguis, nisi extra interpretetur, ut ecclesia
 20 edificationem accipiat. Nunc autem, fratres, si uenero ad uos linguis loquens, quid prodero uobis, nisi uobis loquar aut in reuelatione aut in scientia aut in prophetia aut in doctrina? Tamen que inanimata sunt et uocem dant, siue tibia siue cithara, nisi distinctionem sonitibus dederit, quomodo cognoscetur quod tibia aut cithara sonatur? Etenim si incertam
 25 uocem tuba dederit, quis preparabitur ad bellum? Ita et uos per linguam nisi manifestum sermonem dederitis, quomodo cognoscetur quod dicitur? Eritis enim in era loquentes. Tot ut puta genera linguarum sunt in mundo, et nihil sine uoce est; si ergo nesciero uirtutem uocis, ero ei qui loquitur barbarus, et is qui loquitur mihi barbarus. Sic et uos,
 30 quoniam emulatores estis spirituum, ad edificationem ecclesie querite ut abundetis. Ideo qui loquitur lingua, oret ut interpretetur. Si enim oro lingua, spiritus meus orat, mens autem mea sine fructu est. Quid igitur est? Orabo spiritu, orabo autem et mente; psallam spiritu, psallam autem et mente. Quoniam si benedixeris spiritu qui supplet locum idiote, quomodo dicit ‘Amen!’ super tuam benedictionem, quoniam quod dicas
 35 nescit? Tu enim bene gratias agis, sed alter non edificatur. Gratias ago

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bene gratias agis, sed alter non edificatur. Gratias ago Deo meo quod
 omnium uestrum magis linguis loquor; sed in ecclesia uolo quinque
 uerba intellectu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam, quam decem milia
 uerborum lingua. Fratres, ne pueri estote mentibus, sed malitia paruuli
 estote, mentibus uero perfecti sitis. In lege scriptum est quod *In linguis* 5
aliis et in labiis aliis loquar populo huic, et non sic exaudient me, dicit dominus.
 Itaque lingue in signum sunt non fidelibus sed infidelibus, prophetia
 autem non infidelibus sed fidelibus. Si ergo conueniat ecclesia tota in
 idem, et omnes linguis loquantur, intrent autem idiote et infideles, nonne
 dicunt quod insanitis? Si autem omnes prophetent, intret autem quis 10
 infidelis uel idiota, redarguitur ab omnibus, diiudicatur ab omnibus et sic
 abscondita cordis sui manifesta fiunt; et sic cadens in faciem adorabit
 Deum annuntians quod uere Deus intra uos est. Quid ergo est, fratres?
 Cum conuenitis, unusquisque uestrum psalmum habet, doctrinam habet,
 linguam habet, reuelationem habet, interpretationem habet: omnia ad 15
 edificationem fiant. Siue lingua quis loquitur, secundum duos uel
 plurimum tres, et per partes, et unus interpretetur; si autem non fuerit
 interpret in ecclesia taceat, sibi autem loquatur et Deo. Prophete autem
 duo aut tres loquantur, et ceteri diiudicent; si autem alii sedenti reuelatum
 fuerit, primus taceat. Potestis enim omnes singillatim prophetare, ut 20
 omnes discant et omnes exhortentur, et spiritus prophetarum prophetis
 subiciuntur; non enim dissensionis est Deus, sed pacis. Sicut in omnibus
 ecclesiis sanctorum doceo, mulieres uestre in ecclesiis taceant, non enim
 permittitur eis loqui; sed ut subiciantur, sicut et lex dicit. Si quid autem
 discere uoluerint, domi proprios uiros interrogent; turpe est enim 25
 mulieribus in ecclesia loqui. An a uobis sermo Dei processit aut ad uos
 solos peruenit? Si quis uidetur propheta esse aut spiritualis, cognoscat
 que scribo uobis quod domini sunt mandata. Si quis autem ignorat,
 ignorabitur. Itaque, fratres, emulamini prophetare et loqui linguis ne
 prohibete; omnia honeste et secundum ordinem fiant. 30

15 Notum autem uobis facio, fratres, euangelium quod
 euangelizauimus uobis, et quod accepistis et in quo stetistis et per
 quod saluamini, qua ratione euangelizauerimus uobis, si teneatis
 foris nisi frustra credidistis. Tradidi enim uobis in primis et quod accepi,
 quod Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas et 35

5 est] *om. B* 20 fuerit] *ex fuit corr. B1* 21 prophetis] *profecti AB* 33 foris] *om. A ins. A2*

- mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas et quod sepultus est et quod surrexit tertia die secundum scripturas et quod apparuit Cephe, postea duodecim; deinde apparuit plus quam quingentis fratribus simul, ex quibus plures manent usque adhuc, quidam autem dormierunt;
- 5 tum apparuit Iacobo, deinceps apostolis omnibus; postremo autem omnium, tamquam abortiuo, apparuit et mihi. Ego enim sum minimus apostolorum, qui non sum sufficiens uocari apostolus, quoniam persecutus sum ecclesiam Dei; per gratiam autem Dei sum id quod sum, et gratia sua in me uacua non fuit, sed abundantius his omnibus laboraui,
- 10 non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum. Siue igitur ego siue illi, sic predicamus et sic credidistis. Si autem Christus predicatur quod resurrexerit a mortuis, quomodo quidam inter uos dicunt quod resurrectio mortuorum non est? Si autem resurrectio mortuorum non est, neque Christus resurrexit! Si autem Christus non resurrexit, inanis est
- 15 certe predicatio nostra, inanis autem et fides nostra; inuenimur autem et falsi testes Dei, quoniam testificati sumus aduersus Deum quod suscitauerit Christum, quem non suscitauit si mortui non resurgunt. Si ergo mortui non resurgunt, nec Christus resurrexit; si autem Christus non resurrexit, uana est fides nostra, adhuc estis in peccatis uestris. Ergo
- 20 et qui dormierunt in Christo perierunt. Si in hac uita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores omnibus hominibus. Nunc autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis, primitie dormientium factus est. Quoniam certe per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum: sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur.
- 25 Vnusquisque in proprio ordine: primitie Christus; deinde hi qui sunt Christi et in aduentum suum crediderunt; deinde finis, cum tradiderit regnum Deo et patri, cum euacuauerit omnem principatum et omnem potestatem et uirtutem. Oportet enim ipsum regnare, donec ponat inimicos sub pedibus suis. Vltima inimica destruetur mors; omnia enim
- 30 subiecit sub pedibus suis. Cum autem dicat quod omnia subiecta sunt, manifestum est quod preter eum qui ei subiecit omnia. Cum autem ei subiecta fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse filius subiectus erit ei qui sibi subiecit omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Alioquin quod facient qui baptizantur pro mortuis? Si omnino mortui non resurgunt, quid et
- 35 baptizantur pro mortuis? Quid et nos periclitamur omni hora? Quotidie morior per nostram gloriam, quam habeo in Christo Iesu domino nostro!

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Si secundum hominem Ephesi ad bestias pugnaui, que mihi utilitas, si mortui non resurgunt? Manducemus et bibamus; cras enim moriemur. Ne seducamini: corrumpunt bonos mores conuersationes male. Euigilate iuste et ne peccetis! Ignorantiam enim Dei quidam habent; ad reuerentiam uobis dico. Sed inquiet aliquis: 'Quomodo resurgent mortui? 5 Quali autem corpore uenient? Insipiens! Tu quod seminas non uiuificatur nisi moriatur; et quod seminas, non corpus quod futurum est seminas, sed nudum granum ut puta tritici aut alicuius ceterorum. Deus autem dat ei corpus sicut uoluit, et unicuique seminum proprium corpus. Non omnis caro eadem caro, sed alia quidem hominum, alia autem caro 10 pecorum, alia uero piscium, alia autem uolucrum. Et corpora celestia et corpora terrestria, sed altera quidem est celestium gloria, altera autem terrestrium. Alia claritas solis et alia claritas lune et alia claritas stellarum; stella enim a stellis differt in claritate. Sic et resurrectio mortuorum: seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione; seminatur in 15 ignobilitate, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget in potestate; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spirituale. Est corpus animale et est corpus spirituale. Sicut scriptum est: *Factus est primus homo Adam in animam uiuentem*, ultimus est Adam in spiritum uiuificantem. Sed non primum quod spirituale, sed quod animale est; deinde quod spirituale est. 20 Primus homo de terra terrenus, secundus homo dominus de celo. Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni, et qualis celestis, tales et celestes; et sicut portauimus imaginem terreni, feremus et imaginem celestis. Hoc autem dico, fratres, quod caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit. Ecce mysterium uobis dico: 25 Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur, in momento, in ictu oculi, in ultima tuba; tubicinabitur enim, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur. Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Cum autem 30 corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: *Absorta est mors in uictoria. Vbi est, mors, stimulus tuus? Vbi est, inferne, uictoria tua?* Stimulus autem mortis peccatum est, uirtus autem peccati lex. Deo autem gratia, qui

B139r

A88r

B139v

4 et] *om. A ins. A2* | Dei] *om. B* 15 incorruptione] corruptione B 17 et] *om. B*
 18 Sicut] Erimus de terra terrenus *praem. B exp. B1* 32 fiet] fit B | uictoria] Vbi est
 mors uictoria tua *add. A exp. A2*

dedit nobis uictoriam per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui mortuus est pro nobis. Itaque, fratres mei dilecti, firmi estote, immutabiles, abundantes in opere domini semper, scientes quod labor uester non est inanis in domino.

- 5 **16** De collectis autem que fiunt in sanctos, sicut ordinaui ecclesiis Galathie, sic et uos facite. Per unam sabatorum unusquisque uestrum apud semetipsum ponat recondens quodcumque sibi placuerit, ut cum non uenero tunc collecte fiant. Cum autem adfuero, quoscumque probaueritis per epistolas hos mittam, ut afferant gratiam uestram in Hierusalem. Si autem dignum fuerit, ut et ego eam, mecum ibunt. Veniam autem ad uos, cum Macedoniam pertransiuero, Macedoniam enim pertransibo; apud uos autem forsitan manebo uel etiam hiemabo, ut uos me deducatis quocumque iero. Nolo enim uos modo in transitu uidere; spero autem per aliquantulum tempus permanere apud uos, si dominus permiserit. Permanebo autem Ephesi usque ad pentecostem; ostium enim mihi apertum est magnum et efficax, et aduersarii multi. Si autem Timotheus uenerit, uidete ut intrepide sit apud uos. Opus enim domini operatur sicut et ego; ne quis ergo ipsum spernat. Premittite autem ipsum in pace, ut ueniat ad me; expecto enim ipsum cum fratribus. De Apollo autem fratre, plurimum ipsum exhortatus sum, ut ueniret ad uos cum fratribus, et omnino non fuit uoluntas ut nunc ueniret; ueniet autem cum oportunitas dabitur. Vigilate, state in fide, uiriliter pugnate, confortamini; omnia uestra in caritate fiant. Rogo autem uos, fratres: nostis domum Stephane, quod est primaria Achaie et in ministerium sanctorum ordinauerunt seipsos; ut et uos subditi sitis talibus et omni cooperanti et laboranti. Gaudeo autem in presentia Stephane et Fortunati et Achaici, quoniam defectum uestrum ipsi suppleuerunt. Refecerunt enim meum spiritum et uestrum. Cognoscite ergo quod tales sunt. Salutant uos ecclesie Asie. Salutant uos in domino multum Aquila et Priscilla cum domestica eorum ecclesia. Salutant uos fratres omnes. Salutate inuicem in osculo sancto. Salutatio mea manu Pauli. Si quis non amat dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, sit anathema. Maranatha! Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi uobiscum. Caritas mea cum omnibus uobis in Christo Iesu. Amen.

B140r

1 per] *uid. corr.* A1 6 Galathie] *ex Galatie corr.* A2 15 permiserit] permanserit B 21 ut] et AB 31 Salutate] salutant B

II Corinthians

A88v

1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei, et Timotheus frater, ecclesie Dei que est Corinthi, cum omnibus sanctis qui sunt in tota Achaia: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro Iesu Christo.

Benedictus Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, pater 5
misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, qui consolatur nos in omni

B140v

tribulatione nostra, ut possimus nos consolari eos qui in omni tribulatione sunt, per consolationem qua consolamur ipsi a Deo; quoniam, sicut abundant passiones Christi in nos, sic et per Christum abundat consolatio nostra. Siue autem tribulamur, pro uestra 10
consolatione et salute, que operatur patientiam earundem passionum quas et nos patimur. Et spes nostra certa pro uobis, siue consolamur pro consolatione uestra et salute, scientes quod sicut socii passionum estis, sic et consolationis. Non enim uolumus ignorare uos, fratres, pro tribulatione nostra que facta est nobis in Asia, quod per excessum grauati 15
sumus supra uirtutem, ita ut tederet etiam nos uiuere; sed et ipsi in nobismet ipsis responsum mortis habuimus, ut non simus confidentes in nobis ipsis, <sed> in Deo, qui suscitatur mortuos et eripuit nos ex tali morte et eruit, in quem sperauimus quod eruet, cooperantibus et uobis pro nobis in oratione, ut ex multis personis donatio in nos, per multos 20
gratis donetur pro uobis. Gloriato enim nostra ipsa est, testimonium conscientie nostre, quod in simplicitate et in sinceritate Dei, non in sapientia carnali sed in gratia Dei, conuersati sumus in mundo abundantius autem ad uos. Non enim alia scribimus uobis quam ea que legistis et cognouistis; spero autem quod usque in finem cognoscetis, 25
sicut et cognouistis nos ex parte, quia gloria uestra sumus sicut et uos nostra in die domini nostri Iesu Christi. Et hac confidentia uolui ad uos uenire prius, ut secundam gratiam haberetis, et per uos transirem in Macedoniam, et iterum e Macedonia uenirem ad uos et a uobis deduci in Iudeam. Cum autem hoc uoluisset, numquid leuitate usus sum? Aut, 30
que cogito, secundum carnem cogito, ut sit apud me 'Ita, ita', 'Non, non'? Fidelis autem Deus, quod sermo noster ad uos non fuit 'Ita' et 'Non?!' Dei enim filius Iesus Christus, <qui> in uobis per nos predicatus est, per me et Siluanum et Timotheum, non fuit 'Ita' et 'Non', sed 'Ita' fuit in ipso. Quecumque enim promissiones Dei in ipso sunt, 'Ita' et in 35

B141r

8 qua] *ex qua corr.* B1 14 nobis] uobis B 17 sed] *om.* AB 25 quia] *ex qui corr.* A1
32 qui] *om.* AB

sunt, ‘Ita’ et in ipso, ‘Amen’ Deo, ad gloriam per nos. Qui autem confirmat nos uobiscum in Christum est et qui unxit nos Deus, et qui
 5 ueni Corinthum. Non quod dominemur fidei uestre, sed cooperatores sumus gaudiū uestri, fide enim statis.

A89r

2 Statui autem in meipso hoc, ne iterum in tristitia ad uos uenirem. Si enim ego contristo uos, et quis est qui me letificet, nisi qui contristatur ex me? Et hoc ipsum scripsi uobis, ut non cum uenero
 10 tristitiam habeam de quibus oportebat me gaudere, confisus in omnibus uobis, quod meum gaudium omnium uestrum est. Nam ex multa tribulatione et angustia cordis scripsi uobis per multas lacrimas, non ut contristemini, sed ut sciatis quam caritatem habeam abundantius in uobis. Si quis autem contristauit me, non me contristauit, sed ex parte, ut
 15 non onerem uos omnes. Sufficit ei qui talis est obiurgatio que fit a pluribus, ita ut e contrario magis uos donetis et consolemini, ne aliquatenus abundantiori tristitia absorbeatur, qui eiusmodi est. Idcirco rogo uos ut confirmetis in ipsum caritatem; in hoc enim et scripsi, ut cognoscam experimentum uestrum, an in omnibus obedientes estis. Cui
 20 autem aliquid donastis, et ego; etenim si ego aliquid donaui, alicui donaui propter uos in persona Christi, ut non circumueniamur a Satana; non enim intellectiones suas ignoramus. Cum autem Troadem uenissem ad euangelium Christi, et ianua aperta mihi esset in domino, non habui requiem spiritu meo, eo quod non inuenerim Titum fratrem meum, sed
 25 abiens ab eis profectus sum in Macedoniam. Gratia autem Deo, qui semper triumphare nos facit in Christo, et odorem scientie sue manifestat per nos in omni loco. Quoniam Christi bonus odor sumus in Deo quidem in his qui saluantur et pereunt: aliquibus certe odor mortis in mortem, aliquibus uero odor uite in uitam. Ac propterea quis idoneus
 30 est? Non enim sumus ceu reliqui cauponantes uerbum Dei, sed uelut ex sinceritate, et uelut ex Deo coram Deo in Christo loquimur.

B141v

9 me] uobis *praem.* B *exp.* B1 14 contristauit¹] con- *i. r.* A1 | onerem] honorem AB
 17 eiusmodi] ex huiusmodi *corr.* B1 20 si] *om.* B | ego²] quid *praem.* A *exp. fort.* A1
 22 Troadem] tandem AB 30 uerbum] ex uerborum *corr. fort.* A1

3 Incipimus iterum nosmetipsos commendare? Nisi egemus ut
 quidam commendaticiis epistolis ad uos aut ex uobis
 commendaticiis? Epistola nostra uos estis, scripta in cordibus
 nostris, nota et lecta ab omnibus hominibus; manifestati quod estis
 epistola Christi ministrata a nobis, scripta non atramento sed spiritu Dei 5
 uiui, non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus. Fiduciam
 autem habemus talem per Christum ad Deum. Non quod sufficientes
 simus a nobis ipsis aliquid cogitare quasi ex nobis ipsis, sed sufficientia
 nostra ex Deo est, qui et sufficientes nos fecit ministros noui testamenti,
 non littere sed spiritus: littera enim occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat. Si 10
 autem ministratio mortis in litteris figurata in lapidibus facta fuit in gloria,
 ita ut non possint intendere filii Israel in faciem Moysi propter gloriam
 uultus sui, que euacuatur, quomodo non magis ministratio spiritus erit in
 gloria? Si enim ministratio spiritus in gloria est, multo magis abundabit 15
 ministerium iustitiae in gloria. Nam non glorificatur quod glorificatum est
 in hac parte, gratia excellentis glorie; si enim quod euacuatum est per
 gloriam, multo magis quod manet in gloria est. Habentes igitur talem
 spem multa fiducia utimur, et non sicut Moyses: ponebat uelamen super
 faciem suam ut non intenderent filii Israel in faciem eius quod
 euacuabatur. Sed obtusi erant intellectus eorum. Vsque enim in 20
 hodiernum diem idem uelamen in lectione ueteris testamenti manet non
 reuelatum, quoniam in Christo euacuatur; sed usque in hodiernum diem,
 cum legitur Moyses, uelamen positum est super cor eorum. Quando
 autem conuersus fuerit ad dominum, auferetur uelamen. Dominus uero
 spiritus est; ubi autem spiritus domini, ibi libertas est. Nos uero omnes, 25
 reuelata facie, gloriam domini speculantes in eandem imaginem
 transformamur a claritate in claritatem tamquam a domini spiritu.

4 Ideo habentes hanc administrationem sicut misericordiam
 consecuti sumus, non deficimus, sed abdicamus occulta dedecoris 30
 non ambulantes in calliditate, neque adulterantes uerbum Dei, sed
 manifestatione ueritatis constituentes nosmetipsos ad omnem
 conscientiam hominum coram Deo. Si autem est opertum euangelium
 nostrum, in his que pereunt opertum est, in quibus Deus huius seculi

3 scripta] *iter.* B 7 simus] sumus B 9 fecit] *ex facit corr.* B1 13 Si] est multo magis *praem.*
 B *exp.* B1 14 spiritus] erit *add.* AB *exp. fort.* A2 22 cum] *om.* B 30 adulterantes]
 adultantes B 31 nosmetipsos] -s- *i. r.* A1 32 hominum] -minum A1

excecavit mentes infidelium, ut non fulgeat ipsis illuminatio euangelii glorie Christi, qui est imago Dei. Non enim nosmetipsos predicamus, sed Christum Iesum dominum; nos autem ipsos seruos uestros propter Iesum. Quem Deus dixit lucem a tenebris splendescere, qui illuxit in

5 cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientie claritatis Dei in facie Christi B142v

Iesu. habemus autem thesaurum istum in uasis fictilibus, ut sublimitas sit uirtutis Dei et non ex nobis. In omnibus tribulamur, sed non angustiamur; deficimus, sed non destruimur; persecutionem patimur, sed non derelinquimur; deicimur, sed non perimus; semper mortificationem

10 domini Iesu in corpore circumferentes, ut et uita Iesu in corpore nostro manifestetur. Semper enim nos, qui uiuimus, in mortem tradimur per Iesum, ut et uita domini manifestetur in carne nostra mortali. Itaque mors quidem in nobis operatur, uita autem in uobis. Habentes autem spiritum fidei, secundum quod scriptum est: *Credidi propter quod locutus*

15 *sum*, et nos credimus propter quod et loquimur, scientes quod qui suscitauit dominum Iesum, et nos per Iesum suscitabit, et constituet nos A90r

uobiscum. Omnia enim propter uos, ut gratia abundans per multos benedictionem multiplicet in gloriam Dei. Propter quod non deficimus, sed et si is qui extrinsecus est noster homo corrumpatur, tamen is qui

20 intus est renouatur de die in diem. Quod enim momentaneum et leue tribulationis nostre est, per excessum in sublimitatem eternum glorie pondus operatur in nobis, cum nos non consideremus que uidemus, sed que non uidemus; que enim uidentur temporalia sunt, que autem non uidentur eterna.

25 **5** Scimus enim quod si terrestris domus nostra huius habitaculi dissoluatur, edificationem ex Deo habemus, domum non manufactam eternam in celis. Etenim in hoc ingemiscimus, habitationem nostram, que de celo est, superindui cupientes, et si uestiti non nudi inueniamur. Nam et qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo,

30 ingemiscimus onerati, in eo quod nolumus expoliari sed superuestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita. Qui autem efficit nos in hoc ipsum, Deus, qui et dedit nobis pignus spiritus. Confidentes igitur semper et scientes quod dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a domino; per fidem enim B143r

13 quidem] qui- i. r. fort. A1 15 credimus] ex credidimus corr. fort. A1 19 extrinsecus] i. r. A2 25 huius habitaculi] om. A i. m. A2 28 uestiti] uestra B | inueniamur] -r i. r. fort. A2 29 Nam] i. r. A2 30 nolumus] uolumus AB 31 et] om. A ins. A2 32 semper] om. A ins. A2

peregrinamur a domino; per fidem enim ambulamus non per speciem. Confidimus autem et expectamus magis peregrinari a corpore et assistere ad dominum. Et ideo contendimus siue presentes siue absentes beneplacere ei. Omnes enim nos manifestari oportet coram Christi tribunali, ut deferat unusquisque ea que per corpus gessit, siue bonum 5 siue malum. Scientes ergo timorem domini hominibus suademus, Deo autem manifesti efficimur; spero autem et in conscientiis uestris nos manifestos esse. Non enim iterum nosipsos commendamus uobis, sed occasionem damus uobis gloriationis pro nobis, ut habeatis ad eos qui in facie gloriantur et non in corde. Siue enim mente excedamus, Deo; siue 10 temperati simus, uobis. Caritas enim Christi continet nos, iudicantes hoc quod si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, igitur omnes mortui sunt; et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut qui uiuunt non amplius sibi ipsis uiuant, sed ei qui pro omnibus mortuus est et resurrexit. Itaque nos ex nunc neminem nouimus secundum carnem; et si cognouimus secundum carnem 15 Christum, sed nunc non amplius cognoscimus. Itaque si quis in Christo, noua creatura est; uetera transierunt, et ecce facta sunt omnia noua. Omnia autem ex Deo, qui nos reconciliauit sibi ipsi per Iesum Christum et dedit nobis ministerium reconciliationis, ut quod Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi ipsi, non reputans eis delicta ipsorum, et 20 posuit nobis uerbum reconciliationis. Pro Christo igitur legatione fungimur tamquam Deo exhortante per nos: deprecamur pro Christo, reconciliamini Deo. Eum qui non nouerat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecit, ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso.

B143v

A90v

6 Cooperatores autem exhortamur ne in uacuum gratiam Dei 25 suscipiatis. Ait enim: *Tempore accepto exaudiui te et in die salutis adiuiui te*; ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis – nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non uituperetur ministerium nostrum, sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministri in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in 30 carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in uigiis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in suauitate, in spiritu sancto, in caritate non ficta, in uerbo ueritatis, in uirtute Dei; per arma iustitie a dextris et a sinistris, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam; ut seductores et ueraces, sicut qui ignoti et cogniti, tamquam morientes, et 35

1 a] i. r. A2 | domino] -o i. r. A2 4 enim] om. A ins. A2 10 excedamus] ex credamus corr. B1 22 exhortante] cohortante B 23 Eum] cum B 31 ieiuniis] i. r. A1

ueraces, sicut qui ignoti et cogniti, tamquam morientes, et ecce uiuimus, tamquam castigati et non mortificati, tamquam dolentes, semper autem gaudentes, sicut inopes, multos autem locupletantes, tamquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes. Os nostrum patet ad uos, o Corinthii, cor
 5 nostrum dilatatum est. Ne angustiamini in nobis, sed angustiamini in uisceribus uestris; eandem habentes remunerationem, tamquam filiis dico, dilatamini et uos. Ne coniungamini cum infidelibus! Que enim participatio iustitie et iniustitie? Que autem societas luci ad tenebras? Que autem consonantia Christo ad Belial, aut que pars fideli cum
 10 infideli? Que autem compositio templo Dei cum idolis? Vos enim estis templum Dei uiui; sicut dixit dominus quod *Inhabitabo in ipsis et inambulabo et ero eorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi populus. Propter quod exite de medio eorum et separamini, dicit dominus, et ne quid immundum tetigeritis; et ego recipiam uos et ero uobis in patrem, et uos eritis mihi in filios et filias, dicit dominus omnipotens.*

B144r

15 **7** Has igitur habentes promissiones, dilecti, mundemus nosipsos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, perficientes sanctificationem in timore Dei. Capite nos! Nemini iniuriati sumus, neminem corrupimus, neminem defraudauimus. Non ad condemnationem uestram dico; predixi enim quod in cordibus nostris estis ad commoriendum et ad
 20 conuiuendum. Multa mihi fiducia est apud uos, multa mihi gloriatio pro uobis; repletus sum consolatione, superabundo gaudio in omni tribulatione nostra. Cum enim uenissemus Macedoniam, nullam intermissionem habuit caro nostra, sed in omnibus tribulati sumus: foris pugna, intus timores. Sed qui consolatur humiles, consolatus est nos
 25 Deus in aduentu Titi; non solum autem in aduentu eius, sed etiam in consolatione qua consolatus est in uobis, annuntians nobis uestrum desiderium, uestrum fletum, uestram emulationem pro me, ita ut magis gauderem. Quod si contristauit uos in epistola, non me penitet; et si penitet – uideo quod in epistola illa, etsi ad horam, uos contristauit –
 30 nunc gaudeo, non quod contristati estis, sed quod contristati estis ad penitentiam; contristati enim estis secundum Deum, ut in nullo detrimentum patiamini ex uobis. Que enim secundum Deum tristitia est, penitentiam in salutem stabilem operatur; mundi autem tristitia mortem

A91r

B144v

16 sanctificationem] ex sanctificationem corr. A1 23 nostra] uid. corr. A1 26 consolatus est] -us est i. r. A2 28 uos] ex eos corr. B1 33 penitentiam] mortem operatur. Ecce enim hoc operatur praem. B exp. B1

operatur. Ecce enim hoc ipsum secundum Deum uos contristari: quantam in uobis operatur sollicitudinem, sed defensionem, sed indignationem, sed timorem, sed desiderium, sed emulationem, sed uindictam! In omnibus exhibuistis uosipsos esse incontaminatos in negotio. Igitur etsi scripsi uobis, non propter eum qui fecit iniuriam, nec 5 propter eum qui passus est, sed ad manifestandam sollicitudinem nostram, quam pro uobis habemus coram Deo. Ideo consolati sumus in consolatione uestra. Abundantius autem gauisi sumus in gaudio Titi, quia refectus est spiritus suus ab omnibus uobis; quod si quid ipsi pro uobis gloriatum sum, non sum confusus, sed sicut omnia uobis in ueritate locuti 10 sumus, ita et gloriatio uestra ad Titum ueritas facta est. Et uiscera eius abundantius in uobis sunt, reminiscentes omnium uestrum obedientiam, quemadmodum cum timore et cum tremore suscepistis ipsum. Gaudeo quod in omnibus confido in uobis.

8 Notam autem facimus uobis, fratres, gratiam Dei que data est in 15 ecclesiis Macedonie, quod in multo experimento tribulationis abundantia gaudii ipsorum fuit et profunda paupertas eorum abundauit in diuitias simplicitatis ipsorum; quoniam secundum uirtutem testificor ut supra uirtutem per seipsos uoluntarii fuerint, cum multa exhortatione deprecantes nos ut gratiam et comunem ministerii quod 20 fit in sanctos suscipereamus. Et non sicut sperauimus, sed semetipsos dederunt primum domino, et nobis per uoluntatem Dei, ita ut rogaemus Titum, ut, quemadmodum cepit, ita et perficiat in uobis etiam gratiam istam. Sed sicut in omnibus abundatis, fide, spe et sermone et scientia et omni sollicitudine et ea que est ex uobis in nos caritate ut in hac gratia 25 abundetis. Non secundum imperium dico, sed per aliorum sollicitudinem etiam uestre dilectionis ingenium bonum comprobans; cognoscitis enim gratiam domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui propter uos egenus factus est, cum dominus esset, ut uos eius paupertate ditaremini. Et consilium in hoc do. Hoc enim uobis confert qui non solum facere, sed etiam uelle 30 antea cepistis ab anno priore; nunc autem et opere perficite, ut, quemadmodum promptitudo uolendi, ita sit et perficiendi ex eo quod habetis. Si enim promptitudo proposita, secundum id quod habet accepta

B145r

3 timorem] amorem AB 4 incontaminatos] contaminatos B 13 suscepistis] suscipitis B
24 abundatis] abundetis B 25 hac] ex ha corr. A1 26 sollicitudinem] sed per aliorum
praem. B exp. B1

est, non secundum id quod non habet. Non enim ut aliis sit remissio, uobis autem tribulatio; sed ex equalitate in presenti tempore abundantia uestra sit in ipsorum defectum, ut et illorum abundantia fiat in defectum uestrum, ut fiat equalitas, sicut scriptum est: *Qui multum habet non abundauit, et qui modicum non minorauit*. Gratia autem Deo, qui dedit eandem sollicitudinem pro uobis in corde Titi, quoniam exhortationem quidem suscepit, sed, cum studiosior existeret, sponte sua ad uos profectus est. Misimus autem cum ipso fratrem, cuius laus est in euangelio per omnes ecclesias – non solum autem, sed et ordinatus est ab ecclesiis comes peregrinationis nostre in hac gratia que ministratur a nobis ad domini gloriam et promptitudinem uestram – deuotantes hoc, ne quis nos uituperet in hac plenitudine, prouidentes bona non solum coram domino, sed etiam coram hominibus. Misimus autem cum ipsis fratrem nostrum, quem probauimus in multis sepe sollicitum esse, nunc autem multo studiosiorem, confidentia multa in uobis. Siue pro Tito, qui est socius meus et in uobis cooperator; siue fratres nostri, apostoli ecclesiarum, gloria Christi. Ostensionem ergo, que est caritatis uestre et nostre glorie pro uobis, in ipsos ostendite in faciem ecclesiarum.

A91v

B145v

9 De ministerio enim quod fit in sanctos, superfluum est mihi scribere uobis; noui enim promptitudinem uestram, pro qua de uobis glorior apud Macedonas, quoniam Achaia parata est ab anno preterito, et uestra emulatio prouocauit plures. Misi autem fratres, ut non gloriatio nostra euacuetur in hac parte, ut, quemadmodum dixi, parati sitis, ne aliquatenus, si Macedones mecum uenerint, imparatos uos inuenerint, erubescamus nos, ut eis dicamus uos in hac gloriationis substantia. Necessarium ergo existimaui rogare fratres ut preueniant ad uos et preparent repromissam benedictionem uestram paratam esse sic ut benedictionem et non ut auaritiam. Hoc autem dico: Qui parce seminat, parce et metet, et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et metet. Vnusquisque sicut preelegit in corde, non ex tristitia aut necessitate; hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus. Potens est autem Deus ut omnem gratiam abundare faciat in uobis, ut, in omnibus semper omnem habentes sufficientiam, abundetis in omne opus bonum, sicut scriptum est: *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus; iustitia autem eius manet in seculum*. Qui autem

2 equalitate] qualitate AB 3 ut et] et ut AB 19 enim] autem *praem. B exp. B1*
 25 substantia] *ex sustantia corr. A2* 31 Potens] *ex poten corr. A1*

administrat semen seminanti, et panem ad cibum prestabit et multiplicabit semen uestrum et augebit genimina iustitiae uestre. In omnibus locupletati in omnem simplicitatem, quae operatur per nos gratiarum actionem Deo – quoniam ministerium huius officii non solum supplet defectus sanctorum, sed etiam supplet per multas gratiarum actiones Deo – per probationem ministerii huius glorificantes Deum in obedientia confessionis uestre in euangelium Christi et simplicitatem communicationis in ipsos et in omnes, et in ipsorum deprecatione pro uobis desiderantium uos propter excedentem gratiam Dei in uobis.

B146r

A92r

10 Gratia autem Deo super inenarrabili dono eius. Ipse autem ego Paulus rogo uos per mansuetudinem et modestiam Christi, qui in facie quidem humilis sum inter uos, absens autem confido in uobis; deprecor autem et non praesens audeo per eam confidentiam qua existimo audere qui arbitrantur nos tamquam secundum carnem ambulantes. In carne enim ambulantes, non secundum carnem militamus – arma enim militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo ad destructionem monitionum – consilia destruentes et omnem altitudinem extollentem se aduersus scientiam Dei, et captiuantes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi, et in promptu habentes ulcisci omnem inobedientiam, cum impleta fuerit uestra obedientia. Quae secundum faciem sunt, uidete. Si quis confidit sibi ipsi se Christi esse, hoc cogitet iterum a seipso, quod sicut ipse Christi est, ita et nos Christi. Siue enim abundantius aliquid gloriatus fuero de potestate nostra, quam nobis dedit dominus in edificationem et non in destructionem uestram, non erubescam, ut non uidear tamquam terrere uos per epistolas; quoniam ‘Epistole’, inquiunt, ‘grauiores sunt et fortes, praesentia autem corporis infirma et sermo contemptibilis.’ Hec cogitet qui talis est, quia quales sumus uerbo per epistolas absentes, tales sumus et praesentes opere. Non enim audemus inserere aut comparare nos quibusdam qui seipsos commendant, sed ipsi in nobis nosmetipsos metientes, et comparantes uosmetipsos nobis. Nos autem non in immensum gloriamur, sed secundum mensuram regule quam mensus est nobis Deus, mensura pertingendi ad uos. Non enim quasi non pertingendi ad uos superextendimus nos, usque ad uos enim peruenimus in euangelio

B146v

10 eius] Here ends 2 Corinthians 9 in the Vulgate.

4 actionem...5 gratiarum] *om. B* **11** rogo] *ego B* **13** non] *om. A ins. A2*
17 monitionum] *-o- i. r. fort. A1*

peruenimus in euangelio Christi; non in immensum gloriantes in alienis laboribus, spem autem habentes crescentis fidei uestre, ut in uobis magnificetur secundum regulam nostram in abundantiam, etiam in illa que ultra nos sunt, ut euangelizentur, non in aliena regula in his que
 5 preparata sunt ut glorientur. Qui autem gloriatur, in domino gloriatur; non enim qui seipsum commendat, ille probatus est, sed is quem dominus commendat.

11 Vtinam sustineretis me modicum in insipientia; sed et supportate me! Emulor enim uos Dei emulatione; despondi
 10 enim ut uos uni uiro uirginem castam exhiberetis Christo. Timeo autem ne aliquatenus, sicut serpens Euam seduxit astutia sua, ita corrumpantur sensus uestri et excidant a simplicitate, que est in Christo. Si enim is qui uenit alium Iesum predicat, quem nos non predicauimus, aut spiritum alterum accipitis, quem non accepistis, aut euangelium
 15 alterum, quod non recepistis, recte pateremini. Puto enim me nihil defecisse ab apostolis excellentibus; si autem imperitus sermone, sed non scientia, in cunctis autem manifestatus sum omnibus uobis. Aut peccatum feci me ipsum humilians, ut uos exaltemini, quoniam gratis euangelium Dei euangelizauit uobis? Alias ecclesias spoliaui accipiens
 20 stipendium per ministerium uestrum, et cum essem apud uos et egerem, nulli onerosus fui; nam quod mihi deerat, suppleuerunt fratres qui a Macedonia uenerant; et in omnibus sine onere me ipsum uobis seruauit et seruabo. Est ueritas Christi in me, quod gloriatio hec non infringetur in me in regionibus Achaie. Quare? Quia non diligo uos? Deus scit. Quod
 25 autem facio et faciam, ut amputem occasionem eorum qui uolunt occasionem, ut in quo gloriantur, inueniantur sicut et nos. Tales enim falsi apostoli sunt, operarii subdoli, transfigurati in apostolos Christi. Nec mirum est. Ipse enim Satanas transfiguratur in angelum lucis; non est ergo magnum, si ministri eius transfigurantur uelut ministri iustitie,
 30 quorum finis erit secundum opera ipsorum. Iterum dico, ne quis me putet insipientem esse; alioquin et uelut insipientem accipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier. Quod loquor, non loquor secundum dominum, sed quasi in insipientiam in hac substantia glorie. Quoniam multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego gloriabor. Libenter enim
 35 suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes; sustinetis enim, si quis uos in seruitutem redigit, si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollit, si quis

*A92v**B147r*

si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollit, si quis in faciem uos cedit. Secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmi fuerimus; in quo autem si quis audet, in insipientia dico, audeo et ego. Hebrei sunt? Et ego. Israelites sunt? Et ego. Semen Abrahe sunt? Et ego. Ministri Christi sunt? Insiapiens loquor: Plus ego: in laboribus abundantius, in plagis 5 excellenter, in carceribus copiosius, in mortibus frequenter; a Iudeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi, ter uirgis cesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci, nocte dieque in profundo maris fui; in itineribus sepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in solitudine, 10 periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus, in labore et in erumna, in uigiliis crebro, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis sepe, in frigore et nuditate; preter illa que extrinsecus sunt, instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror? Si gloriari oportet, que infirmitatis mee sunt gloriabor. 15 Deus et pater domini Iesu Christi, qui est benedictus in secula, scit quod ego non mentior. Damasci prepositus gentis Arethe Regis custodiebat ciuitatem Damascenorum, comprehendere me uolens, et per fenestram sporta dimissus sum per murum et effugi manus suas. Gloriari ergo non confert mihi. 20

12 Veniam enim ad uisiones et reuelationes domini. Noui hominem in Christo ante annos quatuordecim – siue in corpore nescio, siue extra corpus nescio, Deus scit – raptum talem usque ad tertium celum. Et noui talem hominem – siue in corpore, siue extra corpus, nescio, Deus scit – quod raptus est in paradysum et 25 audiuit ineffabilia uerba, que non licet homini loqui. Pro hoc tali gloriabor, pro me autem ipso non gloriabor nisi in infirmitatibus meis. Si enim uoluero gloriari, non ero insapiens, nam ueritatem dicam. Parco autem ne quis in me existimet supra id quod uidet me aut audit aliquid ex me, et ne excessu reuelationum extollar. Datus est mihi stimulus carnis 30 mee, angelus Satane, ut me colaphizet ne extollar. Propter quod ter dominum rogaui ut recederet a me; et dixit mihi: ‘Sufficit tibi gratia mea. Virtus enim mea in infirmitate perficitur.’ Libentissime igitur magis gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me uirtus Christi. Idcirco

19 suas] Here ends 2 Corinthians 11 in the Vulgate.

18 fenestram] fenestras B 23 usque] -que i. r. fort. A1 30 mee angelus] om. A ins. A2 31 quod] om. A ins. A2

infirmatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me uirtus Christi. Idcirco placeo mihi in infirmitatibus, iniuriis in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustis, pro Christo: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum. Factus sum insipiens gloriosus. Vos me coegistis. Ego enim debui a uobis
 5 commendari. Nihil enim defeci ab his que supra modum sunt apostoli, etsi nihil sum. Signa autem apostoli facta sunt in uobis in omni patientia, in signis et prodigiis ac uirtutibus. Quid est enim quo minorati estis pre ceteris ecclesiis, nisi quod ego ipse non generaui uos? Donate mihi hanc iniuriam. Ecce tertio paratus sum ut ueniam ad uos et non ero grauis
 10 uobis; non enim quero que uestra sunt, sed uos. Non enim debent filii parentibus thesaurizare, sed parentes filiis. Ego autem libentissime expendam et expendar animabus uestris. Et si abundantius uos dilexero, minus diligar? Sed esto. Ego uos non oneraui; sed cum essem astutus, dolo uos cepi. Numquid aliquem eorum misi ad uos et per ipsum
 15 circumueni uos? Rogauit Titum et misi cum ipso fratrem; numquid circumuenit uos Titus? Nonne eodem spiritu ambulamus? Nonne eisdem uestigiis? Rursus putatis quod excusemur apud uos? Coram Deo in Christo loquimur; omnia autem, dilecti, pro edificatione uestra. Timeo enim ne aliquatenus, cum uenero, non quales uolo uos inueniam, et ego
 20 inueniar a uobis qualem non uultis, ne aliquatenus contentiones et emulationes, animositates, dissensiones, detractationes, susurrations, inflationes, seditiones inter uos; ne iterum, cum uenero, humiliet me Deus apud uos, et lugeam multos eorum qui ante peccauerunt et non egerunt penitentiam de immunditia et fornicatione et impudicitia quas
 25 egerunt.

B148r

A93v

13 Hoc tertio uenio ad uos, ut in ore duorum uel trium testium stet omne uerbum. Predixi et predico ut presens secundum et absens nunc scribo his qui ante peccauerunt, et ceteris omnibus, quod si uenero iterum, non parcam, quoniam experimentum queritis eius
 30 qui in me loquitur, Christus, qui in uobis non infirmatur, sed potius est in uobis. Etenim si crucifixus est ex infirmitate, sed uiuit ex uirtute Dei. Nos namque infirmi sumus in ipso, sed uiuimus cum eo ex uirtute Dei in uobis. Vosmetipsos tentate, si estis in fide; ipsi uos probate. An non cognoscitis uosmetipsos quod Christus Iesus in uobis est? Nisi in aliquo

B148v

2 iniuriis] meis Si enim uoluero gloriari et *praem. B exp. B1* 32 uiuimus] uiuimus B
 33 tentate] *ex tentante corr. fort. A2*

reprobi estis. Spero autem quod cognoscitis quod non sumus reprobi. Oro autem ad Deum ut nihil mali faciat, non ut nos probati uideamur, sed ut uos quod bonum est faciat; nos autem ut reprobi simus. Non enim possumus aliquid aduersus ueritatem, sed pro ueritate. Gaudemus enim quod nos infirmi sumus, uos autem ualidi estis; hoc autem et 5 deprecamur, uestram refectionem. Ideo hec absens scribo, ut presens ne dure agar secundum potestatem quam dedit mihi dominus, in edificationem et non in destructionem. De cetero, fratres, gaudete, perfecti estote, exhortamini, idem sapite, pacem habete, et Deus dilectionis et pacis erit uobiscum. Salutate inuicem in osculo sancto. 10 Salutant uos sancti omnes. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi et caritas Dei et communicatio sancti spiritus cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

Galatians

A94r
B149r

1 Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per 15 Iesum Christum ad Deum patrem, qui suscitauit eum a mortuis, et qui mecum sunt omnes fratres, ecclesiis Galathie: gratia uobis et pax a Deo et domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos de presenti seculo maligno secundum uoluntatem Dei et patris nostri, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Miror quod tam cito transferimini ab eo qui uos 20 uocauit in gratia Christi, in alterum euangelium; quod non est aliud, nisi aliqui sunt qui conturbant uos et uolunt conuertere euangelium Christi. Sed si nos uel angelus de celo euangelizet uobis preter id quod euangelizauimus uobis, anathema sit! Sicut prediximus, et modo iterum dico: Si quis uobis euangelizet preter id quod accepistis, anathema sit! 25 Modo enim hominibus suadeo an Deo? Aut quero hominibus placere? Si enim adhuc hominibus placerem, non utique Christi seruus essem! Notum enim uobis facio, fratres, euangelium quod euangelizatum est a me, quod non est secundum hominem; neque ego ipsum ab homine accepi, neque edoctus sum, sed per reuelationem Christi. Audistis enim 30 conuersationem meam aliquando in Iudaismo quoniam supra modum persequabar ecclesiam Dei et expugnabam eam et proficiebam in Iudaismo supra omnes coetaneos in genere meo, abundantius emulator

B149v

3 simus] sumus B 16 Galathie] ex Galatie corr. A2 17 peccatis] nobis praem. B exp. B1 28 quod] i. r. A2 31 Iudaismo] -a- corr. A2 32 Iudaismo] -a- corr. A2

genere meo, abundantius emulator existens paternarum mearum
 traditionum. Cum autem placuit Deo, qui me segregauit ex utero matris
 mee et uocauit per gratiam suam, ut reuelaret filium suum in me ut
 euangelizarem ipsum inter gentes, confestim non fui addictus carni et
 5 sanguini, neque ueni Hierosolimam ad antecessores meos apostolos, sed
 abii in Arabiam et iterum reuersus sum Damascum. Deinde post annos
 tres remeau i Hierosolimam ut Petrum cognoscerem et mansi apud eum
 diebus quindecim. Alium autem apostolorum non uidi nisi Iacobum
 fratrem domini. Que autem scribo uobis, ecce coram Deo quod non
 10 mentior. Deinde ueni in partes Syrie et Cilicie. Eram autem ignotus facie
 ecclesiis Iudee, que erant in Christo. Tantummodo autem audierant quod
 ‘Qui persequabatur nos aliquando, nunc euangelizat fidem quam
 aliquando expugnabat’, et in me glorificabant Deum.

15 **2** Deinde post annos quatuordecim iterum ascendi Hierosolimam
 cum Barnaba, coassumens et Titum. Ascendi autem secundum
 reuelationem, et contuli cum eis euangelium quod predico in
 gentibus, seorsum autem his qui uidebantur ne aliquatenus in uacuum
 currerem aut cucurrissem. Sed neque Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset
 20 gentilis, coactus est circumcidi. Sed propter subintroductos falsos fratres,
 qui subintrauerunt ut explorarent libertatem nostram quam habemus in
 Christo Iesu, ut nos in seruitutem redigerent; quibus neque ad horam
 cessimus in subiectione, ut ueritas euangelii maneat apud uos. Ab his qui
 uidebantur esse aliquid – quales aliquando erant nihil mihi refert; Deus
 enim personam hominis non accipit – mihi enim qui uidebantur esse
 25 aliquid nihil contulerunt, sed e contra, conspicati quod mihi creditum
 erat euangelium preputii, sicut et Petro circumcisionis – qui enim
 operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi
 inter gentes – et cum cognouissent gratiam Dei, que data est mihi,
 Iacobus et Cephas et Ioannes, qui uidebantur columne esse, dextras
 30 dederunt mihi et Barnabe societatis, ut nos quidem inter gentes, ipsi
 autem in circumcisionem; ut tantummodo pauperum recordaremur quod
 et studui hoc idem facere. Quando autem Petrus in Antiochiam uenit, in
 faciem ei restiti, quoniam reprehensibilis erat. Prius enim quam uenirent

A94v

B150r

10 Eram] *ex erat corr. fort. A2* | facie] *ex faciei corr. B1* 20 ut explorarent] *ex explorare corr. A2* 22 uos] *quibus add. B exp. B1* 24 uidebantur] *uidebatur B* | esse] *iter. A exp. fort. A2* 25 e¹] *ei AB* 32 Antiochiam] *Achaïam B*

quidam a Iacobo, cum gentibus edebat; postquam autem uenerunt, subtrahebat et segregabat seipsum, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. Et ei ceteri Iudei in hac simulatione consenserunt, ita ut Barnabas duceretur in simulationem eorum. Sed cum uidi quod non recte ambulant ad ueritatem euangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus: ‘Si tu, cum Iudeus sis, gentiliter uiuis et non Iudaice, quid gentes cogis iudaizare?’ Nos natura Iudei et non ex gentibus peccatores, scientes quod non iustificatur homo ex operibus legis nisi per fidem Iesu Christi, et nos in Christum Iesum credidimus, ut iustificemur ex fide Christi et non ex operibus legis, propter quod ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro. Si autem querentes iustificari in Christo, inuenti sumus et ipsi peccatores. An Christus peccati minister est? Absit! Si enim que destruxi, iterum hec edifico, preuaricatorem me ipsum constituo. Ego namque per legem legi mortuus sum, ut Deo uiuam. Christo confixus sum cruci: uiuo autem iam non ego, uiuit uero in me Christus; quod autem nunc uiuo in carne, in fide uiuo filii Dei, qui dilexit me et tradidit semetipsum pro me. Non abicio gratiam Dei.

B150v

3 Stulti Galathe, quis uos fascinauit ut non obediatis ueritati, ante quorum oculos Iesus Christus prescriptus est in uobis crucifixus? Hoc solum a uobis uolo discere: Ex operibus legis spiritum accepistis an ex auditu fidei? Sic stulti estis, ut cum spiritu inceperitis, nunc carne perficiamini? Tanta passi estis frustra? Si tamen et frustra! Qui enim tribuit uobis spiritum et operatur uirtutes in uobis, ex operibus legis an ex auditu fidei? Sicut scriptum est: *Credidit Abraham Deo et reputatum est ad iustitiam*. Cognoscite ergo quod qui ex fide sunt, hi filii Abrahe sunt. Preuidens autem scriptura quod ex fide iustificat gentes, Deus prenuntiauit Abrahe quod *In te benedicentur omnes gentes*. Itaque quicumque ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fidei Abraham. Quicumque enim ex operibus legis sunt, sub maledictione sunt. Scriptum est enim: *Maledictus qui non permanserit in omnibus que scripta sunt in libro legis, ut faciat ea*. Quod autem in lege nemo iustificatur apud Deum manifestum est, quia iustus ex fide uiuit. Lex autem non est ex fide, sed qui fecerit ea homo uiuet in ipsis. Christus nos redemit ex maledictione legis factus pro nobis maledictio. Scriptum est enim: *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno*, ut in gentes benedictio Abrahe fieret in Christo Iesu, ut promissionem

A95r

1 quidam] i. r. A1 18 fascinauit] festinauit B 33 nos] non AB | maledictione] maladictione B

gentes benedictio Abrahe fieret in Christo Iesu, ut promissionem spiritus accipiamus per fidem. Fratres, secundum hominem dico, tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo spernit aut superordinat. Abrahe dicte sunt promissiones et semini suo. Non dicit: *Et seminibus*, ut in multis, sed
 5 ut in uno: *Et semini tuo*, qui est Christus. hoc autem dico: Testamentum preconfirmatum a Deo in Christum, que post quadringentos et triginta
 10 annos facta est lex, non irritat ad euacuandam promissionem. Si enim ex lege hereditas, non amplius ex promissione. Abrahe autem per promissionem donauit Deus. Quid ergo lex? Transgressionum gratia
 15 posita est, donec ueniret semen quod promissum fuerat, ordinata per angelos in manu mediatoris. Mediator autem unius non est, Deus autem unus est. Lex ergo aduersus promissiones Dei? Absit! Si enim data esset lex que posset uiuificare, uere ex lege esset iustitia. Sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur
 20 credentibus. Prius autem quam ueniret fides, sub lege custodiebamur conclusi in eam fidem que reuelanda erat. Itaque lex pedagogus noster fuit in Christum, ut ex fide iustificaremur; at ubi uenit fides, non amplius sub pedagogo sumus. Omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem in Christo Iesu. Quicumque enim in Christum baptizati estis, Christum induistis:
 25 non est Iudeus neque gentilis, neque seruus neque liber, non est masculus neque femina; omnes enim uos unum estis in Christo Iesu. Si autem uos Christi estis, ergo Abrahe semen estis et secundum promissionem heredes.

B151r

A95v

4 Dico autem quod quanto tempore heres est paruulus, nihil differt a
 25 seruo, cum sit dominus omnium, sed sub tutoribus et procuratoribus est usque ad preordinationem patris. Ita et nos, cum essemus paruuli, sub elementis mundi eramus seruituri addicti. Quando autem uenit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret, ut
 30 adoptionem filiorum Dei reciperemus. Quoniam autem estis filii Dei, immisit Deus spiritum filii sui in corda uestra clamantem: ‘Abba, pater!’ Itaque non amplius est seruus sed filius. Si autem filius, et heres Dei per Christum. Sed tunc ignorantes Deum, his qui non erant natura Dei seruiuistis. Nunc autem, cum cognoueritis Deum, immo uero cogniti a

B151v

5 qui] *i. r. A2* 7 euacuandam] euacuadam B 11 unius] unus B 12 unus] unius AB
 23 promissionem] ex promissionem corr. B1 25 est] *iter. A exp. fort. A2* 27 eramus]
 erimus B | Quando] *i. r. A2*

cum cognoueritis Deum, immo uero cogniti a Deo, quomodo iterum
 conuertimini ad infirma et egena elementa, quibus rursus seruire uultis?
 Dies obseruatis et menses et tempora et annos! Timeo autem uos ne
 aliquatenus frustra laborauerim in uobis. Estote sicut ego, quoniam et
 ego sicut uos, fratres, deprecor uos. In nihilo mihi iniurati estis; scitis 5
 autem quod per infirmitatem carnis euangelizaui uobis prius, et
 tentationem meam que est in carne mea non spreuistis neque respuistis,
 sed tamquam angelum Dei suscepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. Que est
 ergo beatitudo uestra? Testificor enim uobis quod si possibile fuisset,
 oculos uestros utique eruissetis et dedissetis mihi. Itaque inimicus uester 10
 factus sum ueritatem dicens uobis? Emulantur uos non bene, sed
 excludere uos uolunt, ut eos emulemini. Bonum est emulari in bono
 semper, et non tantum dum apud uos essem, filioli mei, quos iterum
 parturio, donec formetur Christus in uobis! Vellem autem adesse apud
 uos modo et mutare uocem meam, quoniam confundor in uobis. Dicite 15
 mihi, qui sub lege uultis esse: Legem non auditis? Scriptum est enim
 quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera. Sed
 qui de ancilla secundum carnem natus est; qui autem de libera per
 promissionem. Que sunt per allegoriam dicta; ipsa enim sunt duo
 testamenta, unum quidem ex monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, que est 20
 Agar, nam Agar Sina mons est in Arabia. Coniungitur autem ei que nunc
 est Hierusalem; seruit autem cum seruis suis. Illa autem que sursum est
 Hierusalem, libera est, que est mater omnium nostrum. Scriptum est
 enim: *Letare, sterilis que non paris. Erumpe et clama, que non parturis, quoniam*
multi filii deserte magis quam eius que habet uirum. Nos autem, fratres, 25
 secundum Izach promissionis filii sumus. Sed quemadmodum tunc is qui
 secundum carnem natus fuerat persequabatur eum qui secundum
 spiritum, ita et nunc. Sed quid dicit scriptura? *Eice ancillam et filium suum.*
Non enim hereditabit filius ancille cum filio libere. Itaque, fratres, non sumus
 ancille filii sed libere. Libertate ergo qua Christus nos liberauit state, et ne 30
 iugo seruitutis iterum contineamini.

30 libere] Here ends Galatians 4 in the Vulgate.

1 cognoueritis] ignoraueritis B 9 ergo] erga B 13 et] ut AB | dum] om. B i. m. B1
 21 nam...Sina] i. r. A2 28 Eice] ecce B 30 qua Christus] Christus qua B tr. B1

- 5 Ecce ego Paulus dico uobis quod si circumcidimini, Christus nihil uobis proderit. Testificor autem rursus omni homini circumciso quod debitor est totam legem seruare. Euacuati estis, qui in lege iustificamini, a gratia excidistis. Nos enim spiritu ex fide spem iustitiae expectamus. Nam in Christo Iesu neque circumcisio aliquid ualet neque preputium, sed fides, que per caritatem operatur. Currebatis bene; quis uos impediuit ne ueritati obediretis? Persuasio non est ex eo qui uos uocat. Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit. Ego confido de uobis in domino quod nihil aliud sapietis. Qui autem conturbat uos, portabit iudicium, quicumque is sit. Ego autem, fratres, si circumcisionem adhuc predico, quid amplius persecutionem patior? Ergo euacuatum est scandalum crucis. Vtinam et abscindantur, quod uos conturbant! Vos autem, fratres, in libertate uocati estis, tantummodo ne libertatem in occasionem detis carni, sed per caritatem seruite inuicem.
- 15 Omnis enim lex in uno sermone impletur, in hoc: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum*. Si autem inuicem mordetis et comeditis, uidete ne abinuicem consumamini! Dico autem: Spiritu ambulate et concupiscentiam carnis non perficietis. Caro enim concupiscit aduersus spiritum, spiritus autem aduersus carnem; hec autem sibi ipsis aduersantur, ut non quecumque uultis hec faciatis. Si autem spiritu ducamini, non estis sub lege. Manifesta uero sunt opera carnis, que sunt adulterium, fornicatio, immunditia, impudicitia, luxuria, idolorum cultus, ueneficia, inimicitie, contentiones, immolationes, ire, rixe, dissensiones, secte, inuidie, homicidia, ebrietates, comessationes et his similia, que
- 25 predico uobis, sicut predixi, quod qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequentur. Fructus autem spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, benignitas, bonitas, fides, humilitas, continentia. Aduersus talia non est lex. Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem crucifixerunt cum perturbationibus et concupiscentiis. Si uiuimus spiritu, cum spiritu congruamus, ne efficiamur inanis glorie cupidi, inuicem prouocantes,

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inuicem inuidentes.

- 6 Fratres, et si preoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, uos, qui spirituales estis, talem instruite in spiritu humilitatis, considerans teipsum, ne et tu tenteris. Vicissitudinaria onera portate et sic
- 35 adimplebitis legem Christi. Si enim aliquis se existimat aliquid esse, cum

4 ex] et AB 7 obediretis] impediretis *praem.* B exp. B1 15 tamquam] i. r. A2 20 uero] enim B 25 consequentur] ex consequuntur *corr.* B1 28 Si] Sed B 31 preoccupatus] occupatus B

B153r

Christi. Si enim aliquis se existimat aliquid esse, cum nihil sit, ipse sese seducit. Opus autem suum probet unusquisque sic in semetipsum tantum gloriam habebit et non in alterum. Vnusquisque enim proprium onus portabit. Communicet autem is qui instruitur uerbo Dei, qui instruit in omnibus bonis. Ne erretis: Deus non irridetur. Quod enim seminauerit homo, hoc et metet; quoniam qui seminat in carne sua, de carne metet corruptionem. Qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet uitam eternam. Bonum autem operantes ne deficiamus. Tempore enim proprio metemus non deficientes. Ergo ut tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei. Videte quibus litteris scripsi uobis mea manu. Quicumque uolunt placere in carne, hi cogunt uos circumcidi, tantummodo ut crucis Christi persecutionem non patiantur; neque enim qui circumciduntur ipsi legem custodiunt, sed uolunt ut uos circumcidamini, ut in carne uestra glorientur. Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo. In Christo enim Iesu neque circumcisio aliquid ualet neque preputium, sed noua creatura. Et quicumque cum hac regula congruunt, pax super eos et misericordia et super Israel Dei. De cetero nemo mihi molestias prebeat; ego enim stigmata domini Iesu in corpore meo porto. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu nostro, fratres. Amen.

Ephesians

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1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei, omnibus sanctis qui sunt Ephesi et fidelibus in Christo Iesu: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Benedictus Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui benedixit nos omni benedictione spirituali in celestibus in Christo, sicut elegit nos in ipso ante constitutionem mundi, ut essemus sancti et immaculati coram eo in caritate, qui predestinauit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum in ipsum, secundum beneplacitum uoluntatis sue, in laudem glorie gratie sue, in qua gratiosos nos fecit in eo qui dilectus est, in quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem suum, remissionem peccatorum

6 hoc] hec B 8 enim] autem *praem.* B *exp.* B1 12 uos] *om.* B 13 circumciduntur] *ex* circumciditur *corr.* B1 | ipsi legem] legem ipsi B *tr.* B1 23 Paulus...25 Benedictus] *i. r.* A1

sanguinem suum, remissionem peccatorum secundum diuitias gratie sue, que superabundauit in nobis in omni sapientia et prudentia, cum notum fecisset nobis mysterium uoluntatis sue, secundum beneplacitum suum, quod proposuit in eo, in dispensationem plenitudinis temporum, ut

5 instauraret omnia que in Christo, que in celis et que in terra sunt in ipso; in quo et nos sorte uocati sumus, predestinati secundum propositum eius qui operatur omnia iuxta consilium uoluntatis sue, ut simus in laudem glorie sue, nos qui ante sperauimus in Christo; in quo et nos cum audissemus uerbum ueritatis, euangelium salutis uestre, in quo et

10 credentes signati estis sancto promissionis spiritu, qui pignus hereditatis nostre, in redemptionem acquisitionis. Propterea cum ego audissem fidem uestram, que est in Christo Iesu, et dilectionem in omnes sanctos, non cesso gratias agens pro uobis memoriam uestri faciens in orationibus meis, ut Deus domini nostri Iesu Christi et pater glorie, det uobis

15 spiritum sapientie et reuelationis in agnitionem suam, illuminatos oculos cordis uestri, ut sciatis que sit spes uocationis sue, et que diuitie glorie hereditatis sue in sanctis et que sit supereminens magnitudo uirtutis sue in nos qui credimus, secundum operationem potentie uirtutis sue, quam operatus est in Christo, suscitans ipsum a mortuis et constituit ad

20 dexteram suam in celestibus super omnem principatum ac potestatem et uirtutem atque dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur, non solum in hoc seculo, sed etiam in futuro; et omnia subiecit sub pedibus suis, et ipsum dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam, que est corpus suum, plenitudo eius, qui omnia in omnibus adimplet.

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25 **2** Et uos, cum essetis mortui in delictis et peccatis, in quibus aliquando ambulastis iuxta seculum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis eris, spiritus qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentie; in quibus et nos omnes aliquando conuersati sumus in desideriiis carnis nostre facientes uoluntates carnis et cogitationum, et

30 eramus natura filii ire, sicut et ceteri. Deus autem, qui diues est in misericordia, propter multam caritatem suam, qua dilexit nos, cum essemus mortui peccatis, conuiuificauit nos Christo – gratia saluati estis – et corresuscitauit et consedere fecit in celestibus in Christo Iesu, ut ostenderet in seculis superuenientibus abundantes diuitias gratie sue in

35 bonitate super nos in Christo Iesu. Gratia enim saluati estis per fidem, et

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14 ut] et AB | nostri] -i i. r. fort. A2 15 sapientie] sanctum *praem.* B exp. B1 21 atque] i. r. fort. A2

Christo Iesu. Gratia enim saluati estis per fidem, et hoc non ex uobis: Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur. Ipsius enim factura creati sumus in Christo Iesu, in operibus bonis que preparauit Iesus ut in ipsis ambulemus. Ideo mementote quod uos qui aliquando eratis gentes in carne, et dicebamini preputium ab ea que dicitur 5 circumcisio manufacta, quia eratis in tempore illo sine Christo, alienati a ciuitate Israel et aduene testamentorum promissionis, spem non habentes et impii in mundo. Nunc autem in Christo Iesu uos, qui aliquando eratis procul, facti estis prope in sanguine Christi. Ipse enim est pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum et medium parietem macerie 10 soluens, inimicitiam, in carne sua legem mandatorum decretis euacuans, ut duos condant in semetipsum in unum nouum hominem, faciens pacem, et reconciliet ambos in uno corpore Deo per crucem interficiens inimicitiam in seipso. Et ueniens euangelizauit nobis pacem, qui longe et qui prope fuimus, quoniam per ipsum habemus accessum ambo in uno 15 spiritu ad patrem. Ergo non amplius estis hospites et aduene, sed estis conciuues sanctorum et domestici Dei, superedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, ipso Christo Iesu existente angulari lapide, in quo omnis edificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in domino, in quo et uos coedificamini in habitaculum Dei in spiritu. 20

3 Huius gratia ego Paulus uinctus Christi Iesu pro uobis gentibus – si tamen audistis dispensationem gratie Dei, que data est mihi in uobis, quia per reuelationem innotuit mihi mysterium, sicut antea breuiter scripsi, in quo potestis legentes intelligere prudentiam meam in mysterio Christi, quod aliis generationibus non est cognitum filiis 25 hominum, sicut nunc reuelatum est sanctis apostolis suis et prophetis in spiritu, ut essent gentes coheredes et concorporales et comparticipes promissionis sue in Christo per euangelium, cuius factus sum minister secundum donum gratie Dei, quod datum est mihi iuxta operationem uirtutis sue. Mihi omnium sanctorum minimo data est hec gratia 30 euangelizandi in gentibus inuestigabiles diuitias gratie Christi, atque illuminandi omnes que sit dispensatio mysterii absconditi a seculis in Deo, qui omnia creauit per Iesum Christum, ut innotescat nunc principibus et potestatibus in celestibus per ecclesiam multiformis sapientia Dei secundum prepositionem seculorum, quam facit in Christo 35

2 enim¹] *om. A ins. A2* 26 est] cognitum filiis hominum sicut nunc reuelatum est *add. B*
30 est] mihi *add. B* 32 mysterii] ministerii *B*

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A98r

prepositionem seculorum, quam facit in Christo Iesu domino nostro, in quo habemus fiduciam et accessum in confidentia per fidem suam. Propter quod postulo ut non deficiatis in tribulationibus meis pro uobis, que est gloria uestra. Huius gratia flecto genua mea ad patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in celis et in terra nominatur, ut det uobis secundum diuitias glorie sue uirtutem corroborandi per spiritum suum in interiorem hominem, Christum habitandi per fidem in cordibus uestris, in caritate radicati et fundati, ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis que sit latitudo ac longitudo et profunditas atque altitudo, et sciendi etiam supereminentem scientie caritatem Christi ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei. Ei autem, qui potens est super omnia facere superabundanter super ea que petimus aut intelligimus, secundum uirtutem que operatur in uobis, ipsi gloria in ecclesia in Christo Iesu in omnes generationes seculi seculorum. Amen.

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15 **4** Deprecor ergo ego uos uinctus in domino, uti digne ambuletis uocatione qua uocati estis, cum omni humilitate ac mansuetudine, cum patientia, tolerantes inuicem in caritate, studentes seruare unitatem spiritus in uinculo pacis; unum corpus et unus spiritus, sicut uocati estis in una spe uocationis uestre; unus dominus, una fides et
20 unum baptisma; unus Deus et pater omnium, qui super omnes et per omnes et in omnibus nobis. Vnicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Propter quod dicit: *Ascendens in altum captiuauit captiuitatem atque dedit dona hominibus*. Quod autem ‘ascendit’ quid est nisi quod et descendit primum in inferiores partes terre? Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes celos, ut impleret omnia. Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, quosdam uero euangelistas, quosdam autem pastores et doctores ad confirmationem sanctorum in opus ministerii, in edificationem corporis Christi, donec occurramus omnes in unitatem
30 fidei et agnitionis filii Dei, in uirum perfectum, in mensuram etatis plenitudinis Christi, ut non amplius simus paruuli fluctuantes et circumferamur omni uento doctrine in illusionem hominum, in astutia ad transgressionem erroris; ueritatem autem dicentes in caritate crescamus per omnia in ipsum qui est caput, Christus, ex quo omne corpus
35 constructum et coniunctum per omnem tactum subministrationis secundum operationem in mensura uniuscuiusque membri augmentum

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uniuscuiusque membri augmentum facit in edificationem sui ipsius in caritate. Hoc ergo dico et testificor in domino, ne amplius ambuletis sicut et ceterae gentes ambulant in uanitate intellectus sui, tenebris obtenebrati mente, alienati a uita Dei per ignorantiam quae est in ipsis propter obstinationem cordis sui, qui, desperantes, semetipsos impudicitie in operationem immunditiae omnis in auaritia. Vos autem non ita didicistis Christum, si tamen ipsum audistis et in ipso edocti estis, sicut est ueritas in Iesu: deponite uos secundum priorem conuersationem ueterem hominem, qui corrumpitur secundum concupiscentias deceptionis. Renouamini autem spiritu mentis uestre et induite nouum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate ueritatis. Propter quod deponentes falsitatem loquimini ueritatem unusquisque cum proximo suo, quoniam sumus inuicem membra. Irascimini et ne peccetis; sol non occidat super iracundiam uestram, ne autem locum detis diabolo. Qui furabatur, non amplius furetur, magis autem laboret operans manibus quod bonum est, ut habeat unde tribuat egestatem habenti. Omnis sermo fetidus ex ore uestro ne procedat, sed si quis bonus est ad edificationem utilitatis, ut det gratiam audientibus. Et ne contristetis spiritum sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis in die redemptionis. Omnis amaritudo et furor et ira et clamor ac blasphemia tollatur a uobis cum omni malitia. Estote autem inuicem benigni, misericordes, donantes inuicem sicut et Deus in Christo donauit uobis.

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5 Estote ergo imitatores Dei sicut dilecti filii et ambula te in dilectione, sicut et Christus dilexit nos et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suauitatis. Fornicatio

autem et omnis immunditia aut auaritia nullatenus dominetur in uobis, sicut decet sanctos, et turpitudine et stultiloquium aut scurrilitas, quae non conueniunt, sed magis gratiarum actio. Hoc enim scite cognoscentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut auarus qui est idolorum cultor

A99r

non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo uos seducat inanibus uerbis; propter hec enim uenit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae. Ne efficiamini ergo participes eorum; eratis enim aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in domino. Ut filii lucis ambulate – fructus enim spiritus est in omni bonitate et iustitia et sanctitate ac ueritate – probantes quid est

1 augmentum] argumentum AB 12 unusquisque] ex uniusquisque corr. B1 17 uestro] ex uestro corr. A2 24 nos] ex uos corr. B1 27 scurrilitas] -litas i. r. fort. A2 28 scite] ex scitote corr. A2 et add. B

bonitate et iustitia et sanctitate ac ueritate – probantes quid est beneplacitum domino; et ne communicetis operibus infructuosis tenebrarum, magis autem et redarguite; que enim latenter fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est et dicere. Omnia autem que redarguuntur a lumine

5 manifestantur; omne enim quod manifestatur, lumen est. Propter quod dicit: ‘Surge, qui dormis, et exurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus.’ Videte ergo quomodo caute ambuletis, non tamquam insipientes, redimentes tempus, quoniam dies maligni sunt. Propterea ne estote imprudentes, sed intelligentes que sit uoluntas domini. Et ne inebriemini

10 uino, in quo est luxuria, sed implemini spiritu sancto, loquentes uobis ipsis in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritualibus, cantantes et psallentes in cordibus uestris domino, gratias agentes semper pro omnibus in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi Deo patri, subiecti inuicem in timore Dei. Mulieres propriis uiris subdite sint sicut domino,

15 quoniam uir caput est mulieris, sicut et Christus caput est ecclesie, et ipse est saluator corporis. Sed sicut ecclesia subiecta est Christo, ita et mulieres propriis uiris in omnibus. Viri, diligite uxores uestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam et semetipsum tradidit pro ea, ut eam ipsam sanctificaret mundans lauacro aque in uerbo, ut exhiberet eam ipsam sibi

20 gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid tale. Ita et uiri debent diligere uxores suas tamquam corpora sua. Qui suam uxorem diligit, seipsum diligit; nemo enim umquam carnem suam odit, sed nutrit et fouet eam sicut et dominus ecclesiam, quia membra sumus corporis sui ex carne sua et ex ossibus suis. Propter hoc relinquet homo

25 patrem et matrem suam et adhaerebit uxori sue, et erunt duo in carne una. Mysterium hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia. Verumtamen et uos singuli unusquisque uxorem suam sic diligat ut seipsum; uxor autem ut timeat uirum.

B157r

6 Filii, obedite parentibus uestris in domino, hoc enim est iustum.

30 Honora patrem tuum et matrem, quod est mandatum primum in promissione, ut bene sit tibi et sis longeuus in terra. Et uos, patres, ne irritetis filios uestros, sed enutrite ipsos in disciplina et admonitione domini. Serui, obedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore, in simplicitate cordis uestri sicut Christo, non ad oculum seruientes ut

35 hominibus placeatis, sed ut serui Christi facientes uoluntatem Dei ex

A99v

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animo, cum beniuolentia seruientes domino et non hominibus, scientes quod quodcumque unusquisque fecerit bonum, hoc feret a domino, siue seruus siue liber. Et uos, domini, eadem facite ipsis, remittentes minas, scientes quod et eorum et uester dominus est in celis, et personarum acceptio non est apud ipsum. De cetero, fratres mei, confortamini in 5 domino et in potentia uirtutis sue. Induimini armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli. Quoniam non est nobis colluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus principatus et potestates, aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum huius seculi, aduersus spiritualia nequitiæ in celestibus. Propterea suscipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis 10 resistere in die malo et ubi operati fueritis omnia stare ualeatis. State ergo succincti lumbos uestros in ueritate et induti lorice iustitiæ et calciati pedes in preparatione euangelii pacis, in omnibus assumentes scutum fidei, in quo poteritis omnia iacula maligni ignita extinguere; et galeam salutaris suscipite et gladium spiritus, qui est uerbum Dei, per omnem 15 orationem ac deprecationem orantes in omni tempore in spiritu, et in hoc ipsum uigilantes in omni instantia ac deprecatione pro omnibus sanctis et pro me, ut detur mihi sermo in apertione oris mei ad notificandum cum fiducia mysterium euangelii, pro quo legatione fungor in catena, ut in ipso audacter agam, sicut oportet me loqui. Vt autem et 20 uos sciatis que circa me sunt et quid agam, omnia uobis nota faciet Tichicus, dilectus frater et fidelis minister in domino, quem misi ad uos ad hoc ipsum, ut cognoscatis ea que circa nos sunt, et consolentur corda uestra. Pax fratribus et caritas cum fide a Deo patre et domino Iesu Christo. Gratia cum omnibus qui diligunt dominum nostrum Iesum 25 Christum in incorruptione. Amen.

Philippians

A100r

B158r

1 Paulus et Timotheus, serui Iesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Iesu qui sunt Philippis, cum episcopis et diaconibus: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Gratias ago Deo 30 meo in omni commemoratione uestri semper in omni deprecatione mea pro omnibus uobis cum gaudio deprecationem faciens super communicationem uestram in euangelium, a prima die usque nunc,

15 salutaris] *ex salutis corr. B1* 28 Paulus... 30 Gratias] *i. r. A1* 29 pax] deo meo in omni commemoratione *add. B exp. B1*

- uestram in euangelium, a prima die usque nunc, confidens hoc ipsum, quod qui incepit in uobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Iesu Christi; sicut est mihi iustum ut hoc sentiam pro omnibus uobis, eo quod habeam uos in corde in uinculis meis et in defensione et confirmatione
- 5 euangelii socios meos gratie omnes uos esse. Testis enim meus est Deus, quomodo cupiam omnes uos in uisceribus Iesu Christi. Et hoc precor, ut caritas uestra adhuc magis ac magis abundet in cognitione et in omni sensu, ut probetis potiora, ut sitis sinceri et sine offendiculo in die Christi, repleti fructu iustitie per Iesum Christum in laudem et gloriam
- 10 Dei. Scire autem uolo uos, fratres, quod ea que circa me sunt, magis ad perfectum euangelii uenerunt, ita ut uincula mea manifesta fierent in Christo in toto pretorio ac ceteris omnibus, ut plures e fratribus in domino confidentes in uinculis meis abundantius auderent intrepide uerbum loqui. Quidam certe et propter inuidiam atque contentionem,
- 15 quidam autem et propter bonam uoluntatem Christum predicant. Qui profecto ex contentione Christum annuntiant, non sincere agunt, existimantes tribulationem inferre uinculis meis. Qui autem ex caritate, scientes quod in defensione euangelii positus sum. Quid enim? Dum quoquomodo, siue per occasionem siue per ueritatem, Christus
- 20 annuntietur, et in hoc gaudeo. Sed et gaudebo: scio enim quod hoc mihi proueniet ad salutem per uestram deprecationem et subministrationem spiritus Iesu Christi, secundum expectationem ac spem meam quod in nullo confundar, sed in omni fiducia sicut semper et nunc magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo, siue per uitam siue per mortem. Mihi enim
- 25 uiuere Christus est et mori lucrum. Si autem uiuere in carne, hoc mihi fructus operis est, et quid eligam ignoro. Coartor e duobus: desiderium habens dissolutionis et commorationis cum Christo, multo magis et melius; permanere autem in carne magis necessarium est propter uos. Et hoc confidens scio, quod manebo et permanebo cum omnibus uobis ad
- 30 utilitatem uestram et gaudium fidei, ut gloriatio uestra abundet in Christo Iesu in me per meum aduentum iterum ad uos. Tantummodo euangelio Christi digne conuersamini, ut siue cum uenero et uidero uos, siue absens audiam ea que circa uos sunt quod estis in uno spiritu unanimes

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15 predicant] Quidam ex caritate scientes quod in defensione euangelii positus sum *add.*
A exp. fort. A2 19 quoquomodo] quoquo- *i. r. fort. A2* 21 ad salutem] *i. r. A1*
 22 expectationem] -m *i. r. A2* | ac...meam] *i. r. A2* 23 confundar] -ndar *i. r. fort. A2*
 29 ad...30 uestram] *i. r. A2* 30 et] *om. B* 31 ad uos] *i. r. fort. A1* 32 uenero] *corr. A1*
 33 circa] *i. r. fort. A1*

collaborantes fidei euangelii, et in nullo terreamini ab aduersariis, que profecto ipsis est causa perditionis, uobis autem salutis, et hoc a Deo; quod uobis donatum est a Christo, non solum ut in ipsum credatis, sed etiam ut pro ipso patiamini, idem certamen habentes quale uidetis in me et nunc auditis in me.

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2 Si qua ergo consolatio in Christo, si quod solatium caritatis, si qua societas spiritus, si quid uiscera et miserationes, implete gaudium meum, ut idem sapiatis, eandem caritatem habentes, unanimes, id ipsum sentientes, nihil per contentionem neque per inanem gloriam, sed in humilitate sibi inuicem existimantes superiores ipsis, ne considerate singuli que sua sunt, sed ea que aliorum. Hoc enim sentite in uobis, quod et in Christo Iesu: qui, cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se equalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus; et habitu inuentus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Propter quod et Deus ipsum exaltauit et donauit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium et terrestrium atque infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quod dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei patris. Itaque, dilecti mei, sicut semper obedistis, non ut in presentia solum, sed nunc multo magis in absentia mea, cum metu ac tremore uestram salutem operamini; Deus est enim qui operatur in uobis et uelle atque operari pro bona uoluntate. Omnia facite absque murmurationibus et hesitationibus, ut efficiamini sine querela ac simplices, filii Dei irreprehensibiles in medio nationis prae ac peruerse, inter quos apparetis sicut luminaria in mundo, uerbum uite continentes ad gloriam meam in die Christi, quia non in uacuum cucurri, neque inaniter elaboraui. Sed et si immolor supra sacrificium et obsequium fidei uestre, gaudeo et congratulor omnibus uobis; id autem ipsum et uos gaudete et congratulamini mihi. Spero autem in domino Iesu quod Timotheum cito mittam ad uos, ut et ego bono animo sim, cum cognouero ea que circa uos sunt. Neminem enim habeo equalis animi, qui germane curet de uobis. Omnes enim que sua sunt querunt, non ea que Iesu Christi. Experimentum autem eius cognoscite quod sicut patri filius mecum seruiuit in euangelio. Hunc igitur spero quod mittam ad uos mox, ut uidero que circa me sunt. Confido autem in domino

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quod et ipse cito ueniam. Necessarium autem existimaui quod Epafroditum fratrem et cooperatorem et commilitonem meum, uestrum autem apostolum et ministrum egestatis mee, mittam ad uos, quoniam omnes uos desiderabat ac mestus erat, propterea quod audistis quod
 5 egrotauit. Etenim egrotauit prope mortem, sed Deus misertus est eius; non solum autem eius, sed etiam mei, ne tristitiam super tristitiam haberem. Festinantius ergo misi ipsum, ut, uiso eo, iterum gaudeatis, atque ego sine tristitia sim. Suscipite ergo ipsum in domino cum omni gaudio et tales honoratos habete, quoniam propter opus Christi usque ad
 10 mortem appropinquauit consulens in anima, ut suppleret defectum uestrum, erga meum obsequium.

3 De cetero, fratres mei, gaudete in domino. Eadem uobis scribere mihi quidem non pigrum, uobis autem securum. Videte canes, uidete malos operarios, uidete concisionem! Nos enim sumus
 15 circumcisio, qui spiritu Dei deseruimus et gloriamur in Christo Iesu et non in carne confidimus, quamquam ego habeam confidentiam et in carne. Si quis alius uidetur confidere in carne, ego magis: circumcisio octaue diei, ex genere Israel, de tribu Benjamin, Hebreus ex Hebreis, secundum legem phariseus, secundum emulationem persequens
 20 ecclesiam, secundum iustitiam que erat in lege, factus sine querela. Sed ea que mihi erant lucra, hec arbitratus sum propter Christum detrimenta. Verumtamen existimo omnia detrimentum esse propter excessum cognitionis Iesu Christi domini mei, propter quem omnia detrimentum feci et arbitror tamquam stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam et ut inueniar
 25 in eo non habens meam iustitiam que est ex lege, sed eam que per fidem est Christi, que ex Deo iustitia est in fide, ad agnoscendum eum et uirtutem resurrectionis sue ac societatem passionum suarum, configuratus morti eius, si quo modo occurram ad resurrectionem mortuorum. Non quod iam acceperim aut iam perfectus fuerim.
 30 Persequor autem et si comprehendam in quo, et comprehensus sum a Christo Iesu. Fratres, ego me ipsum nondum arbitror comprehedissee; unum uero: ea quidem que retro sunt oblitus, ad ea autem que sunt prius me ipsum extendens, secundum propositum sequor ad brauium superne uocationis Dei in Christo Iesu. Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus, hec

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1 ueniam] ad uos *add. A exp. fort. A2* 5 misertus] *ex minister corr. B1* 9 habete] *ex habetote corr. A2* 16 confidentiam] *-m i. r. A2* | et] *om. A ins. A2* | in] *i. r. A2* 22 cognitionis] *ins. A2* 30 Iesu] *ins. A2*

A101v ergo perfecti sumus, hec sentiamus; et si quid aliter sentitis, et Deus hoc uobis reuelabit. Verumtamen, ad quod peruenimus, ut idem sapiamus et eidem regule congruamus. Coimitatores mei estote, fratres, et obseruate eos qui ita ambulant, sicut habetis nos exemplum. Multi enim ambulant, quos multotiens dicebam uobis, nunc autem et flens dico, inimicos crucis Christi, quorum finis interitus, quorum Deus uenter est et gloria in confusione eorum qui terrena sapiunt. Nostra enim ciuilitas in celis est, unde et saluatorem expectamus dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostre, ut sit configuratum corpori claritatis sue secundum operationem eius, quod potest ut subiciat sibi ipsi omnia. *B160v*

4 Itaque, fratres mei dilecti et concupiti, gaudium et corona mea, sic state in domino, dilecti! Euodiam rogo et Sintycen deprecor ut idipsum sapiant in domino. Vtique et peto abs te, germane compar, adiua eas, que mecum in euangelio collaborauerunt cum Clemente ac ceteris coadiutoribus meis, quorum nomina sunt in libro uite. Gaudete in domino semper. Iterum dico: Gaudete! Equitas uestra nota sit omnibus hominibus; dominus prope est. Nihil solliciti sitis, sed in omni oratione et deprecatione cum gratiarum actione petitiones uestre innotescant apud Deum. Et pax Dei, que superat omnem intellectum, custodiet corda uestra et intelligentias uestras in Christo Iesu. De cetero, fratres, quecumque sunt uera, quecumque clara, quecumque iusta, quecumque pudica, quecumque amabilia, quecumque bone fame, si qua uirtus, si qua laus, hec cogitate; que et didicistis et accepistis et audistis et uidistis in me, hec agite; et Deus pacis erit uobiscum. Gausus sum autem in domino uehementer quod iam aliquando refluuistis ut pro me prudentes essetis in eo in quo et sapiebatis; impediti autem fuistis. Non quod secundum defectum dico, ego enim didici in eis in quibus sum sufficiens esse. Scio et humiliari, scio et abundare; in omni atque in omnibus institutus sum et satiari et exurire et abundare et deficere. Omnia possum in eo qui me comfortat, Christo. Scitis autem et uos, Philippenses, quod in principio euangelii, quando ueni e Macedonia, nulla mihi ecclesia communicauit in ratione dationis atque acceptionis nisi uos soli; quia et in Thessalonicam et semel et bis in utilitatem ad me misistis. Non quia quero donum, sed requiro fructum abundantem in ratione uestra. Nihil

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20 superat] *ex* super *corr.* A2 | custodiet] custodiat B 29 in¹ ...30 abundare] *om.* B

- autem habeo et abundo; repletus sum cum susceperim ab Epaphrodito ea que a uobis sunt, in odorem suauitatis, hostiam acceptabilem, placentem Deo. Deus autem meus impleat omnem egestatem uestram secundum diuitias suas in gloria in Christo Iesu. Deo autem et patri
- 5 nostro gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Salutate omnes sanctos in Christo Iesu. Salutant uos qui mecum sunt fratres. Salutant uos omnes sancti, maxime autem qui de Cesaris domo sunt. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu uestro. Amen.

Colossians

- 10 **1** Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi, seruus per uoluntatem Dei, et A102r
 Timotheus frater, his qui sunt Colossis, sanctis ac fidelibus
 fratribus in Christo Iesu: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et
 domino Iesu Christo. Gratias agamus Deo ac patri domini nostri Iesu
 Christi semper pro uobis orantes, cum audiuerimus fidem uestram in
- 15 Christo Iesu ac dilectione quam habetis in sanctos omnes, propter spem
 que reposita est in celis, quam antea audistis in sermone ueritatis
 euangelii, quod peruenit ad uos, sicut uniuerso mundo est et fructificat et
 crescit uelut et in uobis ex ea die qua audistis et cognouistis gratiam in
 ueritate; sicut didicistis ab Epaphra dilecto conseruo nostro, qui est
- 20 fidelis pro uobis minister Christi, qui et manifestauit nobis dilectionem B161v
 uestram in spiritu. Propter hoc et nos, ex qua die audiuius, non
 cessamus pro uobis orantes et postulantes ut impleamini agnitione
 uoluntatis sue in omni sapientia spirituali, ut ambuletis digne domino ad
 omnem complacentiam, in omni opere bono fructificantes et crescentes
- 25 in scientia Dei, in omni uirtute confortati secundum potentiam claritatis
 sue in omni patientia et longanimitate, cum gaudio gratias agentes Deo
 patri, quia dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine; qui
 eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum filii dilectionis
 sue, in quo habemus redemptionem, per sanguinem suum remissionem
- 30 peccatorum; qui est imago Dei inuisibilis, primogenitus omnis creature,
 quoniam in ipso creata sunt omnia que sunt in celis et que in terra,

19 dilecto ... 20 Christi] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

4 Deo] Dico AB 5 secula] om. B 11 Timotheus] ex Timotheus corr. B1 19 dilecto ... 20
 Christi] om. B 21 hoc] -c i. r. fort. A2

creata sunt omnia que sunt in celis et que in terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia, siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates. Omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt, et ipse est ante omnia, et omnia in ipso consistere. Et ipse est caput corporis ecclesie; qui est principium, primogenitus ex mortuis, ut sit ipse in omnibus presidens, quoniam in ipso complacuit ut omnis plenitudo inhabitaret et ut per eum reconcilientur omnia in ipsum, pacificans per sanguinem crucis sue, siue que in terra siue que in celis sunt. Et cum uos essetis aliquando alienati et inimici mente in operibus malis, nunc autem reconciliauit in corpore carnis sue per mortem suam ut constitueret uos sanctos et immaculatos et irreprehensibiles coram Deo, si tamen permanetis in fide fundati stabiles et immobiles a spe euangelii, quod audistis, et predicatum est in uniuersa creatura que sub celo est, cuius sum factus ego Paulus minister. Nunc gaudeo in passionibus meis pro uobis et adimpleo defectus tribulationum Christi, in carne mea pro corpore suo, quod est ecclesia, cuius factus sum ego minister secundum dispensationem Dei que data est mihi in uobis, ut impleam uerbum Dei, mysterium, quod absconditum fuit a seculis et generationibus. Nunc autem manifestum est sanctis suis, quibus uoluit Deus notas facere diuitias glorie mysterii huius in gentibus, qui est Christus in uobis, spes glorie; quem nos annuntiamus, admonentes omnem hominem omnemque hominem docentes in omni sapientia, ut constituamus omnem hominem perfectum in Christo; in quo et laboro, certans secundum operationem suam quam operatur in me in uirtute.

2 Volo enim ut uos sciatis quale certamen habeam pro uobis et pro his qui sunt Laodicie, et quicumque non uiderunt faciem meam in carne, ut consolentur corda ipsorum qui instructi sunt in caritate et in omnes diuitias plenitudinis intellectus mysterii Dei et patris ac Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie absconditi. Hoc autem dico ne quis uos decipiat in sublimitate sermonum. Etsi enim carne absum, spiritu tamen uobiscum sum, gaudens et uidens ordinem uestrum et firmamentum eius que in Christo est, fidei uestre. Sicut ergo accepistis Christum Iesum dominum, in ipsum ambulate, radicati et superedificati in ipso et confirmati in fide, sicut edocti estis, abundantes in ipsa in gratiarum actione. Videte ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, iuxta elementa mundi et non secundum Christum; quoniam in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo

diuinitatis corporaliter, et estis in ipso repleti, qui est caput omnis principatus ac potestatis, in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manufacta in expoliatione corporis peccatorum carnis, in circumcisione Christi, consepulti ei in baptismo, in quo et resurrexistis per fidem
 5 operationis Dei, qui suscitauit ipsum a mortuis; et cum mortui essetis in delictis et in preputio carnis uestre, conuiuificauit uos cum ipso, donans uobis omnia delicta, delens quod aduersus nos erat, chirographum decretorum, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio affigens ipsum cruci; expolians principatus et potestates, traduxit confidenter,
 10 triumphare eos faciens in semetipso. Nullus igitur uos iudicet in cibo aut in potu aut in parte festiuitatis aut neomenie aut sabbatorum, que sunt umbra futurorum; corpus autem Christi. Nullus uos seducat uolens in humilitate et in religione angelorum que non uidit inambulans, frustra inflatus ab intellectu carnis sue, non tenens caput ex quo totum corpus
 15 per tactus et coniunctiones subministratum et constructum crescit in augmentum Dei. Si ergo mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quid adhuc tamquam uiuentes mundo decernitis, non tactu, neque gustu, neque attrectatione, que sunt omnia in corruptionem ipso ab usu secundum precepta ac doctrinas hominum? Que sunt quidem rationem
 20 habentia sapientie in religione atque humilitate, et non ad parcendum corpori, non in honore aliquo ad saturitatem carnis.

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3 Si igitur consurrexistis cum Christo, que sursum sunt querite, ubi Christus in dextera Dei sedens. Que sursum sunt sapite, non que super terram. Mortui enim estis, et uita uestra abscondita est cum
 25 Christo in Deo. Cum Christus apparuerit, uita nostra, tunc et uos apparebitis cum eo in gloria. Mortificate ergo membra uestra, que sunt super terram: fornicationem, immunditiam, perturbationem, concupiscentiam, malam et auaritiam, que est idolorum seruitus. Quapropter uenit ira Dei super filios diffidentie; in quibus et ambulastis
 30 aliquando, cum uiuebatis in ipsis. Nunc autem deponite et uos omnia, iram, furorem, malitiam, blasphemiam, turpiloquium de ore uestro; ne mentiamini inuicem, expoliantes uos ueterem hominem cum operationibus suis et induentes nouum, eum qui renouatur in agnitionem Dei secundum imaginem eius qui creauit ipsum, ubi non est masculus et
 35 femina, gentilis et Iudeus, circumcisio et preputium, barbarus et Scitha,

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17 adhuc] -c i. r. fort. A2 23 sapite] ex capite corr. B1 27 fornicationem] fornicationem B

circumcisio et preputium, barbarus et Scitha, seruus et liber, sed omnia in omnibus Christus. Induite ergo uos tamquam electi Dei, sancti ac dilecti, uiscera misericordie, benignitatem, humilitatem, modestiam, longanimitatem, supportantes inuicem et donantes uobismetipsis, si quis aduersus aliquem habet querelam; sicut et Christus donauit uobis, sic et 5 uos; super omnia autem hec: caritatem habete, quod est uinculum perfectionis. Et pax Dei exultet in cordibus uestris, in qua et uocati estis in uno corpore, et grati estote. Verbum Christi habitet in uobis, opulente in omni sapientia, docentes et commouentes uosmetipsos in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritualibus, in caritate cantantes in cordibus uestris 10 domino; omne quodcumque facitis in uerbo aut in opere, omnia in nomine domini Iesu gratias agentes Deo et patri per ipsum. Mulieres, subdite estote propriis uiris, sicut decet in domino. Viri, diligite uxores et ne amari sitis ad ipsas. Filii, obedite parentibus per omnia, hoc enim est beneplacitum domino. Patres, ne irritetis filios uestros, ne pusillanimes 15 efficiantur. Serui, obedite per omnia dominis carnalibus, non ad oculos seruientes, tamquam hominibus placentes, sed in simplicitate cordis, timentes Deum. Et omne quodcumque facitis, ex animo operamini sicut domino et non hominibus, scientes quod a domino accipietis retributionem hereditatis. Domino enim Christo seruite; qui autem 20 iniuriam facit, reportabit quod inique gessit, et non est personarum acceptio. Domini, quod iustum et equum est seruis prebete, scientes quod et uos habetis dominum in celis.

4 Orationi instate, uigilantes in ea in gratiarum actione, orantes simul etiam pro nobis, ut Deus aperiat nobis ostium sermonis ad 25 loquendum mysterium Christi, propter quod etiam uinctus sum, ut manifestem ipsum, sicut oportet me loqui. In sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt, tempus redimentes. Sermo uester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis quomodo uos oporteat unicuique respondere. Que circa me sunt, omnia nota uobis faciet Tichychus, dilectus frater ac fidelis 30 minister et conseruus in domino, quem misi ad uos ad hoc ipsum, ut cognoscerem que circa uos sunt, atque consolaretur corda uestra, cum Onesmo fideli ac dilecto fratre, qui est ex uobis; omnia uobis nota facient

22 acceptio] Here ends Colossians 3 in the Vulgate.

15 beneplacitum] beplacitum B 25 aperiat] ex aperia *corr. fort.* A1 | ostium] ex hostium *corr.* B1

quecumque hic aguntur. Salutat uos Aristarchus, concaptiuus meus, et Marcus consobrinus, Barnabe, de quo accepistis mandata – si uenerit ad uos suscipite ipsum – et Iesus, qui dicitur Iustus, qui sunt in circumcissione, hi sunt adiutores mei in regno Dei, qui facti sunt mihi
 5 solatium. Salutat uos Epaphras, qui ex uobis est seruus Christi, semper certans pro uobis in orationibus, ut stetis perfecti et repleti in omni uoluntate Dei. Testificor enim ei quod habet multam emulationem pro uobis et pro his qui sunt Laodicie, et pro his qui sunt Hierapoli. Salutat uos Lucas, medicus dilectus, et Demas. Salutate eos qui Laodicie sunt
 10 fratres et Nympham, et que in domo sua est ecclesiam. Et cum lecta fuerit apud uos epistola, facite ut et in Laodicensium ecclesia legatur, et eam que est Laodicensium, ut et uos legatis. Ac dicite Archippo: ‘Vide ministerium quod accepisti in domino, ut ipsum impleas.’ Salutatio mea manu Pauli. Mementote uinculorum meorum. Gratia uobiscum. Amen.

B164r

15 I Thessalonians

1 Paulus et Siluanus ac Timotheus ecclesie Thessalonicensium in Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Gratias agamus Deo semper pro omnibus uobis, commemorationem uestri facientes in orationibus
 20 nostris, sine intermissione memores operis uestri fidei ac laboris et patientie spei domini nostri Iesu Christi coram Deo et patre nostro, scientes, dilecti fratres, a Deo electionem uestram, quoniam euangelium nostrum non fuit ad uos in sermone tantum, sed et in uirtute et in spiritu sancto et in plenitudine multa, sicut scitis quales fuimus in uobis propter
 25 uos. Et uos imitatores mei nostri facti estis et domini, excipientes uerbum in tribulatione multa cum gaudio spiritus sancti, ita ut uos facti sitis figura omnibus qui credunt in Macedonia et Achaia. A uobis enim celebratus est sermo domini. Non solum in Macedonia et in Achaia, sed etiam in omni loco fides uestra, que est ad Deum; exiuit, ita ut non sit
 30 nobis necesse quicumque loqui. Ipsi enim de uobis annuntiant qualem introitum habuimus ad uos, et quomodo conuersi estis ab idolis ad

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Deum, ut seruiatis Deo uiuo et uero et ut expectaretis filium suum ex celis, quem suscitauit a mortuis, Iesum, qui eripuit nos ab ira uentura.

2 Scitis namque, fratres, ingressum uestrum ad uos quod non inanis fuit, sed ante passi et contumeliis affecti, sicut scitis, in Philippis confisi sumus in Deo nostro, ut loqueremur uobis euangelium Dei 5 in uehementi certamine. Exhortatio enim nostra non ex errore neque ex immunditia neque in dolo, sed sicut probati sumus a Deo, ut crederetur nobis euangelium, ita loquimur, non quasi hominibus placentes, sed Deo, qui probat corda nostra. Neque enim aliquando fuimus in sermone adulationis, sicut scitis, neque in occasione auaritie – Deus testis est – 10 neque querentes ab hominibus gloriam, neque a uobis neque ab aliis, cum possemus esse oneri sicut Christi apostoli, sed facti sumus paruuli in medio uestrum, tamquam si nutrix foueat filios suos, ita cupidi uestri uolebamus tradere uobis non solum euangelium Dei, sed etiam animas nostras, quoniam dilecti a nobis fuistis. Mementote enim, fratres, laboris 15 ac defatigationis nostre; nocte namque et die operantes, ut aliquem uestrum non grauaremus, predicauimus in uos euangelium Dei. Vos testes estis et Deus, quam sancte et iuste et sine querela uobis, qui credidistis, facti sumus, sicut scitis, qualiter unumquemque uestrum, sicut pater filios suos, deprecantes uos et consolantes testificati sumus, ut 20 ambularetis digne Deo, qui uocauit uos in regnum suum et gloriam. Ideo et nos gratias agimus Deo sine intermissione, quoniam cum accepissetis uerbum auditus a nobis Dei, suscepistis uerbum non hominum, sed sicut est uere uerbum Dei, qui operatur in uobis qui credidistis. Vos enim imitatores facti estis, fratres, ecclesiarum Dei que sunt in Iudea in Christo 25 Iesu, quia eadem et uos passi estis ab contribulibus propriis, sicut et nos ipsi a Iudeis, qui et dominum Iesum occiderunt ac proprios prophetas et nos persecuti sunt et Deo non placent atque omnibus hominibus aduersantur, prohibentes nos ne gentibus loquamur ut saluentur, ad implendum peccata sua semper. Peruenit autem ira Dei super eos in 30 finem. Nos autem, fratres, desolati a uobis ad tempus hore, aspectu non corde, abundantius festinauimus ut faciem uestram uideremus cum uehementi desiderio. Propter quod uoluimus uenire ad uos, ego quidem Paulus et semel et bis, sed impediuit nos Satan. Que est enim spes

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1 expectaretis] -tis *i. r. A2* 2 qui] *ex quem corr. B1* 18 et³] *om. B ins. B1*
26 contribulibus] -ulibus *i. r. fort. A1* 31 hore] *ex ore corr. B1*

nostra uel gaudium uel corona glorie? Nonne et uos coram domino nostro Iesu in aduentu suo?

- 3 Vos enim estis gloria nostra et gaudium. Propter quod non amplius
sustinentes, comprobauimus soli Athenis remanere, et misimus
5 Timotheum, fratrem nostrum et ministrum Dei et coadiutorem
nostrum in euangelio Christi, ad confirmandum uos et exhortandum uos
de fide uestra, ut nemo moueatur in tribulationibus istis. Ipsi enim scitis
quod in hoc positi sumus; etenim cum apud uos essemus, prediximus
uobis quod tribularemur, sicut et factum est et scitis. Propter hoc et ego,
10 non amplius sustinens, misi ad cognoscendum fidem uestram, ne
aliquatenus tentaret uos is qui tentat, et in uanum fieret labor noster.
Modo autem, cum Timotheus a uobis ad nos ueniret atque euangelizaret
nobis fidem et caritatem uestram et quod habetis commemorationem
nostri bonam semper, desiderantes nos uidere, sicut et nos uos, ideo
15 consolati sumus, fratres, in uobis in omni tribulatione et necessitate
nostra per fidem uestram, quoniam nunc uiuimus, si uos statis in
domino. Quam enim gratiarum actionem possimus nos retribuere pro
uobis in omni gaudio, quo gaudemus propter uos coram Deo nostro,
nocte dieque superabundanter orantes ut uideamus faciem uestram et
20 perficiamus defectus fidei uestre? Ipse autem Deus et pater noster ac
dominus noster Iesus Christus dirigat uiam nostram ad uos; dominus
autem uos multiplicet et abundare faciat caritatem uestram inuicem et in
omnibus, quemadmodum et nos in uobis, ad confirmandum corda uestra
sine querela in sanctitate coram Deo et patre nostro, in aduentu domini
25 nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis suis.

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A105r

- 4 De cetero ergo, fratres, rogamus uos et obsecramus in domino Iesu
ut – quemadmodum accepistis a nobis quomodo oportet nos
ambulare ac placere Deo, sic et ambuletis – ut et abundetis magis.
Scitis enim que precepta dederimus uobis per dominum Iesum. Hec est
30 uoluntas Dei, sanctificatio uestra, ut abstineatis a fornicatione, ut sciat
unusquisque uestrum uas suum possidere in sanctificatione et honore,
non in passione ignominie, sicut et gentes que ignorant Deum, ut ne quis
supergradiatur et plus habeat in negotio quam frater suus, quoniam

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3 gaudium] Here ends 1 Thessalonians 2 in the Vulgate.

1 Nonne] enim estis gloria nostra et gaudium *add. B exp. B1* 13 quod] *ex quoniam corr. A2*

et plus habeat in negotio quam frater suus, quoniam uindex est dominus de omnibus his, sicut prediximus uobis et testificati sumus. Non enim uocauit nos Deus in immunditiam, sed in sanctificationem. Ergo, quicumque spernit, non hominem sed Deum spernit, qui etiam dedit spiritum sanctum suum in nobis. De caritate uero fraternitatis non indigetis ut scribatur uobis; ipsi enim a Deo edocti estis ut diligatis inuicem. Etenim id facitis in omnes fratres in tota Macedonia. Rogamus autem uos, fratres, ut abundetis magis et operemini ut quiescatis, et propria agatis, et operemini uestris manibus propriis, sicut uobis precepimus, ut honeste ambuletis ad eos qui foris sunt, et nullius egestatem habeatis. Nolumus autem uos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri, qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum eo. Hoc enim dicimus uobis in uerbo domini, quod nos qui uiuimus, relictī in aduentu domini, non preueniemus eos qui dormierunt; quoniam ipse dominus in iussu et in uoce archangeli atque in tuba Dei descendet de celo, et qui mortui sunt in Christo resurgent primum; deinde nos qui uiuimus relictī simul cum ipsis rapiemur in nubibus obuiam domino in ere, et sic semper cum domino erimus. Itaque consolamini inuicem in uerbis istis.

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5 De temporibus autem atque occasionibus, fratres, non indigetis ut scribatur uobis; ipsi enim diligenter scitis quod dies domini sicut fur in nocte ita ueniet. Cum enim dixerint: ‘Pax et securitas’, tunc repentinus eis superueniet interitus, sicut dolor parturientis, et non effugient. Vos autem, fratres, non estis in tenebris, ut dies nos tamquam fur comprehendat. Omnes uos filii lucis estis et filii Dei. Non sumus noctis neque tenebrarum. Igitur non dormiamus sicut et ceteri, sed uigilemus et sobrii simus. Qui enim dormiunt, nocte dormiunt, et qui ebrii sunt, nocte inebriantur. Nos autem, qui diei sumus, sobrii sumus, induti loricam fidei et caritatis et galeam spem salutis; quoniam non posuit nos Deus in iram, sed in acquisitionem salutis per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui mortuus est pro nobis, ut siue uigilemus siue dormiamus, simul cum eo uiuamus. Propter quod consolamini inuicem et edificate in unum sicut et facitis. Rogamus autem uos, fratres, ut noueritis eos qui laborant inter uos et presunt uobis in domino et

1 uindex] index A Iudex B 3 sanctificationem] sanctificatione B 10 ut] et B 26 Dei] diei A

- uos et presunt uobis in domino et admonent uos, ut existimetis eos
 superabundanter in caritate propter opus ipsorum. Et pacem habete cum
 eis. Quesumus autem uos, fratres: corripite inordinatos, confortamini
 pusillanimes, suscipite infirmos, tolerate omnes. Videte ne quis malum
 5 pro malo cuiquam reddat, sed semper id quod bonum est sequimini, et
 inuicem et in omnes. Semper gaudete, sine intermissione orate, in
 omnibus gratias agite; hec enim est uoluntas Dei in Christo Iesu in
 omnibus uobis. Spiritum ne extinguite, prophetias ne spernite; omnia
 uero probate, quod bonum est tenete, ab omni specie mala abstinete.
 10 Ipse autem Deus pacis sanctificet uos omnino ac perfecte: ut integer
 spiritus uester et anima et corpus sine querela in aduentu domini nostri
 Iesu Christi seruetur. Fidelis est qui uocauit uos, qui etiam faciet. Fratres,
 orate pro uobis. Salutate fratres omnes in osculo sancto. Adiuro uos per
 dominum ut legatur epistola omnibus sanctis fratribus. Gratia domini
 15 nostri Iesu Christi uobiscum. Amen.

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II Thessalonians

- 1** Paulus et Siluanus ac Timotheus ecclesie Thessalonicensium in Deo
 patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre
 nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Gratias agere debemus Deo semper
 20 pro uobis, fratres, sicut dignum est, quoniam supercrescit fides uestra, et
 abundet caritas uniuscuiusque omnium uestrum inuicem, ita ut nos ipsi
 in uobis gloriemur in ecclesiis Dei pro patientia uestra et fide in omnibus
 persecutionibus uestris et tribulationibus quas sustinetis, in exemplum
 iusti iudicii Dei, et digni habeamini regno Dei, pro quo et patimini, si
 25 tamen iustum est apud Deum retribuere tribulationem his qui uos
 tribulant, et uobis qui tribulamini, remissionem nobiscum in reuelatione
 domini Iesu de celo cum angelis uirtutis sue, in igne flamme, dantis
 uindictam his qui non nouerunt Deum, et his qui non obediunt euangelio
 domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui penam dabunt in interitum eternum a
 30 facie domini et a gloria uirtutis sue, cum uenerit ad gloriandum in sanctis
 suis et admirabilis fiat in omnibus qui crediderunt, quoniam creditum est
 testimonium nostrum super nos in die illa. In quod et oramus semper

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pro uobis ut dignos uos faciat uocationis Deus noster et repleat omne beneplacitum bonitatis et opus fidei in uirtute, ut clarificetur nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi in uobis, et uos in ipso, secundum gratiam Dei nostri et domini Iesu Christi.

2 Rogamus autem uos, fratres, per aduentum domini nostri Iesu Christi et nostre congregationis in ipsum, ut non cito moueamini ab intellectu uestro, neque terreamini, neque per spiritum neque per sermonem neque per epistolam tamquam per nos, quasi instet dies domini. Ne quis uos seducat ullo modo; quoniam nisi uenerit dissensio primum et reuelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius perditionis, qui aduersatur et extollitur super omnem, qui dicitur Deus aut quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei tamquam Deus sedeat, ostendens seipsum quod est Deus. Nonne recordamini quod, cum essem apud uos, hec dicebam uobis? Et nunc quid detineat scitis ut reueletur in suo tempore. Etenim mysterium iam operatur iniquitatis; ut qui tenet nunc teneat, donec de medio fiat. Et tunc reuelabitur iniquus, quem dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui et destruet illustratione aduentus sui, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem Satane in omni uirtute ac signis et prodigiis fallacibus et in omni dolo iniquitatis in his qui pereunt, pro eo quod caritatem ueritatis non susceperunt ut ipsi saluentur. Et ideo mittet eis Deus operationem erroris, ut credant mendacio, ut iudicentur omnes qui non crediderunt ueritati, sed consenserunt iniquitati. Nos autem debemus gratias agere Deo semper pro uobis, dilecti fratres a domino, quoniam elegit uos Deus primitiam in salutem, in sanctificatione spiritus ac fide ueritatis: in quod uocaui uos per euangelium nostrum in acquisitionem glorie domini nostri Iesu Christi. Igitur, fratres, state et tenete traditiones quas edocti fuistis, siue per sermonem siue per epistolam nostram. Ipse autem dominus noster Iesus Christus et Deus et pater noster, qui dilexit et dedit consolationem eternam et spem bonam in gratia, exhortetur corda uestra et confirmet uos in omni sermone et opere bono.

3 Decetero orate, fratres, pro nobis, ut sermo domini currat et clarificetur sicut et apud uos, ut liberemur ab importunis ac malignis hominibus. Non enim omnium est fides. Fidelis autem est dominus, qui confirmabit uos et custodiet a malo. Confidimus autem de uobis in domino, quod quecumque precipimus uobis, et facitis et facietis.

domino, quod quaecumque precipimus uobis, et facitis et facietis. Dominus autem dirigat corda uestra in caritatem Dei et patientiam Christi. Denuntiamus autem uobis, fratres, in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut subtrahatis uos ab omni fratre inordinate ambulante et non
5 secundum traditionem quam acceperunt a uobis. Ipsi enim scitis quemadmodum oporteat imitari nos, quoniam non inquieti sumus inter uos, nec gratis panem manducauimus ab aliquo, sed in labore et in fatigatione, nocte et die operantes, ne quem uestrum grauaremus; non quod non habuerimus potestatem, sed ut nosipsos exemplum daremus
10 uobis ut nos imitaremini. Etenim cum essemus apud uos, hec denuntiabamus uobis, quod si quis non uult operari, non manducet. Audimus enim inter uos quosdam inordinate ambulantes, nihil operantes sed curiose agentes. Talibus autem denuntiamus et eos rogamus per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ut cum silentio operantes suum
15 panem manducant. Vos autem, fratres, ne deficiatis bonum operantes. Si quis autem non obedit uerbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et ne commisceamini cum ipso, ut confundatur, et non tamquam inimicum existimate, sed corripite ut fratrem. Ipse autem dominus pacis det uobis pacem sempiternam in omni loco. Dominus cum omnibus uobis.
20 Salutatio mea manu Pauli, quod est signum in omni epistola, sic scribo. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

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I Timothy

1 Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi secundum mandatum Dei saluatoris nostri et domini Iesu Christi spei nostre, Timotheo, legitimo filio in
25 fide: gratia, misericordia et pax a Deo patre nostro et Christo Iesu domino nostro. Sicut rogavi te, ne remaneres Ephesi, profecturus in Macedoniam ut nuntiares quibusdam ne aliter docerent, neque intenderent fabulis ac ne genealogiis infinitis, que questiones prebent magis quam edificationem Dei, que est in fide. Finis autem precepti est
30 caritas de corde puro ac conscientia bona et fide non ficta, quorum quidam aberrantes conuersi sunt in uaniloquium, uolentes esse doctores, non intelligentes neque que loquuntur neque de quibus affirmant. Scimus

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autem quod bona est lex, si quis ea legitime utatur, scientes hoc quod lex iusto non est posita; iniustis autem et inobedientibus, impiis ac peccatoribus, profanis atque contaminatis, patricidis et matricidis, homicidis, fornicariis, masculorum concubitoribus, plagiaris, mendacibus, periuris, et si quid aliud sane doctrine aduersatur, secundum 5 euangelium glorie beati Dei, cui ego creditus eram. Et gratiam habeo ei qui me confortauit, in Christo Iesu domino nostro, quia me fidelem existimauit ponens in ministerium, qui prius blasphemus fui et persecutor ac contumeliosus; sed misericordiam consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate, superabundauit autem gratia domini nostri 10 cum fide ac dilectione, que est in Christo Iesu. Fidelis sermo et omni acceptione dignus, quia Christus Iesus uenit in mundum ut peccatores saluaret; quorum primus ego sum, sed ideo misericordiam consecutus sum, ut in me primo ostenderet Iesus Christus omnem patientiam, ad informationem eorum qui credituri sunt in ipsum in uitam eternam. Regi 15 autem seculorum, immortalis, inuisibilis, soli sapienti Deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Hoc preceptum commendo tibi, fili Timothee, secundum precedentes in te prophetias, ut milites in ipsis bonam militiam habens fidem et bonam conscientiam, quam quidam repellentes circa fidem naufragauerunt; ex quibus est Himeneus et 20 Alexander, quos tradidi Satane ut erudiantur ne blasphement.

2 Deprecor igitur primum omnium ut fiant deprecationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam uitam agamus in omni pietate et caritate. Hoc enim bonum 25 et acceptabile est coram saluatore nostro Deo, qui uult ut omnes homines saluentur et ut ad agnitionem ueritatis deueniant. Vnus enim Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus, cuius testimonium propriis temporibus fuit; in quod positus sum ego predicator et apostolus – 30 ueritatem dico in Christo, non mentior – doctor gentium in fide et ueritate. Volo igitur ut uiri orent in omni loco eleuantes pias manus sine ira et disceptatione; eodem modo ut et mulieres in habitu ornato cum uerecundia et temperantia ornantes semetipsas, non in crinibus tortis uel auro uel margaritis uel ueste pretiosa, sed, quod decet mulieres, 35

2 iniustus] ex iniustus corr. B1 4 plagiaris] plagariis AB 6 gratiam] dei add. B exp. B1 10 nostri] Iesu Christi add. B exp. B1 29 cuius] om. A ins. A2

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- margaritis uel ueste pretiosa, sed, quod decet mulieres, profitentes pietatem per bona opera. Mulier in silentio discat cum omni subiectione; mulieri autem ut doceant non permitto, neque ut dominetur in uirum, sed ut sit in silentio. Adam enim primus formatus est, postea Eua; et
- 5 Adam non fuit seductus, mulier autem in preuaricatione seducta fuit. Saluabitur autem per filiorum generationem, si permanserit in fide atque caritate ac sanctificatione cum sobrietate.

- 3 Fidelis sermo: si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus concupiscit. Oportet ergo episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius
- 10 uxoris uirum, sobrium, temperatum, ornatum, hospitem, doctorem, non uinolentum, non percussorem, non turpem lucratorem, sed modestum, illitigiosum, non auarum, proprie domui bene presidentem, filios habentem in obedientia cum omni castitate – si quis uero proprie domui preesse nescit, quonam modo ecclesiam Dei curabit?
- 15 – non nouitium, ne inflatus in iudicium incidat diaboli. Oportet autem ipsum testificationem non bonam habere ab his qui foris sunt, ne in obprobrium et in laqueum diaboli incidat. Diaconos eodem modo preclaros non bilingues, non multo uino adherentes, non turpis luci sectatores, habentes mysterium fidei in pura conscientia. Et hii quidem
- 20 probentur primum, postea ministrent absque crimine existentes. Mulieres eodem modo pudicas, non criminatrices, sobrias, fideles in omnibus. Diacones sunt unius uxoris uiri, filiis ac propriis domibus bene presidentes. Qui enim bene ministrauerunt, gradum sibi bonum acquirunt et multam fiduciam in fide que est in Christo Iesu. Hec tibi
- 25 scribo sperans citius ad te uenire. Si autem tardauero, ut scias quomodo oportet in domo Dei conuersari, que est ecclesia Dei uiui, columna et firmamentum ueritatis. Et manifeste magnum est pietatis mysterium: Deus manifestatus est in carne, iustificatus in spiritu, apparuit angelis, predicatus est inter gentes, creditus est in mundo, assumptus est in gloria.

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- 30 4 Spiritus autem manifeste dicit quod in posterioribus temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris ac doctrinis demoniorum, in hypocrisi mentientium ac propriam conscientiam inurentium, prohibentium nubere, abstinentium a cibariis que Deus

3 mulierij] ex muliebri corr. B1 9 episcopum] ex Episcopatum corr. A1 13 castitate] claritate AB 19 mysterium] mynisterium B

creauit, ut cum gratiarum actione perciperentur fidelibus et his qui cognouerunt ueritatem. Quia omnis creatura Dei bona, et nihil reiciendum quod cum gratiarum actione percipiatur. Sanctificatur enim per uerbum Dei et orationem. Hec proponens fratribus bonis eris minister Christi Iesu, enutritus uerbis fidei ac bone doctrine, quam assecutus es. Profanas atque aniles fabulas deuita. Exerce autem te ipsum ad pietatem; nam corporalis exercitatio ad modicum utilis est, pietas uero ad omnia proficua est promissionem habens uite, que nunc est, et future. Fidelis sermo et omni acceptione dignus: in hoc enim et laboramus et redarguimur, quia sperauimus in Deum uiuum, qui est saluator omnium hominum, maxime fidelium. Precipe hec et doce. Nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnet, sed figura esto fidelium in uerbo, in conuersatione, in caritate, in spiritu, in fide, in castitate. Donec uenero, attende lectioni, exhortationi, doctrine; ne negligas gratiam Dei que in te existens est et data est tibi per prophetiam cum impositione manuum sacerdotii. Hoc meditare, in his esto, ut profectus tuus manifestus sit omnibus. Attende tibi ipsi ac doctrine; permorare ipsis; hec enim faciens et te ipsum saluabis et eos qui te audierint. Seniore[m] ne increpaueris, sed obserua ut patrem iuniores ut fratres, anus ut matres, iuuenculas ut sorores in omni castitate.

5 Viduas honora que uere uidue sunt. Si qua uero uidua filios ac nepotes habet, discat primum propriam domum pie regere ac uices reddere parentibus. Hoc enim acceptum est coram Deo. Que autem uere uidua est et desolata, speret in Deum atque immoretur deprecationibus et orationibus nocte et die. Que autem in deliciis est uiuens, mortua est. Atque hec precipe, ut irreprehensibiles sint. Si quis autem propriis et maxime domesticis non prouiderit, fidem abnegauit et est infideli deterior. Vidua eligatur non minus sexaginta annorum, que fuerit unius uiri uxor, in operibus bonis propter testimonia probata: si filios educauit, si hospitio recepit, si sanctorum pedes lauit, si tribulatis profuit, si omne opus bonum subsecuta est. Adolescentiores uiduas deuita. Cum enim luxuriate fuerint in Christo, nubere uolunt, habentes damnationem, quoniam primum fidem irritam fecerunt. Simul autem et otiose discant circumeuntes domos, non solum autem otiose, sed

18 audierint] Here ends 1 Timothy in the Vulgate.

4 proponens] proponens B 14 exhortationi] exhortatione AB 21 uidua] ex uiduas corr. fort. A1

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circumeuntes domos, non solum autem otiose, sed nugatrices et curiose, loquentes ea que non oportet. Volo igitur ut iuniores nubant, ut filios procreent, ut matresfamilias sint, ut nullam occasionem prebeant aduersario obiurgationis causa. Iam enim quedam conuerse sunt post
 5 Satanam. Si quis aut si qua fidelis habet uiduas, opituletur eis, et ne grauetur ecclesia, ut eis que uere uidue sunt prosit. Presbyteri bene presidentes, duplici honore digni habeantur, maxime hi qui laborant in uerbo ac doctrina. Dicit enim scriptura: *Bouem triturantis non infrenabis*, et *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*. Aduersus presbyterum accusationem non
 10 suscipias, nisi sub duobus uel tribus testibus. Peccantes coram omnibus argue ut et ceteri timorem habeant. Testor coram Deo ac domino Iesu Christo et electis angelis ut hec custodias, sine preiudicio nihil faciens secundum declinationem. Manus cito nemini imposueris, nec communicaueris peccatis alienis. Teipsum castum conserua, ne amplius
 15 aquam bibas, sed modico uino utere propter stomachum tuum ac frequentes infirmitates tuas. Quorundam hominum peccata manifesta sunt precedentia ad iudicium, quibusdam autem subsequuntur; eodem modo et bona opera permanifesta sunt et que aliter se habent abscondi non possunt.

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20 **6** Quicumque sunt sub iugo, serui proprios dominos omni honore dignos existimant, ne nomen Dei et doctrina blasphemetur. Qui autem fideles habent dominos, non contemnant, quoniam fratres sunt, sed magis seruiant, quia fideles sunt ac dilecti, qui beneficii
 25 acquiescit sanis sermonibus domini nostri Iesu Christi, et ei que est secundum pietatem doctrine superbit, nihil sciens, sed egrotans circa questionem ac uerborum contentiones, ex quibus fiunt inuidia, discordia, blasphemie, suspensiones male, conflictationes hominum mente corruptorum ac ueritate priuatorum, existimantium questum esse
 30 pietatem. Est enim questus magnus pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum; manifestum quod nec auferre quicquam possumus. Habentes autem alimenta atque cooperimenta, his acquiescamus. Qui autem ditari uolunt, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum ac concupiscentias multas stultas ac damnosas, que submergunt
 35 homines in interitum ac perditionem. Radix enim omnium malorum est auaritia, quam quidam appetentes aberrauerunt a fide et seipsos

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aberrauerunt a fide et seipsos inseruerunt doloribus multis. Tu autem, o homo Dei, hec fuge. Sectare autem iustitiam, pietatem, fidem, caritatem, patientiam, mansuetudinem. Certa bonum certamen fidei, apprehende uitam eternam, in quam uocatus es, et confessus es bonam confessionem coram multis testibus. Precipio tibi coram Deo, qui uiuificat omnia, et coram Christo Iesu, qui testificatus est sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem, ut serues mandatum immaculatum, irreprehensibilem, usque in aduentum domini nostri Iesu Christi, quem propriis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens, rex regentium et dominus dominantium, solus habens immortalitatem lucem habitans inaccessibilem, quem nullus hominum uidit, nec uidere potest; cui honor et potestas sempiterna. Amen. Diuitibus presentis seculi precipe ne sublime sapiant, neque ut sperent in incertitudine diuitiarum, sed in Deo uiuo, qui prebet nobis omnia opulente ad fruitionem, ut bene agamus, ut ditemur in operibus bonis, ut simus faciles adtribuendum, socii, thesaurizantes sibi ipsis fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant uitam eternam. O Timothee, depositum custodi, deuitans profanas uocum nouitates atque oppositiones falsi nominis scientie, quam quidam profitentes circa fidem exciderunt. Gratia Dei tecum. Amen.

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II Timothy

20

A109v

1 Paulus apostolus Christi Iesu per uoluntatem Dei secundum promissionem uite que est in Christo Iesu, Timotheo dilecto filio: gratia, misericordia, pax a Deo patre et Christo Iesu domino nostro. Gratiam habeo Deo, cui deseruio a progenitoribus in pura conscientia, quod commemorationem tui habeam non interruptam in orationibus meis nocte ac die desiderans te uidere, memor lacrimarum tuarum, ut gaudio implear, reminiscantiam accipiens eius que est in te fidei non fecte, que habitauit primum in auia tua Loide et matre tua Eunucha. Persuasus autem sum quod et in te, ob quam causam admoneo te ut resuscites gratiam Dei, que est in te per impositionem manuum mearum. Non enim dedit nobis spiritum timoris, sed uirtutis et caritatis ac temperantie. Ne igitur erubescas testimonium domini nostri, neque

1 inseruerunt] -unt *i. r. fort.* A2 7 irreprehensibilem] irreprehensibile B 8 quem] quam AB 9 regentium] gentium AB 16 O] *om.* B 17 deuitans] -ns *i. r. fort.* A2 27 implear] impleat A ex impleant *corr.* B1

Ne igitur erubescas testimonium domini nostri, neque me uinctum suum, sed collabora in euangelio secundum uirtutem Dei, qui saluauit nos et uocauit uocatione sancta, non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum proprium propositum et gratiam, que data est nobis ante tempora
 5 secularia, manifestatam autem nunc per apparitionem saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, qui destruxit quidem mortem, illuminauit autem uitam et incorruptionem per euangelium, in quod positus sum ego predicator et apostolus ac magister gentium. Ob quam causam et hoc patior, sed non confundor. Scio enim cui credidi, et persuasus sum quod potens est
 10 depositum meum seruare in illam diem. Subfigurationem habet sanctorum uerborum, que a me audistis, in fide et caritate que est in Christo Iesu. Bonum depositum custodi per spiritum sanctum, qui habitat in nobis. Scis hoc quod auersi sunt a me omnes qui sunt in Asia, quorum est Phigellus atque Hermagoras. Prebeat misericordiam dominus
 15 Honesphori domui, quoniam sepenumero me refrigerauit ac catenam meam non erubuit, sed assistens Rome, studiosius quesiiuit me et inuenit – largiatur ei dominus ut inueniat misericordiam a domino in illa die – et quecumque Ephesi ministrauerit, tu melius nosti.

B173r

20 **2** Tu ergo, fili mi, confortare in gratia que est in Christo Iesu, et ea que audisti a me per multos testes, hec commenda fidelibus hominibus, quicumque idonei erunt ad alios docendum. Tu ergo labora ut bonus miles Iesu Christi. Nullus militans implicetur negotiis seculi, ut ei placeat cui in re militari inseruit. Si quidem certans non coronabitur nisi legitime certauerit, laborantem agricolam oportet
 25 primum de fructibus accipere. Intellige ea que dico; tradat tibi dominus in omnibus intellectum. Memento Iesum Christum resurrexisse a mortuis, ex semine Dauid, secundum euangelium meum, in quo laboro usque ad uincula uelut nequam, sed sermo Dei non est alligatus. Idcirco omnia sustineo propter electos, ut et ipsi salutem consequantur que est
 30 in Christo Iesu cum gloria sempiterna. Fidelis sermo: si enim quod mortui sumus, et conuiuemus; si sustinebimus, et correpnabimus; si negauerimus, et ille negabit nos; si non crediderimus, ille fidelis permanet, negare semetipsum non potest. Hoc commune testificans coram domino ne uerbis contendas: ad nihil utile nisi ad eersionem audientium. Stude ut teipsum probabilem exhibeas Deo, oratorem
 35 inconfusibilem, recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis. Profana autem uaniloquia deuota. Plurimum enim proficiunt ad impietatem, et sermo eorum ut cancer pascua habebit; quorum est Hymeneus et Philetus, qui a

A110r

B173v

quorum est Hymeneus et Philetus, qui a ueritate exciderunt, dicentes resurrectionem iam fuisse, et subuertunt fidem quorundam. Firmamentum tamen Dei firmum stat, habens signaculum hoc: cognouit dominus qui sunt eius, et discedat ab iniquitate omnis qui nominat nomen domini. In magna autem domo non solum sunt uasa aurea et 5 argentea, sed etiam lignea ac fictilia, et quedam quidem in honorem quedam autem in ignominiam. Si quis ergo emundauerit seipsum ab istis erit uas in honorem, sanctificatum, et utile domino ad omne opus bonum paratum. Iuueniles concupiscentias fuge, sectare autem iustitiam, fidem, caritatem, pacem cum his qui inuocant dominum de corpore puro. 10 Stultas autem et ineruditas questiones euita, sciens que generant pugnas. Seruum autem domini non oportet pugnare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, in mansuetudine erudientem eos qui aduersantur, ne quando det eis Deus penitentiam ad cognitionem ueritatis, et ut resipiscant a laqueo diaboli, captiuati ab eo ad illius 15 uoluntatem.

B174r

3 Hoc autem scito, quod in ultimis diebus instabunt tempora difficilia. Erunt enim homines seipsos amantes, cupidi, arrogantes, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus inobedientes, ingrati, impij, importuni, fedifragi, criminatores, incontinentes, immites, bonorum 20 inimici, proditores, proterui, tumidi, uoluptatum amatores magis quam Dei, habentes speciem quidem pietatis, uirtutem autem eius abnegantes; et hos deuita. Ex his enim sunt qui ingrediuntur domos et captiuant mulierculas oneratas peccatis, que ducuntur concupiscentiis uariis, semper discentes et numquam ad cognitionem ueritatis peruenire 25 potentes. Quemadmodum autem Iannes et Iambres restiterunt Moysi, ita et isti resistunt ueritati, homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem; sed non proficient plurimum. Insipientia enim eorum manifesta erit omnibus, quemadmodum et illorum fuit. Tu autem assecutus es meam doctrinam, institutionem, propositum, fidem, longanimitatem, caritatem, 30 patientiam, persecutiones, passiones, qualia mihi facta sunt Antiochie, Hiconie, Listris, quales persecutiones sustinui; et ex omnibus eripuit me dominus. Omnes autem qui uolunt pie uiuere in Christo Iesu,

A110v

3 tamen] *ex* autem *corr.* B1 7 ignominiam] *ex* ignominias *corr.* A2 12 non...pugnare] oportet non pugnare B *tr.* B1 22 speciem quidem] quidem speciem B *tr.* B1
24 ducuntur] *ex* dicuntur *corr.* B

persecutionem patientur. At maligni homines ac fascinatores proficient in peius, errantes et in errores ducti. Tu autem mane in his que didicisti et sciisti, cognoscens a quo didiceris, et quod ab infantia sacras litteras nosti, que te possunt instruere ad salutem per fidem que est in Christo Iesu. Omnis scriptura diuinitus inspirata utilis est ad doctrinam, ad redargutionem, ad dilectionem, ad eruditionem in iustitia, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus.

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- 4** Testificor ergo ego coram Deo et domino Iesu Christo, qui iudicaturus est uiuos et mortuos, secundum apparitionem suam et regnum suum: predica uerbum, insta oportune, importune, argue, increpa, deprecare in omni longanimitate ac doctrina. Erit enim tempus, cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, sed secundum concupiscentias proprias sibi ipsis coaceruabunt magistros prurientes auditu, et a ueritate auditum auertent, ad fabulas uero conuertentur. Tu uero sobrius esto, in omnibus labora, opus fac euangeliste, ministerium tuum adimple. Ego enim iam delibor, et tempus mee resolutionis instat. Bonum certamen certauī, cursum consummaui, fidem seruaui; in reliquo reposita est mihi corona iustitie, quam reddet mihi dominus in die illa, iustus iudex, non solum autem mihi, sed et omnibus qui dilexerunt aduentum suum.
- 20 Festina ut cito ad me uenias. Demas enim me dereliquit cum dilexerit presens seculum et profectus est Thessalonicam, Cresces in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam; Lucas est mecum solus. Marcum assumens duc tecum, est enim mihi utilis ad ministerium. Tichicum autem misi Ephesum. Pennulam, quam reliqui Troade apud Caprum, cum ueneris affer, ac libros maxime membranas. Alexander erarius multa mihi mala demonstraui. Reddet ei dominus secundum opera sua, a quo et tu caue. Valde enim restitit sermonibus nostris. In prima mea defensione nemo mihi affuit, sed omnes me dereliquerunt. Non eis imputetur; dominus autem mihi astitit et confortauit me, ut per me predicatio impleretur, et audirent omnes gentes, et liberatus sum ex ore leonis. Et liberabit me dominus ab omni opere malo et saluabit in regnum suum celeste; cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Saluta Priscam et Aquilam et Onesiphori domum. Herastus remansit Corinthi, Triphonium reliqui Mileti infirmum. Festina ut ante hiemem uenias. Salutat te Ebolus et

B175r

Pudes et Linus et Claudia ac fratres omnes. Dominus Iesus Christus cum spiritu tuo. Gratia uobiscum. Amen.

Titus

A111r

1 Paulus seruus Dei, apostolus autem Iesu Christi secundum fidem electorum Dei et agnitionem ueritatis, que secundum pietatem est 5

in spe uite eterne, quam promisit qui non mentitur, Deus ante tempora secularia manifestauit autem temporibus propriis uerbum suum in predicatione, cui creditus sum secundum preceptum saluatoris nostri Dei, Tito, legitimo filio secundum communem fidem: gratia,

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misericordia, pax a Deo patre et domino Iesu Christo saluatore nostro. 10

Huius gratia reliqui te Crete, ut deficientia dirigeres et constitueres per ciuitates presbyteros, quemadmodum ego tibi disposui, si quis est sine crimine, unius uxoris uir, filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxurie aut inobedientes. Oportet enim Episcopum sine crimine esse sicut Dei dispensatorem, non superbum, non iracundum, non uinolentum, non 15

percussorem, non turpem lucratorem, sed hospitem, boni amatorem, temperatum, iustum, purum, continentem, amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem, ut potens fit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos qui contradicunt redarguere. Sunt enim multi inobedientes uaniloqui mentium deceptores, maxime qui ex 20

circumcisione sunt, quos os occludere oportet, qui totas domos subuertunt, docentes ea que non oportet, turpis lucri gratia. Dixit quidam ex ipsis, proprius eorum propheta: ‘Cretenses semper mendaces, male fere, uentres pigri.’ Testimonium hoc uerax est. Quam ob causam increpa eos dure, ut incolumes sint in fide, non attendentes Iudaicis 25

fabulis ac mandatis hominum auertentium se a ueritate. Omnia quidem munda sunt mundis; coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum, sed coinquinatae sunt eorum et mens et conscientia. Confitentur se nosse Deum, operibus autem negant, cum sint abominabiles atque increduli ad omne opus bonum reprobi. 30

- 2 Tu autem loquere ea que decent sanam doctrinam. Senes, ut sobrii sint, pudici, temperati, sani in fide, caritate, sapientia. Anus eodem modo in statu sacerdotes decente, non criminatrices, non multo uino famulantes, bene docentes, ut adulescentulas instruant ad amandum
- 5 uiros ac filios suos, temperatas, castas, sedulas, probas, subditas uiris suis, ut non blasphemetur uerbum Dei. Iuniores eodem modo hortare ut sobrii sint. Circa omnia teipsum prebe exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina integritate, pudicitia, castitate, incorruptibilitate, uerbum sanum irreprehensibile, ut is qui ex aduerso est reuereatur, nihil prauum habens
- 10 dicere de uobis. Seruos propriis dominis subditos esse, ut in omnibus placidi sint, non contradicentes, non fraudantes, sed fidem omnem ostendentes bonam, ut doctrinam saluatoris nostri Dei exornent in omnibus. Apparuit enim gratia Dei saluatoris omnibus hominibus erudiens nos, ut abnegantes impietatem et mundanas concupiscentias
- 15 temperate ac iuste et pie uiuamus in presenti seculo, expectantes beatam spem et aduentum glorie magni Dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut redimeret nos ab omni iniquitate ac purgaret sibi ipsi populum acceptabilem, emulatorem bonorum operum. Hec loquere et exhortare atque argue cum omni imperio. Nemo te
- 20 contemnat. Admone ipsos ut magistratibus et potestatibus subditi sint, ut obediant, ut ad omne opus bonum parati sint, ut neminem blasphement, ut non contentiosi, ut benigni omnem, ostendentes mansuetudinem ad omnes homines. Eramus enim et nos aliquando insipientes, increduli, errantes, seruientes concupiscentiis et uoluptatibus uariis, in malitia et
- 25 inuidia degentes, exosi, odientes inuicem. Cum autem benignitas et humanitas apparuit saluatoris nostri Dei, non ex operibus iustitie que fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam saluauit nos per lauacrum regenerationis et renouationis spiritus sancti, quem effudit in nos opulente per Iesum Christum saluatorem nostrum, ut iustificati illius
- 30 gratia heredes efficiamur secundum spem uite eterne. Fidelis sermo, ac de his uolo te confirmare, ut curent bonis operibus preesse ii qui Deo crediderunt. Hec sunt bona et utilia hominibus; stultas autem questiones ac genealogias et contentiones et pugnas legis deuita. Sunt enim inutiles et uane. Hereticum hominem post unam ac secundam admonitionem
- 35 deuita, sciens quod is qui talis est subuersus est ac delinquit, existens suo

B176r

A111v

B176v

20 contemnat] Here ends Titus 2 in the Vulgate.

3 decete] bene *praem.* B 1 6 hortare] *ex hortate corr.* B1

iudicio condemnatus. Cum misero ad te Arteman aut Tychicum, festina ut ad me uenias Nicopolim; ibi enim hiemare constitui. Ienam legis peritum et Apollo studiose premitte ut nihil eis deficiat. Discant autem et nostri bonis operibus preesse ad necessarios usus, ut non sint infructuosi. Salutant te qui mecum sunt omnes. Salutate eos qui nos amant in fide. 5 Gratia cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

Philemon

A112r

B177r

Paulus uinctus Iesu Christi ac Timotheus frater Philemoni dilecto et coadiutori nostro, atque Appie dilecte et Archippo commilitoni nostro, et ecclesie que in domo tua est: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo. Gratias ago Deo meo semper commemorationem tui faciens in orationibus meis, audiens caritatem et fidem quam habes ad dominum Iesum et ad omnes sanctos, ut communicatio fidei tue operosa fiat in cognitione omnis boni quod est in nobis in Christum Iesum. Gaudium enim habemus plurimum atque consolationem in caritate tua, quod uiscera sanctorum requieuerunt per te, frater. Idcirco multam in Christo habens fiduciam imperandi tibi id quod iustum est, ob caritatem magis deprecor, cum sis talis ut Paulus senex, nunc autem et uinctus Iesu Christi; deprecor te pro filio meo, quem genui in uinculis meis, Onesimum, qui aliquando tibi fuit inutilis, nunc autem tibi et mihi utilis, quem remisi: tu uero ipsum, hoc est uiscera mea, suscipe quem ego uolueram penes me ipsum detinere, ut pro te ministraret mihi in uinculis euangelii. Absque notitia autem tua nihil uolui facere, ut ne uelut ex necessitate bonum tuum esset, sed uoluntarium. Forte enim ob hoc separatus est ad horam, ut ipsum perpetuum haberes, non amplius uelut seruum, sed super seruum, fratrem dilectum, maxime mihi, quanto autem magis tibi et in carne et in domino. Si ergo habes me socium, suscipe ipsum ut me. Si uero tibi in aliquo iniuriatus est aut debet, hoc mihi imputa. Ego Paulus scripsi mea manu, ego reddam; ut non dicam tibi quod et teipsum mihi debes. Ita, frater, ego te fruar in domino. Refice uiscera mea in domino. Persuasus de obedientia tua tibi scripsi, sciens quod et super id quod dico facies. Simul autem et para mihi hospitium. 10 15 20 25 30

B177v

1 aut] *ex an corr. fort. A2* 22 detinere] *det- i. r. A2* | uinculis] *meis add. B exp. B1* 32 et¹] *teipsum mihi debes add. B exp. B1*

Spero enim quod per orationes uestras donabor uobis. Salutant te Epaphras, concaptius meus in Christo Iesu, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, coadiutores mei. Gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu uestro. Amen.

5 Hebrews

- 1 Multifariam multisque modis olim locutus Deus patribus in prophetis, tandem diebus istis locutus est nobis in filio, quem constituit heredem omnium, per quem fecit et secula; qui, cum sit splendor glorie ac figura substantie sue portansque omnia uerbo uirtutis sue, per seipsum purgationem faciens peccatorum nostrorum, sedit in dextera magnificentie in altissimis, tanto melior angelis effectus, quanto differentius pre ipsis nomen hereditauit. Cui enim aliquando dixit angelorum: *Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te*, ac rursus: *Ego ero ipsi in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium?* Cum autem introducit primogenitum iterum in orbem terrarum, dicit: *Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei*. Et ad angelos quidem ait: *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos flammam ignis*. Ad filium autem: *Solium tuum, Deus, in seculum seculi. Virga rectitudinis, uirga regni tui. Dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, idcirco unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo letitie pro participibus tuis*; et *Tu in principio, domine, terram fundasti; et opera manuum tuarum sunt celi. Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanebis; atque omnes sicut uestimentum ueterascent, et uelut amictum mutabis eos et mutabuntur. Tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient*. Ad quem autem angelorum dixit aliquando: *Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum?* Nonne omnes sunt administratorii spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos qui hereditaturi sunt salutem?

A112v

B178r

- 2 Ob hoc abundantius oportet ut obseruemus ea que audiuiamus, ne quando effluamus. Si enim qui per angelos dictus est sermo factus est firmus, et omnis preuaricatio atque inobedientia accepit uestram retributionem mercedis, quomodo nos effugiemus si tantam neglexerimus salutem? Que, cum per dominum initium enarrandi accepisset, ab eis qui audierunt in nos confirmata est, contestificante Deo

signis et prodigiis ac uariis uirtutibus et spiritus sancti distributionibus secundum suam uoluntatem. Non enim angelis subiecit Deus orbem terrarum futurum, de quo loquimur. Testatus est autem alicubi quis dicens: *Quid est homo, quod memor es eius, aut filius hominis, quod uisitas eum?*

A113r B178v Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum; omnia subiecisti sub pedibus suis. In eo in quod omnia ei subiecit, nihil dimisit non subiectum ei. Nunc autem nondum uidemus omnia subiecta esse ei. Eum autem, qui modico quam angeli minoratus est, uidemus, Iesum, propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum, ut gratia Dei pro omnibus gustaret mortem. Decebat autem eum, propter quem omnia et per quem omnia, et qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat, auctorem salutis eorum per passiones consummare. Quando enim quis sanctificat et qui sanctificantur ex uno omnes; ob quam causam non confunditur ad uocandum eos fratres dicens: *Nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, in medio ecclesie decantabo te;* et rursus: *Ego ero fidens in eum;* et iterum: *Ecce ego et pueri mei, quos mihi dedit Deus.* Quia ergo pueri communicauerunt carni et sanguini, et ipse proxime participauit eisdem, ut per mortem destrueret qui habebat mortis imperium, hoc est diabolus, et liberaret eos quicumque tempore mortis per uitam seruituti obnoxii erant. Non enim alicubi angelos, sed semen Abrahe apprehendit. Vnde debuit per omnia fratribus similari, ut misericors fieret et fidelis pontifex ad Deum, ut repropitiaret delicta populi. In eo enim in quo passus est ipse et tentatus, potest et eis qui tentantur auxiliari.

3 Vnde, fratres sancti, uocationis celestis participes, considerate apostolum ac pontificem confessionis uestre Iesum Christum, qui fidelis est ei qui fecit ipsum, sicut et Moyses in tota domo sua. Amplioris enim glorie iste pre Moyse dignus est habitus, quanto ampliorem honorem habet qui fabricauit domum quam domus ipsa. Omnis enim domus fabricatur ab aliquo. Qui autem omnia fabricauit, Deus est. Et Moyses quidem fidelis erat in tota domo sua tamquam famulus in testimonium eorum, que dicenda erant, Christus autem tamquam filius in domo sua; cuius domus nos sumus, si fiduciam et gloriam spei usque ad finem firmam teneamus. Idcirco, sicut dicit spiritus sanctus: *Hodie, si uocem eius audieritis, ne obduretis corda uestra sicut in acerbatione, secundum diem tentationis in deserto, ubi tentauerunt me patres uestri,*

B179r

6 suis] ex eius corr. B1 12 passiones] ex passionem corr. B1 15 tuum] ex meum corr. B1
ero] om. B 27 dignus] iter. B 29 Qui] ex quia corr. fort. A1

- deserto, ubi tentauerunt me patres uestri, probauerunt me et uiderunt opera mea per quadraginta annos. Idcirco offensus fui generationi illi et dixi: Semper errant corde. A113v*
Ipsi uero non cognouerunt uias meas. Sicut iuravi in ira mea: Si introibunt in requiem meam! Videte, fratres, ne quando sit in uobis cor malum
- 5 incredulitatis discedendi a Deo uiuo, sed adhortamini uosmetipsos per singulos dies, usque quo ‘hodie’ uocetur, ut non obduretur ex uobis quis fallacia peccati; participes enim Christi effecti sumus, si tamen initium substantie usque ad finem firmum retineamus, dum dicitur: *Hodie, si uocem eius audieritis, ne obduretis corda uestra quemadmodum in exacerbatione.*
- 10 Quidam enim qui audierant exacerbauerunt, sed non omnes qui exiuerunt ex Egypto per Moysen, quibus offensus est per quadraginta annos. Nonne his qui peccauerunt, quorum membra ceciderunt in deserto, quibus iurauit ne introirent in requiem suam, nisi his qui increduli fuerunt? Et uidemus quod non potuerunt intrare propter
- 15 incredulitatem. B179v

- 4 Timeamus ergo ne quando, relicta pollicitatione introeundi in requiem suam, uideatur aliquis ex uobis defuisse. Etenim nobis euangelizatum est sicut et illis, sed non profuit illis sermo auditus, non admixtus fidei ex his qui audierant. Ingrediamur enim in requiem,
- 20 qui credidimus, quemadmodum dixit: *Sicut iuravi in ira mea: Si introibunt in requiem meam!* At qui, operibus a constitutione mundi perfectis, dixit alicubi de die septima sic: *Et requieuit Deus die septima ab omnibus operibus suis*; et in hoc iterum: *Si intrabunt in requiem meam!* Quoniam ergo relinquitur ut quidam ingrediantur in ipsum, et hi quibus prius
- 25 euangelizatum est, non introierunt ob eorum incredulitatem. Rursus diem quandam terminat, ‘hodie’, in Dauid dicens post tantum temporis, sic dictum est: *Hodie, si uocem eius audieritis, ne obduretis corda uestra*, uelut in exacerbatione. Si enim Iesus eis quietem prestitisset, numquam de alia die post hec loqueretur. Itaque relinquitur sabbatismus populo Dei: qui
- 30 enim ingressus est in requiem suam, et ipse requieuit ab operibus suis, quemadmodum a propriis Deus. Festinemus ergo ut in requiem illam ingrediamur, ne quis incidat in idipsum incredulitatis exemplum. Viuus est namque sermo Dei et efficax ac penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti et pertingens usque ad diuisionem anime ac spiritus compagum quoque et

1 uestri] nostri AB uestri *præm.* B exp. B1 2 illi] huic *præm.* B exp. B1 21 perfectis] ex perfectus *corr.* B1 32 ne] i. r. A2

A114r medullarum, et censor cogitationum atque intentionum cordis; et omnis
B180r creatura inuisibilis coram eo. Omnia enim nuda et distincta sunt oculis
 suis, ad quem nobis sermo. Habentes ergo pontificem magnum, qui
 penetrauit celos, filium Dei, teneamus confessionem. Non enim
 habemus pontificem qui non possit compati infirmitatibus nostris. 5
 Tentatum autem per omnia secundum similitudinem absque peccato;
 gradiemur ergo cum fiducia ad solium gratie, ut misericordiam
 suscipiamus et gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno.

5 Omnis namque pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus
 constituitur in his que sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia 10
 pro peccatis, ut condemnare posset his qui ignorant et peccant,
 quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate et propter hanc debet,
 quemadmodum et pro populo esse, ita <etiam pro semetipso offerre>
 pro peccatis. Nec quisquam sumit sibi honorem, sed qui uocatur a Deo
 tamquam et Aaron. Sic et Christus non semetipsum clarificauit ut 15
 pontifex fieret, sed qui locutus est ad <eum: *Filius meus es tu; hodie genui te*,
 quemadmodum et in alio dicit: *Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem*>
 Melchizedech. Qui in diebus carnis sue, preces supplicationesque ad eum
 qui posset saluare ipsum, cum clamore ualido et lacrimis offerens
 exauditus est pro reuerentia, et quidem cum esset filius Dei, didicit ex his 20
 que passus est obedientiam et, perfectus factus est omnibus
 obtemperantibus sibi causa salutis eterne, appellatus est a Deo pontifex
 iuxta ordinem Melchizedech. De quo nobis prolixus sermo et
 interpretabilis ad dicendum, quoniam segnes facti estis ad audiendum.
 Etenim cum deberetis magistri esse per tempus, rursus indigetis ut uos 25
 doceamini que sunt elementa principii sermonum Dei, et facti estis ut
 lacte egeatis et non solido cibo. Omnis enim qui lactis est particeps,
B180v inexpertus est sermonis iustitie, paruulis enim est; perfectorum autem est
 solidis cibis eorum qui per habitum exercitatos habent sensus ad

discretionem boni ac mali. 30

6 Quapropter intermittentis initii Christi sermonem ad perfectionem
 feramur, non rursum fundamentum iacentes penitentie ab operibus
 manuum, et fiducia in nobis, et baptisimo in conscientia, huiusmodi

7 solium] soli- i. r. A2 13 etiam... offerre] om. AB 14 et] om. AB ins. A2 16 eum... 17
 ordinem] om. AB 21 sibi] sine AB 24 estis] ut lacte egeatis add. B exp. B1 31 iacentes]
 iacentes B 32 Deum] beneplacitum add. B exp. B1 | manuum] -uum i. r. fort. A2

resurrectionem mortuorum et iudicii eterni. Et hoc faciemus siquidem permiserit Deus. Impossibile est enim ut hi qui semel sunt illuminati, et qui gustauerunt etiam donum celeste, et qui participes sunt facti spiritus sancti, et qui gustauerunt bonum Dei uerbum et uirtutes futuri seculi, et
 5 qui prolapsi sunt, rursus renouentur ad penitentiam et qui crucifixerunt sibi ipsis filium Dei atque exemplum fecerunt. Terra enim bibens sepe uenientem super se imbrem et pariens herbam oportunam illis a quibus colitur, accipit benedictionem a Deo. Efferens uero spinas ac tribulos, reproba est ac maledictioni propinqua, cuius finis in combustionem.
 10 Confidimus autem de uobis, dilecti, meliora ac deprecantia salutem, et si sic loquamur. Non enim iniustus est Deus, ut obliuiscatur operis uestri et laboris caritatis quam ostenditis in nomine suo, dum sanctis ministraretis ac ministratis. Cupimus autem ut unusquisque uestrum eandem ostendat sollicitudinem ad expletionem spei usque in finem, ut non segnes efficiamini, uerum imitatores eorum qui per fidem ac longanimitatem hereditabunt promissiones. Abrahe namque promittens Deus, quoniam
 15 neminem habuit per quem iuraret maiorem, iurauit per semetipsum dicens: *Nisi benedicens benedicam te et multiplicans multiplicabo te*; et sic longanimiter passus adeptus es promissionem. Homines enim per
 20 maiorem iurant, et omnis controuersie sue finis ad certitudinem est iuramentum; in quo abundantius uolens Deus ostendere heredibus repromissionis immobilitatem consilii sui, interposuit iuramentum, ut per duas res immobiles, quibus impossibile est mentiri Deum, ualidam consolationem habeamus, confugientes ad tenendam propositam spem
 25 quam sicut ancoram anime habemus, tutam ac certam et incedentem usque ad interiora uelaminis, ubi percursor pro nobis intrauit Iesus, secundum ordinem Melchizedech pontifex factus in seculum.

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7 Hic enim est Melchizedech, rex Salem, sacerdos Dei altissimi, qui obuiauit Abrahe regresso a cede regum et benedixit ei, cui et
 30 decimas de omnibus diuisit Abraham, primum quidem interpretatur ‘rex iustitie’, postea autem ‘rex Salem’, quod est ‘rex pacis’, sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia atque initium dierum neque uite finem habens, assimilatus autem filio Dei, manet sacerdos in perpetuum. Intuemini autem quantus sit hic cui decimas dedit de precipuis Abraham

11 loquamur] loquimur B 12 ministraretis] ex ministraueris corr. B1 19 promissionem] ex paromissionem corr. B1 | per...20 maiorem] ex per maxime corr. B1 27 Melchizedech] rex Salem sacerdos Dei altissimi add. B exp. B1

sit hic cui decimas dedit de precipuis Abraham patriarcha. Et hi qui de
 filiis Leui sacerdotium accipientes mandatum habent sumendi decimas a
 populo secundum legem, hoc est a fratribus suis, quamquam exiuerint de
 lumbis Abrahe, huius autem generatio non est ex eis, decimas accepit ab
 Abraham, et hunc qui habebat repromissionem, benedixit. Sine ulla
 autem contradictione, quod minus est, a meliori benedicitur. Et sic
 quidem decimas morientes homines accipiunt; ibi autem testificatus est
 quod uiuit. Et ut ita dixerim, per Abraham et Leui, qui decimas accepit,
 decimatus est. Adhuc enim in lumbis patris erat, quando obuiauit ei
 Melchizedech. Si enim perfectio per sacerdotium Leuiticum erat, populus
 enim sub ipso legem accepit que amplius indigentia est ut secundum
 ordinem Melchizedech alter sacerdos resurgat, et ut non secundum
 ordinem Aaron dicatur. Translato enim sacerdotio necessario legis
 translatio fit. Ad quem enim hec dicuntur, alterius tribus participauit, de
 qua nullus altari uacauit. Premanifestum est enim quod de Iuda ortus est
 dominus noster, in qua tribu nihil de sacerdotio Moyses locutus est. Et
 abundantius adhuc manifestum est, si secundum similitudinem
 Melchizedech exurgat alius sacerdos, qui non secundum legem mandati
 carnalis factus est sed secundum uirtutem uite insolubilis. Testificatur
 enim quod *Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchizedech.*
 Reprobatio namque fit precedentis mandati propter infirmitatem atque
 inutilitatem suam. Nihil enim perficit lex, introductio enim melioris spei,
 per quam propinquamus Deo. Et quantum est non sine iure iurando;
 quidam enim sine iure iurando facti sunt sacerdotes, quidam autem cum
 iure iurando, per eum qui dicit ad ipsum: *Iurauit dominus et non penitebit: Tu*
es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchizedech. In tantum melioris
 testamenti fideiussor factus est Iesus. Et alii plures quidem facti sunt
 sacerdotes, quoniam morte prohibentur permanere; hic autem quia
 manet in eternum, sempiternum habet sacerdotium, unde et saluare in
 perpetuum potest per seipsum, accedens ad Deum semper uiuens ad
 interpellandum pro ipsis. Talem enim nos decebat habere pontificem,
 pium, innocentem, impollutum, separatum a peccatoribus et altio-
 rem celis factum, qui non haberet necessitatem afferendi quotidie sacrificia

6 sic] ex hic corr. fort. A2 ex si corr. B1 15 Premanifestum] ex Premanifestus corr. A2
 16 tribu] ex tribus corr. A2 18 Melchizedech] -z- i. r. fort. A2 24 cum... 25 iurando] om.
 B 28 permanere] non possunt add. A exp. A1 30 accedens] -s i. r. A2 33 afferendi] af-
 i. r. A2

pro peccati propriis, quemadmodum pontifices, prius, deinde pro populo; nam hoc fecit semel cum semetipsum obtulit. Lex enim homines constituit pontifices qui infirmitatem habent. Sermo autem iuris iurandi, quod post legem est, constituit filium in eternum perfectum.

- 5 **8** Summa autem eorum que dicta sunt: talem habemus pontificem
qui consedit in dextera solii magnitudinis in celis, sanctorum
minister et tabernaculi ueri, quod finxit dominus et non homo.
Omnis enim pontifex ad constituendum munera et sacrificia constituitur;
unde necessarium est ut et hic habeat aliquid quod offerat. Si ergo esset
10 in terra, nec utique esset sacerdos, cum essent sacerdotes offerentes
secundum legem munera; qui exemplari atque umbre deseruiunt
celestium, sicut responsum fuit Moysi, cum consummaturus esset
tabernaculum: *Vide enim, inquit, facies omnia secundum formam que tibi in
monte monstrata est.* Nunc autem meliora fabricaui ministeria, quanto
15 melioris testamenti es mediator, quod in melioribus repromissionibus
legitime statutum est. Si enim primum illud sine querela esset, non utique
secundi locus inquireretur; conquerens enim eis ait: *Ecce dies ueniunt, dicit
dominus, et consummabo super domum Israel et super domum Iuda testamentum
nouum; non secundum testamentum quod feci patribus suis in die qua apprehendi*
20 *manum eorum, ut deducere eos de terra Egypti; quoniam ipsi non permanserant in
testamento meo, ego neglexi eos, dicit dominus. Quia hoc est testamentum quod
disponam domui Israel post dies illos, dicit dominus. Dedi leges meas in mente eorum
et in corde eorum superscribam eas; et ero ipsis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in
populum. Et non docebit unusquisque proximum suum et unusquisque fratrem suum*
25 *dicens: 'Cognosce dominum'; quoniam omnes scient me, a paruīs usque ad magnum
eorum, quoniam propitius ero iniustiis eorum et peccatorum eorum et iniquitatum
suarum non recordabor.* In eo quod dicit 'nouum' inueterauit primum; quod
autem antiquatur et senescit, prope interitum est.

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- 30 **9** Habuit igitur et primum tabernaculum iustificationes diuini cultus
ac sanctificationem mundanam. Tabernaculum enim primum
constitutum est, in quo erant candelabra ac mensa et propositio
panum, que dicitur sancta post; secundum autem uelamentum,
tabernaculum quod dicitur sancta sanctorum, aureum habens turibulum
et armarium testamenti circumtectum undique auro, in quo erat urna
35 aurea habens manna, et uirgam Aaron que fronderat, et tabule

A116r manna, et uirgam Aaron que fronduerat, et tabule testamenti. Super
 ipsum autem testamentum Cherubin glorie obumbrantia propitiatorium;
 de quibus non est nunc particulariter dicendum. His uero ita constitutis,
 in primo quidem tabernaculo semper introibant sacerdotes cultus diuinos
 constituentes, in secundo autem semel in anno solus pontifex, non sine 5
 sanguine quem offerebat pro sua ac pro populi ignorantia, hoc
 manifestante spiritu sancto, nondum propalatam esse sanctorum uiam,
 cum adhuc primum tabernaculum haberet statum; que est parabola ad
 tempus instans, secundum quod et dona et sacrificia offerebantur, que
 non possunt secundum conscientiam perficere diuino cultui seruientem, 10
 solum in cibis et in potibus atque in diuersis baptismatibus et
 iustificationibus carnis usque ad tempus directionis impositis. Christus
 autem assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum, per melius ac perfectius
 tabernaculum, non manu factum, hoc est non huius creationis, neque per
 sanguinem hircorum et uitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem, introiuit 15
 semel in sancta, eternam redemptionem inueniens. Si enim sanguis
 taurorum et hircorum et cinis uitule aspersus inquinatos sanctificat ad
 carnis redemptionem, quanto magis sanguis Christi, qui super spiritum
 sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo, emundabit conscientiam
 nostram ab operibus mortuis ad inseruiendum Deo uiuenti. Et ideo noui 20
 testamenti mediator est, ut, morte intercedente, in redemptionem earum
 preuaricationum que in primo testamento erant, repromissionem
 accipiant qui uocati sunt eterne hereditatis. Vbi enim testamentum est,
 necesse est ut mors feratur testatoris. Testamentum enim in mortuis
 confirmatur, quia nondum ualet dum uiuit qui testatus est. Vnde nec 25
 primum quidem dedicatum est sine sanguine. Exposito enim omni
 mandato legis a Moyse toti populo, accipiens ipse sanguinem uitulorum
 et hircorum cum aqua et lana coccinea et hisopo, et librum ipsum et
 omnem populum aspersit dicens: *Hic est sanguis testamenti quod mandauit ad*
eos Deus; et tabernaculum et omnia uasa ministrationis sanguine similiter 30
 aspersit. Et omnia pene in sanguine secundum legem mundantur et sine
 sanguinis effusionem non fit remissio peccatorum. Necesse est ergo ut
 exemplaria eorum que sunt in celis his mudentur, ipsa autem celestia
 melioribus sacrificiis quam istis. Non enim in sanctorum manufacta
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3 particulariter dicendum] particula interdicendum AB 10 secundum] om. B | cultui]
 cultu B 12 ad] om. B 19 emundabit] et mundabit AB 28 coccinea] coctinea B
 32 effusionem] effusionis B 33 his] bis AB

introiuit Christus, figura uerorum, sed in ipsum celum, ut appareat nunc facies Dei pro nobis; non ut multotiens offerat semetipsum, quemadmodum pontifex intrat in sancta quotannis in sanguine alieno, quoniam oporteret ut ipse frequenter pateretur a constitutione mundi;
 5 nunc autem semel in consummatione seculorum ad destitutionem peccati per sacrificium suum apparuit. Et quemadmodum statutum est ut homines semel moriantur,

- 10 **10** post hoc autem iudicium, sic et Christus semel oblatus est ad exhauriendum peccata multorum. Secundo autem sine peccato
 10 apparebit spectantibus se in salutem. Vmbram enim habens lex futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum, quotannis eisdem missis sacrificiis que offerunt continue, numquam potest accedentes perficere. Alioquin non cessant offerri, ideo quod nullam haberent adhuc conscientiam peccatorum diuino cultui administrantes semel maledicti?
 15 Sed in ipsis commemoratio fit peccatorum quotannis. Impossibile est enim ut sanguine taurorum et hircorum peccata auferantur. *Ideo ingrediens in mundum ait: Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, corpus autem aptasti mihi; holocaustomata et pro peccato non probasti. Tunc dixi: Ecce uenio. In capite libri scriptum est de me ut faciam uoluntatem tuam, Deus.* Superius dicens quod
 20 *Sacrificium et oblationem et holocaustomata pro peccato noluisti, neque probasti que secundum legem offeruntur;* tunc dixi: *Ecce uenio ut faciam Deus uoluntatem tuam.* Aufert primum, ut secundum statuatur; in qua uoluntate sanctificati sumus
 25 sacrificia, que numquam possunt auferre peccata. Ipse autem, unum pro peccatis offerens, in sempiternum hostiam sedet in dextera Dei, de cetero expectans, donec ponantur inimici sui scabellum pedum suorum. Vna enim oblatione perfecit in sempiternum sanctificatos. Testatur autem nobis et spiritus sanctus; postquam enim dixit: *Hoc est testamentum*
 30 *quod testabor ad eos post dies illos, dicit dominus. Dabo leges meas in corda ipsorum et in mentibus suis superscribam eas; et peccatorum suorum atque iniquitatum suarum iam non recordabor amplius. Vbi autem horum remissio, non amplius oblatio pro peccato.* Habentes igitur fiduciam, fratres, in introitum sanctorum in

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10 salutem] Here ends Hebrews 9 in the Vulgate.

1 appareat] *ex* apparet *corr. A1* 9 exhauriendum] *ex* exauriendum *corr. fort. A1*
 exauriendum B | sine] fine B 30 testabor] testator AB

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sanguine Iesu. Initiauit nobis uiam nouam et uiuentem per uelamen, hoc
est carnem suam, et sacerdotem magnum super domum Dei. Accedamus
cum uero corde in plenitudine fidei, aspersi corda a conscientia mala et
abluti corpus aqua munda, teneamus confessionem spei indeclinabilem.
Fidelis est enim qui repromisit; ac consideremus inuicem in prouocatione 5
caritatis atque bonorum operum, non deserentes congregationem
nostram, sicut est consuetudo quibusdam, sed consolantes, ac tanto
magis quanto uidetis appropinquantem diem. Voluntarie enim
peccantibus nobis, post acceptam notitiam ueritatis, non amplius pro
peccatis relinquitur sacrificium. Terribilis est autem quedam expectatio 10
iudicii et ignis emulatio, que consumptura est aduersarios. Irritans quis
legem Moysi sine miserationibus in duobus uel tribus testibus moritur;
quanto eum putas deteriora mereri supplicia qui filium Dei conculcauerit,
et sanguinem testamenti pollutum duxerit in quo sanctificatus est, et
spiritui gratie iniuriam intulerit? Scimus enim qui dixit: *Mihi uindicta, ego* 15
retribuam, dicit dominus, et iterum: *Dominus iudicabit populum suum*. Terribile
est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis. Mementote dierum priorum, quibus
illuminati plurimam passionum tribulationem sustinuistis, partim quidem
obprobriis ac tribulationibus spectaculum facti, partim autem socii taliter
conuersantium effecti; etenim uinctis compassi estis ac rapinam 20
patrimoniorum uestrorum cum gaudio suscepistis, cognoscentes quod
nos habemus melius patrimonium et permanens in celis. Ne abiciatis
ergo fiduciam uestram, que magnam habet remunerationem. Patientia
enim indigetis ut uoluntatem Dei operati reportetis promissionem.
Adhuc enim modicum quantulumcumque est; quid uenturus est ueniet et 25
non tardabit. Iustus autem ex fide uiuet; et si subtraxerit se, non placebit
anime mee. Nos autem non sumus subtractionis filii in perditionem, sed
fidei in acquisitionem anime.

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11 Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum
non apparentium. In hoc enim testimonium consecuti sunt 30
seniores. Fide intelligimus aptata esse secula uerbo Dei, ut ex
inuisibilibus uisibilia fierent. Fide Abel acceptius sacrificium quam Caim
obtulit Deo, per quod consecutus est testimonium ut esset iustus,
testificante in muneribus ipso Deo, ac per id ipsum mortuus adhuc
loquitur. Fide Enoch translatus est ne uideret mortem, et non 35

1 Initiauit] om. AB 3 corda] ex cordea corr. B1 4 teneamus] tentamus AB 15 Mihij] ex
Michi corr. B1 34 Deo] die B

Enoch translatus est ne uideret mortem, et non inueniebatur, quia transtulerat ipsum Deus. Ante enim translationem suam, testimonium habuit se placuisse Deo; nam sine fide placuisse impossibile est. Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quod est et inquirentibus se

5 remunerator fit. Fide Noe, oraculo accepto de his que nequaquam uidebantur, ueritus constituit arcam in salutem domus sue; per quam damnauit mundum, et iustitie que per fidem est, heres est institutus. Fide qui uocatur Abraham obediuit ut exiret in locum quem accepturus erat in hereditatem, et exiuit nesciens quo iret. Fide habitauit in terra

10 repromissionis tamquam in aliena et in tabernaculis habitauit cum Izach et Iacob, coheredibus repromissionis eiusdem. Expectabat enim ciuitatem habentem fundamenta, cuius artifex et conditor est Deus. Fide et ipsa Sara uirtutem in constitutione seminis accepit et preter tempus etatis peperit, quoniam fidelem existimauit esse eum qui promiserat. Ideo

15 ab uno orti sunt et hoc mortuo, tamquam sidera celi in multitudine et sicut arena que est ad oram maris innumerabilis. Secundum fidem mortui sunt omnes isti non acceptis repromissionibus, cum a longe eas uidissent ac salutassent, et confessi essent quod peregrini et hospites erant in terra. Qui enim talia dicunt, ostendunt quod patriam inquirent. Et si illius

20 quidem meminisset de qua exiuerant, habebant utique tempus reuertendi. Nunc autem meliorem desiderant, hoc est celestem. Ideo non confundit eos Deus ut uocetur Deus eorum. Parauit enim eis ciuitatem. Fide obtulit Abraham Izach, cum tentaretur, et unigenitum offerebat qui promissiones acceperat, ad quem dictum fuerat quod *In Izach uocabitur tibi*

25 *semen*, arbitratus quod a mortuis suscitare potens erat Deus; unde eum et in parabola apprehendit. Fide de futuris benedixit Izach Iacob et Esau. Fide Iacob moriens per singulos filios Ioseph benedixit et adorauit summitatem uirge sue. Fide Ioseph moriens de exitu filiorum Israel recordatus est et de ossibus suis mandauit. Fide Moyses natus occultatus

30 est tribus mensibus a parentibus suis, quia uiderant elegantem infantem et non timuerunt regis edictum. Fide Moyses grandis factus negauit se esse filium filie Pharaonis, magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei quam habere temporalem peccati fruitionem, maiores diuitias ratus improperium Christi quam diuitias Egyptiorum. Aspiciebat enim in

35 remunerationem. Fide reliquit Egyptum non ueritus furorem regis. Inuisibilem enim tamquam uidens sustinuit. Fide celebrauit Pascha ac

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sanguinis effusionis, ne is qui uastauerat primogenita tangeret eos. Fide transierunt mare Rubrum tamquam per aridam, quod experti Egyptii submersi sunt. Fide menia Ierico corruerunt circumsessa septem diebus. Fide Raab meretrix non periit cum incredulis, que suscepit exploratores cum pace. Et quid amplius dico? Deficiet enim me tempus enarrantem de Gedeon et Barach ac Sanson et Iepte et Dauid et Samuel atque aliis prophetis, qui per fidem expugnauerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones, obturauerunt ora leonum, extinxerunt potentiam ignis, effugauerunt acies gladii, conualuerunt ab infirmitate, facti sunt fortes in bello, castra uerterunt exterorum; mulieres acceperunt de resurrectione mortuos suos; alii autem distenti sunt, non suscepta redemptione, quod meliorem sequerentur resurrectionem; alii uero ludibria et uerba, insuper et uincula ac carceres experti; lapidati sunt, secti sunt, tentati sunt, in occisione gladii mortui sunt, circuiuerunt in melotis, in pellibus caprinis, egentes, angustii, afflictii, quibus dignus non erat mundus, in solitudinibus errantes in montibus et speluncis ac cauernis terre. Atque cum hi omnes testimonio fidei probati inuenirentur non acceperunt promissionem, Deo pro nobis melius aliquid prouidente, ut non sine nobis consummarentur.

12 Ideoque et nos tantam habentes impositam nubem testium, deponentes omne pondus et circumstans nos peccatum, per patientiam curramus propositum nobis certamen, aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Iesum, qui proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem, dedecore contempto, atque in dextera solii Dei sedit. Recogitate enim eum qui talem a peccatoribus contradictionem in seipsum sustinuit, ut non laboretis animis uestris dissoluti. Nondum usque ad sanguinem restitistis aduersus peccatum repugnantes et obliiti estis consolationis que uobis ut filiis loquitur: *Fili mi, ne negligas disciplinam domini, nec dissoluaris dum ab eo argueris. Quem enim diligit, dominus castigat. Flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.* Si disciplinam tenetis; tamquam filiis uobis offert se Deus. Quis est enim filius quem non corripiat pater? Si autem absque disciplina estis cuius participes facti sunt omnes, ergo spurii et non filii estis. Deinde patres carnis nostre habuimus eruditores

6 et¹] *om. A ins. A2* | et³] *om. A ins. A2* 21 peccatum] peccatu B 24 solii] *i. r. A2*
 25 contradictionem] -m *i. r. A2* | in seipsum] *i. r. A2* | sustinuit] susti- *i. r. A2*
 26 dissoluti] Nondum enim usque ad sanguinem restitistis aduersus peccata repugnantes
 et obliiti estis consolationis *add. A exp. fort. A2*

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- estis. Deinde patres carnis nostre habuimus eruditores et reuerbamur eos; nonne multo magis obtemperabimus patri spirituum et uiuemus? Hi enim ad paucos dies secundum uoluntatem suam erudiebant nos, hi autem ad id quod utile erat, dum participarent sanctificationem suam.
- 5 Omnis autem disciplina ad presens non uidetur esse gaudii, sed meroris. B186v
 Posterius autem fructum pacificum per ipsam exercitatis reddet iustitie. Ideo remissas manus ac soluta genua erigite ac gressus rectos facite pedibus uestris, ut ne quis claudicans aberret, magis autem sanetur. Pacem sequimini cum omnibus et sanctimoniam, sine qua nemo uidebit
- 10 dominum, considerantes, ne quid desit gratie Dei, ne qua radix amaritudinis sursum germinans perturbet et per hanc inquinentur multi, ne quis fornicator aut profanus ut Esau, qui pro una esca uendidit primogenita sua. Scitote enim quod uolens postea hereditare benedictionem reprobatus est. Non enim inuenit penitentie locum,
- 15 quamquam cum lacrimis inquisisset eam. Non enim accessistis ad tractabilem et accessibilem montem atque ardentem ignem ac turbinem et caliginem et procellam et tube sonum ac uocem uerborum, quam qui audiuerunt excusauerunt se, ne eis fieret uerbum; non enim ferebant quod discernebatur: *Et si bestia tetigerit montem, lapidabitur*; atque ita
- 20 terribile erat quod per fantasiam uidebatur. Moyses dixit: *Exterritus sum et tremebundus*. Sed accessistis ad Syon montem et ciuitatem Dei uiuentis, Hierusalem celestem, ac multorum milium angelorum, frequentiam et ecclesiam primogenitorum, qui scripti sunt in celis, et iudicem omnium Deum, et spiritus iustorum perfectorum, et testamenti noui mediatorem
- 25 Iesum, et sanguinis aspersionem, melius loquentem quam Abel. Videte ne recusetis loquentem. Si enim illi non effugerunt recusantes eum qui super terram loquebatur, multo magis nos qui de celis loquentem nobis auertimus; cuius uox terram commouit tunc, nunc autem repromittit dicens: *Adhuc semel ego moueo non solum terram sed etiam celum*. Qui autem B187r
- 30 ‘adhuc semel’ manifestat mobilium translationem tamquam factorum, ut maneant ea que non sunt mobilia. Itaque, regnum immobile suscipientes, habemus gratiam, per quam seruiamus placide Deo cum uerecundia et reuerentia. Etenim Deus noster ignis consumens est. Caritas fraternitatis maneat et hospitalitatem ne obliuiscamini. Per hanc enim placuerunt A119r

33 est] Here ends Hebrews 12 in the Vulgate.

8 aberret] *ex* aberet *corr.* A2 26 effugerunt] *ex* effugerant *corr.* B1 34 maneat] in uobis *add.* AB *exp. fort.* A2B1

quidam angelis hospitio susceptis. Mementote autem uinctorum
 tamquam simul uincti et laborantium tamquam et ipsi in corpore
 existentes. Honorabile connubium in omnibus et torus immaculatus.
 Fornicatores autem et adulteros iudicabit Deus. Mores sint sine auaritia;
 contenti presentibus. Ipse enim dixit: *Non te deseram, neque te derelinquam,* 5
 ita ut confidenter dicamus: *Dominus mihi adiutor, non timebo; quid faciat mihi*
homo? Mementote prepositorum uestrorum, qui uobis locuti sunt uerbum
 Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conuersationis imitamini fidem. Iesus
 Christus heri et hodie ipse est, et in secula. Doctrinis uariis ac peregrinis 10
 ne abducimini. Bonum est enim per gratiam confirmare cor, non
 esculentis que non profuerunt ambulanti in eis. Habemus altare de
 quo edendi non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo corporis deseruiunt.
 Quorum enim animalium offertur sanguis pro peccato in sancta per
 pontificem, horum corpora concremantur extra castra. Ideo et Iesus, ut
 sacrificaret per suum sanguinem populum, extra portam passus est. 15
 Exeamus igitur ad eum extra castra, improprium suum portantes. Non
 enim habemus hic ciuitatem manentem, sed futuram inquirimus. Per
 ipsum igitur offeramus hostiam laudis semper Deo, hoc in fructum
 labiorum confitentium nomini suo. Beneficentie autem et societatis ne
 obliuiscamini. Talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus. Obedite prepositis 20
 uestris et subiecti estote. Ipsi enim peruigilant pro animabus uestris quasi
 rationem reddituri, ut cum gaudio hoc faciant et non gementes. Inutile
 enim uobis hoc est. Orate pro nobis. Confidimus enim quia bonam
 conscientiam habemus, in omnibus beneuolentes conuersari.
 Abundantius autem deprecor ut hoc faciat, quo celerius restituar uobis. 25
 Deus autem pacis, qui eduxit ex mortuis pastorem ouium magnum in
 sanguine testamenti eterni, dominum nostrum Iesum, reficiat uos in
 omni opere bono, ut faciat uoluntatem suam, faciens in uobis quod
 placeat coram se per Iesum Christum, cui gloria in secula seculorum.
 Amen. Rogo autem uos, fratres, ut sufferatis uerbum consolationis. 30
 Etenim breuem uobis misi epistolam. Cognoscite fratrem uestrum
 Timotheum dimissum, cum quo si celerius uenerit, uidebo uos. Salutate
 omnes prepositos uestros et omnes sanctos. Salutant uos qui sunt ab
 Italia. Gratia cum omnibus uobis. Amen.

B187v

Acts

1 Primum quidem sermonem feci, o Theophile, de omnibus que cepit Iesus facere ac docere, usque in diem qua, precipiens apostolis quos elegit, per spiritum sanctum assumptus est; quibus postquam
 5 passus est constituit seipsum uiuum in multis signis, per quadraginta dies apparens eis et disserens quedam de regno Dei. Et conuescens precepit eis ne ab Hierosolimis discederent, sed expectarent promissionem patris: ‘Quam a me audistis, quod Ioannes quidem baptizauit aqua, uos autem baptizabimini in spiritu sancto non post multos hos dies.’ Ii qui
 10 conuenerant interrogabant ipsum dicentes: ‘Domine, si in tempore hoc restitues regnum ipsi Israel?’ Dixit autem eis: ‘Non est uestrum nosse tempora uel occasiones que pater posuit in propria potestate. Sed accipietis uirtutem spiritus sancti superuenientis in uos et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in omni Iudea atque Samaria et usque ad ultimum
 15 terre.’ Et cum hec dixisset, uidentibus ipsis eleuatus est, et nubes suscepit ipsum ab oculis eorum. Cumque intuerentur in celum euntem ipsum, et ecce duo uiri astiterunt eis in ueste alba, qui et dixerunt: ‘Viri Galilei, quid statis insipientes in celum? Hic Iesus, qui assumptus est a uobis in celum, sic ueniet quemadmodum uidistis ipsum euntem in celum.’ Tunc
 20 reuersi sunt in Hierusalem a monte qui uocatur Oliueti, qui est prope Hierosolimam sabati habens iter. Et quando introiereunt, ascenderunt in cenaculum, ubi manebant Petrus et Iacobus, Ioannes et Andreas, Philippus et Thomas, Bartholomeus ac Mattheus, Iacobus Alpei et Simon Zelotes et Iudas Iacobi. Hi omnes perseuerabant unanimiter in
 25 oratione ac deprecatione cum mulieribus et Maria matre Iesu et cum fratribus suis. In his diebus surrexit Petrus in medio discipulorum et inquit – erat autem turba hominum in unum quasi centum uiginti –: ‘Fratres, oportuit impleri scripturam hanc quam predixit spiritus sanctus per os Dauid de Iuda, qui fuit dux eorum, qui comprehenderunt Iesum,
 30 quod connumeratus erat nobiscum et sortitus est sortem ministerii huius. Hic ergo possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia uiscera sua. Et notum factum est omnibus habitantibus in Hierusalem, ita ut appellaretur ager ille propria eorum lingua Acheldema, hoc est ager sanguinis. Scriptum est enim in libro

A119v

B188r

B188v

A120r

19 uidistis] *om. B* 21 ascenderunt] *ascenderant B* 23 Mattheus] *ex Matheus corr. B1*
 33 ita] *om. B* | propria ... 34 lingua] *om. B*

psalmorum: *Fiat commoratio eius deserta, et non sit qui inhabitet in ea, et: Episcopatum eius accipiat alter.* Oportet ergo ex his uiris qui conuenerunt nobiscum in omni tempore quo ingressus est dominus Iesus inter nos, initiatus a baptismo Ioannis usque ad eam diem qua assumptus est a nobis, testem resurrectionis sue fieri nobiscum unum ex istis.’ Et 5 statuerunt duos, Ioseph qui uocatur Barnabas et cognominatus est Iustus, et Matthiam. Et orantes dixerunt: ‘Tu, domine, qui nosti corda cunctorum hominum, ostende quem elegeris ex his duobus unum ad accipiendum sortem ministerii huius et apostolatus, de quo preuaricatus est Iudas, ut abiret in locum proprium.’ Et dederunt sortes eis, et cecidit 10 sors super Matthiam, et annumeratus est cum undecim apostolis.

B189r

2 Et cum compleretur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes unanimiter in eodem loco. Et factus est repente de celo sonus tamquam allati spiritus uehementis et repleuit totam domum ubi erant sedentes. Et apparuerunt eis dispartite lingue tamquam ignee, et sederunt super 15 unumquemque eorum; et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto et ceperunt loqui diuersis linguis, prout spiritus dabat eloqui eis. Erant autem in Hierusalem habitantes Iudei, uiri religiosi ex omni natione que sub celo est. Facta autem hac uoce, conuenit multitudo ac confusa est, quoniam audiebat unusquisque propria lingua eos loquentes. Stupebant autem et 20 mirabantur dicentes adinuicem: ‘Nonne ecce omnes isti qui loquuntur Galilei sunt? Et quomodo nos audiuius unusquisque propriam linguam nostram in qua nati sumus? Parthi et Medi ac Lamite et qui habitant Mesopotamiam, et Iudeam, Capadociam, Pontum et Asiam, ac Phrigiam et Pamphiliam, Egyptum ac partes Lybie, que est circa Cirenem, et 25 aduene Romani, Iudei quoque ac proselyti, Crethe et Arabes, audiuius eos loquentes nostratibus linguis magnalia Dei.’ Stupebant autem omnes et ambigebant adinuicem dicentes: ‘Quidnam hoc, quidnam uult hoc esse?’ Alii autem iridentes dicebant quod ‘Musto pleni sunt.’ Stans autem Petrus cum undecim eleuauit uocem suam et locutus est eis: ‘Viri 30 Galilei et qui habitatis Hierusalem omnes, hoc notum sit uobis, et auribus percipite uerba mea. Non enim sicut uos existimatis hi ebrii sunt. Est enim hora diei tertia. Sed hoc est quod dictum est per prophetam Ioel: *Et erit in ultimis diebus, dicit dominus, effundam de spiritu meo super omnem*

B189v

A120v

18 est] quoniam audiebat unusquisque *add. B exp. B1* 25 Lybie] *ex Libye corr. B1*
30 locutus] *loquutus B*

- carnem, et prophetabunt filii uestri et filie uestre, et adolescentes uestri uisiones uidebunt, et seniores uestri somnia somniabunt; et quidem super seruos meos et super ancillas meas effundam de spiritu meo, et prophetabunt. Et dabo prodigia in celo sursum et signa in terra deorsum, sanguinem et ignem ac uaporem fumi; sol*
- 5 *conuertetur in tenebras et luna in sanguinem, antequam ueniat dies domini magnus et manifestus. Et erit: omnis quicumque inuocauerit nomen domini saluabitur.* Viri Israelite, audite uerba hec: Iesum Nazarenum, uirum a Deo approbatum in uobis uirtutibus ac prodigiis et signis que fecit per Iesum Deus in medio uestri, sicut et ipsi scitis, hunc diffinito consilio ac prescientia Dei
- 10 *traditum et per manus iniquorum apprehensum uos affigentes interemistis, quem Deus suscitauit solutis doloribus mortis, quoniam non erat possibile ut ipse teneretur ab eo. Dauid enim dicit: In eum prouidebam dominum coram me semper, quoniam a dextris meis est ut non commouear. Propter hoc letatum est cor meum, et exultauit lingua mea, insuper et caro mea habitabit in spe. Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis ut sanctus tuus uideat corruptionem. Notas mihi fecisti uias uite, replebis me letitia cum facie tua.* Viri fratres, liceat confidenter dicere ad uos de patriarcha Dauid quod mortuus et sepultus est et monumentum suum est apud uos usque in hunc diem. Propheta igitur cum esset et sciret quod iure iurando iurasset
- 20 *sibi Deus quod e fructu lumbi sui secundum carnem surgeret Christus ut sederet super solium suum, prouidens locutus est de resurrectione Christi quod non derelicta est anima sua in inferno, neque caro sua uidit corruptionem. Hunc Iesum suscitauit Deus, cuius nos omnes testes sumus. Dextera igitur Dei exaltatus et, promissione spiritus sancti accepta a patre, effudit hoc quod nunc uos uidetis et auditis. Non enim Dauid ascendit in celos. Ait autem ipse: Dixit dominus domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.* Secure igitur scias omnis domus Israel quod et dominum et Christum ipsum fecit Deus hunc Iesum, quem uos crucifixistis.’ Cum hec audissent,
- 25 *compuncti sunt corde et dixerunt Petro ac reliquis apostolis: ‘Quod facietis, uiri fratres?’ Petrus uero ait eis: ‘Penitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque uestrum in nomine Iesu Christi in remissione peccatorum, et accipietis gratiam spiritus sancti. Vobis enim est repromissio et filiis uestris et omnibus qui longe sunt, quoscumque aduocauerit dominus*
- 30 *Deus noster.’ Et aliis uerbis plurimis testificatus est dicens: ‘Saluamini a*
- 35

B190r

A121r

10 affigentes] affligentes AB 13 commouear] commoueat B 21 solium] ex thronum corr. A2

generatione obliqua.’ Qui ergo libenter sermonem suum receperunt, baptizati sunt et appositi sunt in die illa anime quasi tria milia. Erant autem perseuerantes in doctrina apostolorum ac in communione ac fractione panis et orationibus. Factus est autem omni anime timor. Multa quoque prodigia ac signa per apostolos fiebant. Omnes autem qui credebant, erant in eodem loco et habebant omnia communia, et possessiones ac patrimonia uendebant et diuidebant ea omnibus prout cuique opus erat; et quotidie perseuerantes unanimiter in templo et frangentes per domos panes, sumebant cibum cum exultatione et simplicitate cordis, laudantes Deum et habentes gratiam ad totum populum. Dominus autem eos qui quotidie saluabantur ecclesie apponebat in idipsum.

B190v

3 Petrus et Ioannes ascendebant in templum ad horam orationis nonam. Et quidam uir, qui fuerat claudus ex utero matris sue, baiulabatur, quem quotidie ponebant ad portam templi que dicebatur Speciosa, ut peteret eleemosynam ab introeuntibus in templum. Is cum uidisset Petrum et Ioannem ingressuros in templum, petebat eleemosynam. Intuitus autem Petrus in ipsum cum Ioanne dixit: ‘Respice in nos.’ Ipse autem intendebat in eos, expectans ut ab eis aliquid acciperet. Ait autem Petrus: ‘Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod uero habeo, hoc tibi do: In nomine Iesu Christi Nazareni, surge et ambula!’ Et eum per manum dexteram apprehensum eleuauit. Confestim uero consolidate sunt bases sue ac plante, et exiliens stetit et ambulabat et intrauit cum eis in templum, ambulans et exiliens et laudans Deum. Et uidit omnis populus eum ambulans ac laudans Deum; et cognoscebant eum quod hic erat qui ad eleemosynam ad Speciosam portam templi sedebat, et impleti sunt stupore et extasi in eo quod ipsi contigerat. Obtinente autem claudus qui sanus factus fuerat Petrum et Ioannem, concurrunt ad eos populus in porticum que uocabatur Salomonis, obstupefacti. Cum autem uidisset Petrus, respondit ad populum: ‘Viri Israelite, quid miramini in hoc? Aut in nos quid intuimini, quasi propria uirtute ac pietate eum ambulae fecerimus? Deus Abraham et Izach et Iacob, Deus patrum nostrorum glorificauit filium suum Iesum, quem uos tradidistis et negastis ipsum ante faciem Pilati, iudicante illo ut dimitteretur. Vos autem sanctum et iustum abnegauistis et

A121v

B191r

(190r)

¹² apponebat] opponebat *B*

- postulastis ut uir homicida damnaretur uobis. Auctorem autem uite interfecistis, quem Deus suscitauit a mortuis, cuius nos testes sumus. Et in fide nominis sui hunc quem uos uidetis et cognoscitis confirmauit nomen eius, et fides que est per ipsum dedit ei integram hanc sortem in
- 5 conspectu omnium uestrum. Et nunc, fratres, scio quod per ignorantiam fecistis, sicut et principes uestri. Deus autem, qui prenuntiavit per os omnium prophetarum suorum quod Christus pateretur, sic adimpleuit. Penitentiam igitur agite et conuertimini, ut deleantur peccata uestra, cum uenerint tempora refrigerii a conspectu domini, et miserit eum qui
- 10 predicatus est uobis, Iesum Christum, quem oportet celum quidem recipere usque in tempora restitutionis omnium, que locutus est Deus per os omnium sanctorum prophetarum suorum a seculo. Moyses enim ad patres dixit quod *Prophetam uobis suscitabit dominus Deus noster de fratribus uestris tamquam me; ipsum audietis iuxta omnia quecumque locutus fuerit uobis.*
- 15 *Erit autem: omnis anima que non audierit prophetam illum, exterminabitur de populo.* Et omnes prophete a Samuel et ab eis qui deinceps fuerunt quicumque locuti sunt prenuntiauerunt dies istos. Vos estis filii prophetarum et testamenti quod disposuit Deus ad patres nostros dicens ad Abraham: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes familie terre.* Vobis primum
- 20 Deus suscitauit filium suum Iesum et misit ipsum ut benediceret uobis et conuerteret unumquemque a malignitatibus uestris.

B191v
(190v)

- 4** Loquentibus autem ipsis ad populum, astiterunt eis sacerdotes et presides templi et saducei, dolentes quod ipsi docerent populum et annuntiarent in Iesum resurrectionem ex mortuis, et iniecerunt in
- 25 eos manus et posuerunt eos in custodia usque in crastinum. Erat autem iam uespera. Multi uero eorum qui audierant sermonem crediderunt; et factus est numerus uirorum quasi quinque milia. Factum est autem in crastinum ut congregarentur principes eorum et seniores ac scribe in Hierusalem, et Annas pontifex atque Caiphas et Ioannes et Alexander et quicumque erant de genere pontificali statuerunt ipsos in medio et
- 30 interrogabant: 'In qua potestate aut in quali nomine fecistis hec uos?' Tunc Petrus repletus spiritu sancto ait eis: 'Principes populi et seniores Israel, si nos hodie diiudicamur ut beneficio hominis infirmi in quo iste est saluatus, notum sit omnibus uobis et uniuerso populo Israel quod in

A122r

1 Auctorem] Ductorem AB 11 restitutionis] ex resurrectionis corr. B1 14 quecumque] que non audierit *praem.* B *exp.* B1 20 suum] *om.* B 26 factus] ex factum corr. B1 30 In... 31 aut] *om.* B

sit omnibus uobis et uniuerso populo Israel quod in nomine Iesu Christi
 Nazareni, quem uos crucifixistis et Deus suscitauit a mortuis, in hoc iste
 stetit coram uobis sanus. Hic est lapis qui reprobatus est a uobis
 edificantibus et factus est in caput anguli. Et non est in aliquo alio salus,
 neque enim alterum nomen est sub celo datum hominibus in quo 5
 oporteat nos saluari.’ Considerantes autem Petri confidentiam et Ioannis,
 et cognito quod homines illiterati et idiote essent, admirabantur et
 cognoscebant eos quod cum Iesu fuerant; hominem uero respicientes
 stantem cum eis qui curatus fuerat, nihil poterant contradicere. Iusserunt
 autem ut hi extra concilium abirent et conferebant adinuicem dicentes: 10
 B192r
 (191r) ‘Quid faciemus hominibus istis? Quia signum per eos factum notum est
 omnibus habitantibus Hierusalem ac manifestum est, et negare non
 possumus; sed ne amplius diuulgetur in populum nimis, comminemur eis
 ut non amplius loquantur in hoc nomine alicui homini.’ Et accitis eis
 mandauerunt ne omnino loquerentur neque docerent in nomine Iesu. 15
 Petrus autem et Ioannes in responsis aiebant eis: ‘Si iustum est coram
 Deo ut nos magis uos quam Deum ipsum audiamus, iudicate. Non
 possumus enim ea que nos uidimus queque audiuius non loqui.’ Verum
 hi comminati dimiserunt eos, cum nihil inuenissent quemadmodum ipsos
 punirent, propter populum, quia omnes glorificabant Deum in eo quod 20
 factum fuerat. Annorum enim plusquam quadraginta erat homo in quem
 hoc sanitatis signum factum fuerat. Dimissi autem uenerunt ad suos et
 annuntiauerunt quanta eis pontifices et seniores dixissent. <Qui autem
 audissent, unanimiter leuauerunt uocem ad Deum et dixerunt:>
 25 ‘Domine, tu Deus qui fecisti celum et terram ac mare et omnia que in eis
 sunt, qui per os Dauid pueri tui dixisti: *Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi
 meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terre, et principes conuenerunt in unum
 aduersus dominum et aduersus Christum suum.* Conuenerunt enim in filium
 tuum Iesum, quem unxisti, Herodes ac Pontius Pilatus cum gentibus et
 populis Israel ut facerent quecumque manus tua ac consilium tuum fieri 30
 A122v decreuerunt. Et nunc, domine, respice tu in minas eorum et da seruis tuis
 ut cum omni fiducia loquantur uerbum tuum, in eo quod manum tuam
 ostendas ut sanitates ac signa et prodigia fiant per nomen sancti filii tui
 Iesu.’ Et cum ipsi orassent, motus est locus in quo erant congregati, et
 repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto et loquebantur uerbum Dei cum 35
 B192v
 (191v) fiducia. Multitudinis autem eorum qui crediderant erat cor unum et

anima una, nec quisquam aliquid eorum que possidebat proprium esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia. Ac uirtute magna reddebant apostoli testimonium resurrectionis domini Iesu, et gratia ingens erat in eis omnibus. Nec quisquam egens erat inter ipsos. Quicumque enim
 5 possessores agrorum aut domorum erant, uendentes afferebant pretia eorum que uendebant, et ponebant secus pedes apostolorum. Diuidebantur autem unicuique secundum quod opus erat. Ioseph autem qui cognominatus est Barnabas, quod est interpretatum ‘filius consolationis’, Leuites, Cyprius genere, cum haberet agrum, uendidit et
 10 attulit pecuniam et posuit iuxta pedes apostolorum.

5 Vir autem quidam nomine Ananias cum Saphira uxore sua uendidit agrum et fraudauit de pretio, conscia uxore sua. Et cum attulisset partem quandam posuit secus pedes apostolorum. Dixit autem Petrus: ‘Ananie, cur tentauit Satanas cor tuum ut spiritui sancto
 15 mentireris et ut fraudares de pretio agri? Nonne manens tibi manebat et uenundatum in tua erat potestate? Quare posuisti in corde tuo hanc rem? Non es mentitus hominibus sed Deo!’ Audiens autem Ananias hec uerba cecidit atque expirauit; et factus est timor magnus super omnes qui hec audierunt. Surgentes autem iuniores amouerunt eum et extulerunt ac
 20 sepelierunt. Factum est autem quasi horarum trium spatium, et uxor ipsius, nesciens quod factum fuerat, introiit. Respondit autem ei Petrus: ‘Dic mihi si tanti agrum uendidisti?’ At ipsa dixit: ‘Vtique, tanti.’ Petrus autem ait ei: ‘Quare consonauit uobis ut spiritum domini temptaretis? Ecce pedes eorum qui sepelierunt uirum tuum ad ostium, efferent te.’
 25 Confestim autem cecidit ad pedes eius et expirauit. Ingressi autem iuuenes inuenerunt eam mortuam et extulerunt ac sepelierunt iuxta uirum suum. Et factus est timor magnus in totam ecclesiam et in omnes qui hec audierant. Per manus autem apostolorum fiebant signa et prodigia multa in populo; et erant unanimiter omnes in porticu
 30 Salomonis. Ceterorum autem nemo audebat coniungere se ipsis, sed magnificabat eos populus. Magis autem adaugebantur credentes domino ob multitudinem uirorum ac mulierum, ita ut in plateas efferrent infirmos ac ponerent in lectis et grabatis, ut uenientis Petri umbra saltem obumbraret aliquem eorum et liberarentur ab infirmitate. Conueniebat
 35 autem et multitudo ciuitatum uicinarum Hierusalem, et afferebant egros ac uexatos a spiritibus immundus et curabantur omnes. Exurgens autem

*B193r**(192r)**A123r*

immundus et curabantur omnes. Exurgens autem pontifex et omnes qui erant cum eo, que erat secta saduceorum, repleti sunt zelo et iniecerunt manus suas in apostolos et posuerunt eos in custodia publica. Angelus autem domini per noctem aperuit ianuas custodie et educens eos dixit: 'Ite et state in templo et loquimini populo omnia uerba uite huius.' Cum 5 uero ipsi audiuisent, diluculo intrauerunt in templum ac docebant. Adueniens autem pontifex et qui cum eo erant, conuocauerunt concilium et omnes seniores filiorum Israel et miserunt ad carcerem ut adducerentur. Cum autem uenissent ministri, non inuenerunt eos in custodia. Reuersi autem nuntiauerunt dicentes quod 'Carcerem 10 inuenimus clausum cum omni securitate et custodes stantes ante ianuas. Aperientes autem intus neminem repperimus.' Vt autem audierunt hos sermones sacerdotes et prefectus templi et pontifices ambigebant de ipsis quid utique hoc fieret. Adueniens autem quidam nuntiauit eis quod 'Ecce uiri quos posuistis in custodia sunt in templo stantes et docentes 15 populum.' Tunc abiens prefectus cum ministris adduxit eos, non uiolente; timebant enim populum ne lapidarentur. Cum adduxissent autem eos, statuerunt in concilio. Et interrogauit eos pontifex dicens: 'Nonne preceptis precepimus uobis ne doceretis in nomine isto? Et ecce repleuistis Hierusalem doctrina uestra et uultis introducere super nos 20 sanguinem hominis huius.' Respondens autem Petrus atque apostoli dixerunt: 'Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus. Deus patrum nostrorum suscitauit Iesum, quem uos interemistis suspendentes in ligno; hunc principem Deus et saluatorem exaltauit dextera sua ad dandum penitentiam Israel et remissionem peccatorum. Et nos sumus testes 25 horum uerborum, et spiritus sanctus, quem dedit Deus omnibus obedientibus sibi. Cum autem hi audissent, dissecabantur et consulebant ut eos interficerent. At uero exurgens quidam in concilio phariseus nomine Gamaliel, legis doctor honorabilis omni populo, iussit ut ad breue apostoli foras efficerentur et ait eis: 'Viri Israelite, attendite uobis 30 super hominibus istis quid acturi sitis. Ante hos enim dies astitit Theodas dicens se esse aliquem, cui consensit numerus uirorum quasi quadringentorum; qui occisus est, atque omnes quicumque crediderunt ei dissoluti sunt et redacti ad nihilum. Post hunc astitit Iudas Galileus in diebus professionis et auertit plurimum populum post se; et ille periit, et 35

1 pontifex] omnes *præm.* B *exp.* B1 17 enim] *ex enum corr.* B1 33 quicumque] *ex quinque corr.* B1

- omnes quicumque obedierunt ei dispersi sunt. Et quem nunc dico uobis: Discedite ab hominibus istis et sinite eos. Quoniam si est ex hominibus consilium aut opus istud dissoluetur; si autem ex Deo est, non poteritis ipsum dissolvere, ne quando Dei repugnatores inueniamini.’ Crediderunt
- 5 autem ei, et conuocatos apostolos uerberauerunt atque eis mandauerunt ut non amplius loquerentur in nomine Iesu, ac dimiserunt eos. Ipsi igitur ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quia digni habiti fuerant ut pro nomine Iesu contumeliis afficerentur. Omni autem die in templo et circa domos non cessabant docentes et euangelizabant Christum Iesum.
- 10 **6** In his autem diebus, multiplicatis discipulis, factum est murmur Grecorum aduersus Hebreos, quoniam despiciebantur in ministerio quotidiano uidue eorum. Cum uero uocassent duodecim multitudinem discipulorum, dixerunt: ‘Non placet nobis ut relinquamus uerbum Dei et ministremus mensis. Considerate ergo, fratres, uiros ex
- 15 uobis per testimonia probatos septem plenos spiritu sancto ac sapientia, quos constituamus super hanc indigentiam. Nos autem in oratione et in ministerio uerbi perseuerabimus.’ Et placuit sermo eorum omni multitudini, et elegerunt Stephanum, uirum plenum fide ac spiritu sancto, et Philippum ac Prochorum et Nicanorem atque Timonon et Parmenem
- 20 ac Nicolaum aduenam Antiochenum, quos statuerunt coram apostolis. Et cum orassent imposuerunt eis manus. Et uerbum Dei crescebat, ac multiplicabatur discipulorum numerus in Hierusalem ualde. Multa quoque turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. Stephanus autem plenus fide ac uirtute faciebat signa magna et prodigia in populo. Surrexerunt autem
- 25 quidam de synagoga que appellabatur Libertinorum et Cyrenensium atque Alexandrinorum et eorum qui erant a Cilicia et Asia, conferentes cum Stephano, et non poterant resistere sapientie ac spiritui quo loquebatur. Tunc submiserunt uiros, qui dicerent quod ‘Audiuimus eum loquentem uerba blasphemie in Moysem ac Deum, et commouerunt
- 30 populum et seniores atque scribas.’ Et cum astitissent corripuerunt eum et adduxerunt in concilium et statuerunt falsos testes dicentes: ‘Homo iste non cessat loquens uerba blasphemie aduersus locum sanctum et legem. Audiuimus enim eum dicentem quod Iesus Nazarenus hic destruet locum hunc et mutabit traditiones quas tradidit nobis Moyses.’

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A124r

3 est] *om. B* 4 Dei] *om. B ins. B1* 19 Timonon] Timonem *B* 20 apostolis] apostoles *A*
30 atque] ac *B*

Et intuentes in eum omnes qui sedebant in concilio, uiderunt faciem suam quasi faciem angeli. Dixit autem pontifex: 'Num hec ita se habent?' Ipse autem inquit:

7 'Viri fratres ac patres, audite. Deus glorie apparuit patri nostro Abraham, cum esset in Mesopotamia, priusquam habitaret in 5
Charra, et ait ei: *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et ueni in terram quam tibi monstrauero.* Tunc exiit de terra Caldeorum et habitauit in Charra. Et exinde postquam mortuus est pater suus, transtulit eum in terram istam, in qua uos nunc habitatis, et non dedit ipsi hereditatem in ea neque passum pedis et repromisit dare ipsi eam in possessionem ac 10
semini suo post ipsum, cum non haberet filium. Locutus est autem ei sic Deus, quod *Erit semen suum peregrinum in terra aliena, et ipsum seruituti subicient ac male tractabunt annis quadringentis; et gentem cui seruierint indicabo ego,* ait Deus, *et post hec exhibunt et seruient mihi in loco isto.* Et dedit ei testamentum circumcisionis; et sic genuit Izach et circumcidit eum die 15
octaua, atque Izach Iacob, et Iacob duodecim patriarchas. Et patriarche emulantes Ioseph uendiderunt in Egypto; et erat Deus cum eo, et eripuit eum in omnibus tribulationibus suis, et dedit ei gratiam et sapientiam in conspectu Pharaonis, regis Egypti, et constituit eum principem super Egyptum et super totam domum suam. Venit autem fames in totam 20
terram Egypti et Canaan ac tribulatio magna, et non inueniebant cibos patres nostri. Cum audisset autem Iacob esse frumenta in Egypto, misit patres nostros primum; et in secundo agnitus est Ioseph a fratribus suis, et manifestum factum est Pharaoni genus Ioseph. Misit uero Ioseph et accersiuit Iacob patrem suum et omnem cognationem suam in animabus 25
septuaginta quinque. Descendit autem Iacob in Egyptum, et mortuus est ipse et patres nostri, et translati sunt in Sichen et positi sunt in monumento quod emerat Abraham pretio argenti a filiis Emor filii Sichen. Cum autem appropinquaret tempus promissionis quam iurauerat Deus Abraham, creuit populus et multiplicatus est in Egypto, 30
quoadusque surrexit rex alter, qui non cognoscebat Ioseph. Hic circumueniens genus nostrum, afflixit patres nostros, ut exponerent infantes suos ut non uiuerent. Quo in tempore natus est Moyses et erat gratus Deo; et nutritus est tribus mensibus in domo patris. Expositum

2 angeli] Here ends Acts 6 in the Vulgate.

8 transtulit] *ex* sustulit *corr.* B1 **13** seruierint] *ex* seruient *corr.* B1 **14** hec] hoc B

- autem ipsum, sustulit filia Pharaonis et nutriuit eum sibi in filium; et eruditus est Moyses omni sapientia Egyptiorum. Erat autem potens in uerbis et operibus. Vt autem impletum est tempus quadraginta annorum, ascendit in cor suum ut uisitaret fratres suos filios Israel. Et cum uidisset
- 5 quendam iniuriam patientem, uindicauit et fecit uindictam ei qui iniuriam sustinebat, percusso Egyptio. Putabat autem fratres suos intelligere quod Deus per manum suam daret eis salutem. At ipsi non intellexerunt, ac sequenti die apparuit eis pugnantibus et reconciliabat eos in pace dicens: ‘Viri, fratres estis uos; ut quid iniuriamini adinuicem?’ Qui autem
- 10 iniuriabatur proximo, repulit eum dicens: *Quis te constituit principem ac iudicem super nos? Numquid interficere tu me uis, quemadmodum interfecisti heri Egyptium?* Fugit autem Moyses in uerbo isto et factus est aduena in terra Madian, ubi genuit duos filios. Et expletis quadraginta annis, apparuit ei in deserto montis Sina angelus domini in flamma ignis rubi. Moyses
- 15 autem uidens admiratus est uisionem; et, accedente eo ut consideraret, facta est ad ipsum uox domini dicens: *Ego sum Deus patrum tuorum, Deus Abraham ac Deus Iŕach et Deus Iacob.* Tremefactus autem Moyses considerare non audebat. Dixit autem ei dominus: *Solue calciamentum pedum tuorum. Locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est. Videns uidi afflictionem*
- 20 *populi mei, qui est in Egypto, et gemitum eorum audiui et descendi ut liberarem eos; et nunc ueni ut mittam te in Egyptum.* Hunc Moysem, quem negauerunt dicentes: *Quis te constituit principem et iudicem?*, hunc Deus principem ac redemptorem misit in manu angeli qui apparuit ei in rubo. Hic eduxit eos
- 25 cum fecisset signa et prodigia in terra Egypti atque in mari rubro et in deserto quadraginta annis. Hic est Moyses qui dixit filiis Israel: *Prophetam uobis suscitabit dominus Deus noster ex fratribus uestris tamquam me.* Hic est qui fuit in ecclesia in solitudine cum angelo, qui loquebatur ei in monte Sina et cum patribus nostris, qui suscepit ut daret eloquia uiuentia nobis, cui noluerunt obedire patres nostri, sed repulerunt et auersi sunt cordibus
- 30 suis in Egyptum dicentes ad Aaron: *Fac nobis deos qui precedant nos. Moysi enim huic, qui eduxit nos de terra Egypti, nescimus quid acciderit ei.* Et uitulum fecerunt in illis diebus et obtulerunt hostiam idolo ac letabantur in operibus manuum suarum. Conuertit autem Deus et tradidit eos ut seruirent militie celi, sicut scriptum est in libro prophetarum: *Numquid*
- 35 *uictimas aut hostias obtulistis mihi in deserto annis quadraginta, domus Israel? Et*

B196r

(195r)

A125r

14 deserto] ex secreto corr. B1 21 ut] om. A ins. A2 32 hostiam] ex bestias corr. B1
34 militie] malitiæ B

suscepistis tabernaculum Moloch et sidus dei uestri Rempham, figuras quas fecistis ut adoraretis eas. Et transferam uos in Babilonem. Tabernaculum testimonii erat cum patribus uestris in deserto, sicut disposuit loquens Moysi ut faceret ipsum secundum figuram quam uiderat; quod et induxerunt suscipientes patres nostri cum Iesu in possessione gentium, quas expulit Deus a facie peccatorum nostrorum, usque in dies Dauid, qui inuenit gratiam coram Deo et petiit ut inueniret tabernaculum Deo Iacob. Salomon autem edificauit ei domum, sed excelsus in manufactis templis non habitat, sicut propheta dicit: *Celum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum tuorum. Quam domum edificabitis mihi,* dicit dominus, *aut quis locus requietionis mee? Nonne manus mea fecit hec omnia?* Dura ceruice et incircumcisi corde atque auribus, uos semper spiritui sancto resistitis, sicut patres uestri et uos. Quem prophetarum non sunt persecuti patres uestri? Et occiderunt eos qui prenuntiauerunt de aduentu iusti, cuius uos nunc proditores et homicide fuistis, qui acceperitis legem in mandata angelorum et non custodistis. Cum autem hec audirent, dissecabantur cordibus suis et rugiebant dentibus in ipsum. Cum uero esset plenus spiritu sancto, intuitus in celum uidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei, et ait: ‘Ecce uideo celos apertos et filium hominis a dextris Dei stantem.’ Exclamantes autem uoce magna continuerunt aures suas et impetum fecerunt unanimiter in eum et eicientes extra ciuitatem lapidabant. Et testes posuerunt uestimenta sua secus pedes adolescentis qui uocabatur Saulus. Et lapidabant Stephanum inuocantem ac dicentem: ‘Domine Iesu, suscipe spiritum meum.’ Positis autem genibus clamauit uoce magna: ‘Domine, ne statuas eis hoc peccatum’; et cum hoc dixisset obdormiuit. Saulus autem erat consentiens neci eius.

8 Facta est autem in illa die persecutio magna in ecclesiam que erat Hierosolimis. Omnes autem dispersi sunt per regiones Iudee ac Samarie preter apostolos. Contulerunt autem Stephanum uiri religiosi et fecerunt planctum magnum super eum. Saulus autem deuastabat ecclesiam per domos ingrediens et trahens uiros ac mulieres tradebat in custodiam. Qui igitur dispersi erant, euangelizabant uerbum Dei. Philippus autem discedens in ciuitatem Samarie predicabat eis Christum. Intendebant autem turbe his que a Philippo dicebantur

2 Babilonem] ex Babillonem corr. B1 12 et...13 uestri] om. B 14 prenuntiauerunt] pronuntiauerunt B 19 hominis] -s i. r. fort. A2 | a] i. r. fort. A2 | a...stantem] stantem a dextris dei B tr. B1 21 ciuitatem] ex portam corr. B1 30 planctum] ex plantum corr. B1

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(195v)

A125v

B197r
(196r)

- autem turbe his que a Philippo dicebantur unanimiter dum audirent et uiderent signa que faciebat. Spiritus enim immundi a multis habentibus clamantes uoce magna exibant. Multi uero paralytici et claudi curati sunt, et factum est gaudium magnum in ciuitate illa. Vir autem quidam nomine
- 5 Simon, qui fuerat in ciuitate magus et seducebat gentem Samarie, dicens se esse aliquem magnum, cui intendebant a paruo usque ad magnum dicentes: 'Iste est uirtus Dei magna.' Attendebat autem eum quoniam multo tempore magiis dementasset eos. Cum autem credidissent Philippo euangelizanti ea que erant de regno Dei et de nomine Iesu
- 10 Christi, baptizabantur uiri ac mulieres. Simon uero et ipse credidit et, cum baptizatus esset, adherebat Philippo; et uidens uirtutes et signa facta obstupescebat. Cum autem audissent apostoli qui erant Hierosolimis quod recepisset Samaria uerbum Dei, miserunt ad eos Petrum ac Ioannem, qui, cum descendissent, orauerunt pro eis ut acciperent
- 15 spiritum sanctum. Nondum enim in quemquam ipsorum uenerat. Solum autem baptizati erant in nomine Christi Iesu. Tunc imponebant manus super ipsos, et accipiebant spiritum sanctum. Cum uidisset autem Simon quod per impositionem manuum apostolorum daretur spiritus sanctus, attulit eis pecunias dicens: 'Date et mihi hanc potestatem, ut cuicumque
- 20 imposuero manus accipiat spiritum sanctum.' Petrus autem ait ei: 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione, quoniam donum Dei existimasti per pecunias possideri! Non est tibi pars neque sors in sermone isto. Cor enim tuum non est rectum coram Deo. Penitentiam ergo age ab hac nequitia tua et roga eum si forte remittatur tibi cogitatio cordis tui. In
- 25 felle namque amaritudinis et in obligatione iniquitatis uideo te esse.' Respondens autem Simon ait: 'Precamini uos pro me ad dominum ut nihil superueniat in me eorum que dixistis.' Ipsi igitur testificati ac locuti uerbum domini, redibant Hierosolimam, atque multis Samaritanorum castellis euangelizabant. Angelus autem domini locutus est ad Philippum
- 30 dicens: 'Surge et uade contra meridiem ad uiam que descendit a Hierusalem in Gazam; ipsa est deserta.' Et surgens abiit; et ecce uir Ethyops eunuchus princeps Candaice regine Ethyopum, qui erat super omnem gazam suam, et uenerat adoraturus in Hierusalem et reuertebatur sedens super currum suum et legebat Esaiam prophetam. Dixit autem
- 35 spiritus Philippo: 'Accede et adiunge te currui isti.' Accurens autem

*B197v**(196v)**A126r*

14 acciperent] acciperet *A* 16 Christi Iesu] Iesu Christi *B tr. B1* 22 pecunias] *ex pecuniam corr. B1* 28 multis] multi *B*

Philippus audiuit eum legentem Esaiam prophetam et dixit: ‘Numquid intelligis que legis?’ Et ait: ‘Quomodo enim possum, nisi aliquis instrueret me?’ Et rogauit Philippum ut ascendens sederet secum. Locus autem scripture quem legebat erat hic: *Tamquam ouis ad occisionem ductus est et sicut agnus coram tondente se sine uoce, sic non aperuit os suum. In humilitate sua iudicium suum sublatum est. Generationem autem suam quis enarrabit? Quoniam tolletur a terra uita sua.* Respondens autem eunuchus Philippo dixit: ‘De quo, queso te, propheta ait istud? De ipso aut de aliquo alio?’ Cum autem Philippus aperuisset os suum et incepisset ab hac scriptura, euangelizauit ei Iesum. Dum autem irent per uiam, uenerunt ad quandam aquam, et ait Eunuchus: ‘Ecce aqua; quis prohibet me baptizari?’ Dixit autem Philippus: ‘Si credis ex toto corde, licet.’ Et respondens ait: ‘Credo filium Dei esse Iesum.’ et iussit ut currus staret, et descenderunt ambo in aquam Philippus et eunuchus, et baptizauit eum. Cum autem ascendissent de aqua, spiritus domini rapuit Philippum, et non uidit eum eunuchus; proficiscebatur enim per uiam suam. Philippus autem inuentus est in Azato ac pertransiens cunctis ciuitatibus euangelizabat donec Cesaream ueniret.

B198r
(197r)

A126v

9 Saulus uero, adhuc spirans minarum et cedis in discipulos domini, accessit ad pontificem et postulauit ab eo epistolas in Damascum ad synagogas, ut si quis inueniret huius uie, uiros ac mulieres, uinctos Hierusalem adduceret. Dum autem proficisceretur, contigit ut Damasco appropinquaret, et subito circumfulsit eum lux de celo, et cadens in terram audiuit uocem dicentem sibi: ‘Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?’ Dixit autem: ‘Quis es, domine?’ Dominus uero ait: ‘Ego sum Iesus Nazarenus, quem tu persequeris. Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare.’ Et tremens ac stupens dixit: ‘Domine, quid me uis facere?’ Et dominus ad eum: ‘Surge et ingredere ciuitatem, et dicetur tibi quid te oportet facere.’ Viri autem qui iter faciebant cum eo stabant stupefacti, audientes quidem uocem, neminem autem uidentes. Surrexit autem Saulus de terra et apertis oculis suis neminem uidebat. Manuducentes autem ipsum introduxerunt Damascum. Et erat tribus diebus non uidens nec manducauit nec bibit. Erat autem quidam discipulus in Damasco nomine Ananias, et dixit ei dominus in uisione: ‘Anania!’ Ipse uero ait: ‘Ecce ego, domine!’ Dominus autem: ‘Surgens’, inquit ei, ‘uade in uicum qui uocatur Rectus, et quere in domo Iude

B198v
(197v)

5 tondente] -te *i. r. fort.* A2 21 uie] uitae B 32 ipsum] eum *praem. B exp. B1*

- qui uocatur Rectus, et quere in domo Iude Saulum nomine Tarsensem. Ecce enim orat et uidit in uisione uirum Ananiam nomine introeuntem et imponentem sibi manum, ut respiceret.’ Respondit autem Ananias: ‘Domine, audiui a multis de uiro hoc, quanta mala fecerit sanctis tuis in
- 5 Hierusalem; et hic habet a pontificibus potestatem alligandi omnes qui inuocant nomen tuum.’ Dixit autem ei dominus: ‘Vade, quoniam uas electionis mihi est iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus ac regibus et filiis Israel. Ego enim ostendam ei quanta oportet ipsum pro nomine meo pati.’ Abiit autem Ananias et introiuit in domum ac imponens super
- 10 eum manus: ‘Saul’, inquit, ‘frater, dominus qui apparuit tibi in uia qua ueniebas misit me, ut uideas et implearis spiritu sancto.’ Et confestim ceciderunt ab oculis suis quasi squame, ac subito uidit. Et surgens baptizatus est et, cum accepisset cibum, confortatus est. Fuit autem
- 15 Saulus cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot, et continue in synagogis predicabat Iesum, quod hic est filius Dei. Stupebant autem omnes qui audiebant et dicebant: ‘Nonne hic est qui expugnabat in Hierusalem omnes qui in uocabant nomen istud, et huc ad hoc uenit ut uinctos eos abduceret ad pontifices?’ Saulus uero magis conualescebat ac
- 20 Iudeos confundebat qui Damasci habitabant, affirmans quod hic est Christus. At cum implerentur dies multi, consuluerunt Iudei ut ipsum interimerent. Innotuerunt autem Saulo insidie eorum. Verum et custodiebant portas die noctuque, ut ipsum interficerent. Cum autem accepissent eum noctu discipuli dimiserunt per murum submittentes in sporta. Saulus uero in Hierosolimam profectus, tentauit ut se discipulis
- 25 iungeret; et omnes timebant eum, credentes quod non discipulus esset. Barnabas autem apprehensum eum duxit ad apostolos, et narrauit eis quomodo in uia uidisset dominum et quod locutus est ei, et quomodo in Damasco fiducialiter egerit in nomine domini Iesu. Et erat cum eis ingrediens in Hierusalem et egrediens, ac fiducialiter agens in nomine
- 30 Iesu. Loquebatur et disputabat cum Grecis. At ipsi eum occidere conabantur. Cum autem cognouissent, fratres adduxerunt eum Cesaream et dimiserunt in Tarso. Ecclesie ergo per totam Iudeam et Galileam ac Samariam pacem habebant, edificate ac procedentes in timore domini et consolatione spiritus sancti replebantur. Factum est autem, dum Petrus transiret per omnes, et deueniret ad sanctos qui Lidde habitabant. Inuenit
- 35 uero ibi hominem quendam nomine Eneam ab annis octo iacentem in

*A127r**B199r**(198r)*

18 abduceret] adduceret *B*

grabato, qui erat paralyticus. Et ait ei Petrus: ‘Enea, sanet te Iesus Christus; surge ac sterne tibi ipsi.’ Et surrexit. Et uiderunt eum omnes qui habitabant Lidde ac Sarrone, qui conuersi sunt ad dominum. In Ioppe autem erat quedam discipula nomine Tabitha, que interpretata dicitur ‘Dorcas’; et ipsa erat plena operibus bonis et eleemosynis quas 5 faciebat. Factum est autem in diebus illis ut infirmata moreretur. Cum uero lauissent eam posuerunt in cenaculo. At cum Lidda esset propinqua Ioppe, discipuli, qui audierant quod Petrus erat in ea, miserunt ad ipsum, rogantes ne negligeret ad eos accedere. Surgens autem Petrus uenit cum eis; et cum aduenisset, duxerunt ad ipsum in cenaculum et 10 circumsteterunt eum omnes uidue flentes atque ostendentes tunicas et uestes quascumque faciebat dum erat cum eis Dorcas. Petrus autem, eiectis omnibus extra, genibus apposis orabat et conuersus ad corpus: ‘Tabitha’, inquit, ‘surge!’ Ipsa autem oculos suos aperuit et, uiso Petro, resedit. Dans uero ei manum eruit ipsam et, conuocatis sanctis ac uiduis, 15 assignauit eam uiuam. Notum autem factum est per totam Ioppem, et multi crediderunt in dominum. At uero factum est ut et ipse per multos dies commoraretur in Ioppe apud Simonem quendam coriarium.

10 Vir autem quidam erat in Cesarea nomine Cornelius, centurio cohortis que uocabatur Italica, pius ac timens Deum cum omni 20 familia sua, faciens eleemosynas plurimas populo et deprecans Deum semper, et uidit uisionem manifeste quasi in hora diei nona angelum Dei introeuntem ad se ac dicentem sibi: ‘Corneli!’ Ipse autem intuens eum timidusque effectus: ‘Quid est’, inquit, ‘domine?’ Ait autem ei: ‘Orationes tue et eleemosyne tue ascenderunt in memoriam coram 25 Deo. Et nunc mitte in Ioppem uiros et accersi Simonem qui cognominatur Petrus. Hic hospitatur apud quendam Simonem coriarium, cuius domus est iuxta mare.’ Vt autem abiit angeliis qui Cornelio loquebatur, uocauit duos domesticos suos ac militem religiosum eorum qui secum perseuerabant, et cum omnia ipsis enarrasset, misit eos in 30 Ioppem. Postera autem die itinerantibus illis et ciuitati appropinquantibus, ascendit Petrus in superiora domus ut oraret, circa horam sextam. Et cum esuriret, uoluit gustare. Preparantibus autem illis cecidit super eum mentis excessus, et uidit celum apertum et descendens super eum uas quoddam uelut linteam magnum quatuor funibus ligatum 35 et descendebat in terra, in qua existebant omnia quadrupedia terre et fere

- existebant omnia quadrupedia terre et fere ac reptilia et uolatilia celi. Et facta est uox ad eum: ‘Surge, Petre, occide et manduca!’ Petrus autem: ‘Nequaquam’, inquit, ‘domine, quia nihil umquam commune aut immundum manducaui.’ Et uox iterum ex secundo ad eum: ‘Quod Deus
- 5 purificauit, tu ne commune duxeris.’ Hoc autem factum est per ter, ac rursus receptum est uas in celum. Dum uero intra seipsum hesitaret Petrus quidnam esset uisio quam uidisset, et ecce uiri qui missi fuerant a Cornelio inquirentes domum Simonis astiterunt ad ianuam et, cum uocassent, interrogabant si Simon qui uocabatur Petrus illic hospitaretur.
- 10 Petro autem de uisione cogitanti dixit ei spiritus: ‘Ecce uiri querunt te; sed surge descende et uade cum eis nihil dubitans, quia ego misi ipsos.’ Descendens uero Petrus ad uiros ait: ‘Ecce ego sum quem queritis; que est causa propter quam uenitis?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Cornelius centurio, uir iustus atque timens Deum et testimonio probatus a tota gente
- 15 Iudeorum, oraculum accepit ab angelo sancto ut accersiret te in domum suam et uerba abs te audiret.’ Et inuitatos eos recepit hospitio. Sequenti uero die Petrus cum eis abiit, et quidam ex fratribus a Ioppe cum eo conuenerunt. Et altera die Cesaream introiuit. Cornelius uero expectabat eos, conuocatis cognatis suis et necessariis amicis. Et factum est ut
- 20 introiuit Petrus, obuiauit ei Cornelius et procidens ad pedes adorauit. Petrus uero cum eleuauit dicens: ‘Surge, et ego ipse homo sum.’ Et loquens cum eo introiuit et inuenit multos qui conuenerant, et ait eis: ‘Vos scitis quam abominabile sit uiro Iudeo ut coniungatur aut ad alienigenam accedat. Et mihi ostendit Deus ut neminem communem aut
- 25 immundum dicerem hominem; propter quod ueni sine dubitatione accersitus. Interrogo ergo qua ratione me accersistis.’ Et Cornelius: ‘A quarta’, inquit, ‘die usque ad hanc horam eram ieiunans et hora nona orans in domo mea, et ecce uir stetit coram me ueste splendida et ait: “Corneli, exaudita est oratio tua, et eleemosyne tue coram Deo
- 30 commemorate sunt. Mitte ergo in Ioppem et accersi Simonem qui cognominatur Petrus; hic hospitatur in domo Simonis coriarii iuxta mare. Is cum uenerit loquetur tibi.” Confestim igitur misi ad te, et tu accedens bene fecisti. Nunc ergo omnes nos coram te assumus ut audiamus omnia quecumque tibi a Deo iniuncta sunt.’ Aperiens autem Petrus os suum
- 35 dixit: ‘In ueritate percipio quod non est personarum acceptor Deus, sed in omni gente quicumque timet eum et operatur iustitiam, acceptus est ei.

A128r

B200v
(199v)

B201r
(200r) Verbum quod misit Deus filiis Israel euangelizans pacem per Iesum Christum; hic est omnium dominus. Vos scitis quod factum est uerbum per totam Iudeam incipiens a Galilea post baptisma quod predicauit Ioannes: Christum a Nazareth, quomodo unxit eum Deus spiritu sancto et uirtute, qui pertransit benefaciens ac sanans omnes oppressos a diabolo, quoniam Deus erat cum eo. Et nos testes sumus omnium que fecit in regione Iudeorum ac Hierusalem; quem occiderunt suspendentes in ligno. Hunc Deus tertia die suscitauit et dedit eum ut manifestus fieret non omni populo, sed testibus preordinatis a Deo, nobis, qui manducauimus et bibimus cum eo postquam resurrexit a mortuis; et precepit nobis ut predicaremus populo ac testificaremur quod ipse est qui constitutus est a Deo iudex uiuorum et mortuorum. Huic omnes prophete testificantur ut remissionem peccatorum per nomen suum recipiant omnes qui credunt in eum.’ Adhuc loquente Petro uerba hec, cecidit spiritus sanctus super omnes qui audiebant sermonem. Et obstupuerunt ex circumcissione fideles quicumque uenerant cum Petro, quod gratia spiritus sancti in gentes effusa esset. Audiebant enim eos loquentes linguis et magnificantes Deum. Tunc respondit Petrus: ‘Numquid aquam prohibere quis potest ut non baptizentur hi qui spiritum sanctum acceperunt sicut et nos?’ Ac iussit ut ipsi in nomine domini Iesu baptizarentur. Tunc rogauerunt eum ut permaneret apud eos aliquot diebus. Audierunt autem apostoli et fratres qui erant in Iudea quod et gentes uerbum Dei receperant.

B201v
(200v) **11** Et cum ascendisset Petrus Hierosolimam, disceptabant aduersus eum qui ex circumcissione erant, dicentes quod ‘Ad uiros preputium habentes introiisti et cum eis manducasti!’ Incipiens autem Petrus eis per ordinem exponebat dicens: ‘Ego eram in ciuitate Ioppe orans et uidi in excessu mentis per uisionem descendens uas quoddam uelut linteum magnum quatuor funibus ueniens de celo, et uenit usque ad me; in quod intuens considerabam et uidi quadrupedia et bestias ac reptilia et uolatilia celi. Audiui autem uocem dicentem mihi: “Surge, Petre, occide et manduca!” Dixi autem: “Nequaquam, domine, quia commune aut immundum numquam intrauit in os meum.”

19 aquam... qui] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here. **22** diebus] Here ends Acts 10 in the Vulgate.

15 cecidit] cepit *AB* **19** aquam... qui] *om. B* **26** habentes] -s *i. r. A2* | introiisti et] *i. r. A2*

commune aut immundum numquam intrauit in os meum.” Respondit uero secundo mihi uox de celo: “Que Deus mundauit, tu ne communia dixeris.” Hoc autem factum est per ter, et iterum attracta sunt omnia in celum. Et ecce tres uiri confestim in domo astiterunt in qua eram, a

5 Cesarea ad me missi. Dixit uero mihi spiritus ut irem cum eis nihil hesitans. Mecum autem et sex fratres isti uenerunt, et in domum uiri ingressi sumus. Narrauit uero nobis quomodo uiderit angelum in domo sua stantem ac dicentem sibi: “Mitte in Ioppem et accersi Simonem qui cognominatur Petrus, et loquetur tibi uerba in quibus saluaberis tu et

10 omnis familia tua.” Cum autem cepisset loqui, cecidit spiritus sanctus super eos sicut et in nos in principio. At ego recordatus sum uerbi domini ut dicebat quod “Ioannes quidem baptizauit aqua, uos autem baptizabimini spiritu sancto.” Si ergo parem gratiam dedit eis Deus sicut et nobis qui credidimus in dominum Iesum, ego quis eram potens

15 prohibere Deum? Hec autem cum audissent, tacuerunt et glorificauerunt Deum dicentes: ‘Ergo et gentibus penitentiam dedit Deus ad uitam.’ Qui ergo dispersi erant a tribulatione que facta fuerat sub Stephano, usque ad Fenicem et Cyprum atque Antiochiam transierunt, nemini loquentes uerbum nisi solum Iudeis. Erant autem quidam ex eis uiri Cyprii ac

20 Cyrenei, qui ingressi Antiochiam loquebantur ad Grecos euangelizantes dominum Iesum. Et erat manus domini cum eis; multusque numerus credentium conuersus est ad dominum. Auditus est autem sermo in auribus ecclesie que erat Hierosolimis de his, et miserunt Barnabam ut transiret usque in Antiochiam; qui cum peruenisset et uidisset gratiam

25 Dei, gauisus est et hortabatur omnes ut in proposito cordis permanerent in domino, quoniam erat uir bonus et plenus spiritu sancto ac fide. Et apposita est turba multa domino. Exiuit autem in Tarsum Barnabas ut quereretur Saulum, et cum inuenisset perduxit Antiochiam. At factum est dum conuersarentur per annum totum et docerent turbam plurimam, ut

30 primum lucrarentur discipulos Christianos. In his uero diebus prophete ab Hierosolimis in Antiochiam descenderunt. Surgens autem unus ex eis nomine Agabus, per spiritum famem magnam futuram in toto terrarum orbe significauit; que facta est sub Claudio Cesare. Discipulorum uero, singuli, prout quisque habebat, determinauerunt introire in ministerium

35 fratribus in Iudea habitantibus; quod et fecerunt, mittentes ad seniores per manum Barnabe et Sauli.

A129r

B202r
(201r)

1 numquam] non B 14 quis] qui B 17 fuerat] ex est corr. B1 27 Barnabas] Bernabe B

12 Eodem autem tempore misit Herodes rex manus ut affligeret
 quosdam de ecclesia. Occidit autem Iacobum fratrem Ioannis
 gladio. Et uidens quod placeret Iudeis, apposuit ut
 apprehenderet et Petrum. Erant autem dies Azymorum. Quem cum
 apprehendisset, misit in carcerem et tradidit quatuor quinternionibus 5
 militum ut ipsum custodirent, uolens post Pascha producere eum
 populo. Petrus uero seruabatur in carcere. Oratio autem fiebat assidua ab
 ecclesia ad Deum pro eo. Cum uero producturus esset eum Herodes, in
 nocte illa erat Petrus dormiens inter duos milites uinctus duabus catenis,
 et custodes ante ianuam carcerem seruabant. Et ecce angelus domini 10
 astitit, et lux in habitaculo refulsit; percussoque latere Petri, ipsum
 excitauit dicens: 'Surge celeriter!' Et ceciderunt catene de manibus suis.
 Et ait angelus ad eum: 'Precingere et calcia te caligas tuas!' Fecit autem
 sic. Et dixit ei: 'Circumda tibi uestimentum tuum et sequere me!' Et
 egressus eum sequebatur ac nesciebat quod uerum est quod per angelum 15
 fiebat; putabat autem uisionem uidere. Transeuntes uero primam ac
 secundam custodiam uenerunt ad portam ferream ducentem ad
 ciuitatem, que ultro aperta est eis, et exeuntes uicum unum precesserunt,
 et continuo angelus ab eo discessit. Et Petrus a seipso reuersus:
 'Numquid', inquit, 'scio uere quod misit dominus angelum suum et 20
 eripuit me de manu Herodis atque de omni expectatione populi eorum.'
 Et considerans uenit ad domum Marie matris Ioannis qui cognominatur
 Marcus, ubi erant multi congregati et orantes. Cum autem Petrus ostium
 ianue pulsasset, puella nomine Rode processit ut uideret: et ut cognouit
 uocem Petri pre gaudio non aperuit ianuam. Accurrens autem nuntiauit 25
 quod staret Petrus ad ianuam. Ipsi uero dixerunt ei: 'Insanis!' Ipsa autem
 affirmabat sic habere. Ipsi uero dicebant: 'Nuntius eius est.' At Petrus
 pulsans perseuerabat. Cum autem aperuissent, eum uiderunt et
 obstupuerunt. Sed annuens eis manu ut tacerent, narrauit ipsis quomodo
 dominus eum de carcere eduxisset. Dixit uero: 'Nuntiate Iacobo et 30
 fratribus hec.' Et egressus in alterum locum profectus est. Facta autem
 die, erat non parua turbatio inter milites, quidnam de Petro factum esset.
 Herodes autem, eum perscrutatus, cum non inuenisset, interrogaturus
 custodes iussit ut ipsi adducerentur; et descendens a Iudea in Cesaream
 ibi commoratus est. Erat uero Herodes iratus Tyriis ac Sydoniis. Ipsi 35
 autem unanimes ad eum accesserunt et persuaso Blasco, qui erat super
 cubiculum regis, pacem postulabant, eo quod regiones a regia alerentur.

A129v
B202v
(201v)

B203r
(202r)

postulabant, eo quod regiones a regia alerentur. Statuto autem die, Herodes ueste regali uestitus, sedit pro tribunali et ad eos contionabatur. Populus uero ‘Dei uoce et non hominis!’ acclamabat. Confestim autem percussit eum angelus domini pro eo quod non dedisset gloriam Deo, et
 5 assumptus a uerminibus expirauit. At uerbum domini crescebat et multiplicabatur.

A130r

13 Barnabas autem et Paulus in Hierusalem reuersi sunt cum ministerium explessent, coassumpto Ioanne qui Marcus cognominabatur. Erant autem quidam in ecclesia que erat
 10 Antiochie prophete ac doctores; et Barnabas et Simon qui uocabatur niger, et Lucius Cyrenensis et Manach Herodis, tetrarche collectaneus, et Saulus. Ministrantibus autem ipsis domino ac ieiunantibus ait spiritus sanctus: ‘Segregate autem mihi Barnabam et Saulum in opus ad quod uocaui eos.’ Tunc, cum ieiunassent et orassent et eis manus
 15 imposuissent, dimiserunt. Hi quidem missi a spiritu sancto in Seleuciam abirunt et inde Cyprum nauigarunt et, cum Salamaniam uenissent, uerbum Dei in synagogis Iudeorum predicabant; habebant autem et Ioannem ministrum. Et cum insulam usque ad Paphum perambulassent, magum quendam falsum prophetam inuenerunt, cui nomen erat Barisus,
 20 qui tum proconsule Sergio Paulo, uiro prudenti, erat. Hic, accersitis Barnaba et Saulo, querebat audire uerbum Dei. Resistebat autem eis Elymas magus – sic enim interpretabatur – querens auertere proconsulem a fide. Saulus autem, qui et Paulus, plenus spiritu sancto, intuens in eum dixit: ‘O plene omni dolo et omni fallacia, fili diaboli,
 25 hostis omnis iustitie, non cessas subuertens uias domini rectas? Et nunc ecce manus domini super te; et eris cecus, non uidens solem usque ad tempus.’ Confestim autem cecidit super eum caligo, et circuiens manu ducentem querebat. Tunc uidens proconsul quod factum fuerat, credidit admirans super doctrinam domini. Cum uero a Papho nauigassent qui cum Paulo erant, in Pergem Pamphilie uenerunt. Ioannes uero cum ab eis recessisset Hierosolimam reuersus est. Ipsi autem Pergem pertranseuntes in Anthiochiam Pisidie uenerunt, et die sabatorum in synagogam ingressi sederunt. Post lectionem autem legis ac prophetarum, miserunt pontifices ad eos dicentes: ‘Viri fratres, si est

B203v
(202v)

8 cognominabatur] Here ends Acts 12 in the Vulgate.

13 ad] *om. B i. m. B* 18 magum] -um *i. r. fort. A1* magium *B* 19 cui...erat] *iter. B*
 21 Resistebat] *i. r. A2* | autem] *i. r. A2* 28 credidit] cecidit *B*

A130v est uobis sermo consolationis ad populum, dicite!’ Surgens autem Paulus
et manu annuens ait: ‘Viri Israelite et qui timetis Deum, audite. Deus
huius populi patres nostros elegit et populum in peregrinatione in terra
B204r 5 quadraginta quasi annorum tempus mores eorum in deserto sustinuit et
(203r) destruens gentes septem in terra Chanaam sorte ipsis terram eorum
distribuit, et post hec quasi post quadringentos quinquaginta annos.
Iudices usque ad Samuel prophetam dedit. Et exinde regem
postulauerunt, et eis Deus Saul filium Cis, uirum de tribu Benjamin,
annis quadraginta, prebuit. Et postquam amouit eum, eis Dauid in regem 10
suscitauit, cui testificatus ait: *Inueni Dauid filium Iesse, uirum secundum cor
meum, qui faciet omnes uoluntates meas.* Ab huius semine secundum
promissionem Deus deduxit ipsi Israel salutem, cum Ioannes ante faciem
aduentus sui baptisma penitentiae ipsi Israel predicasset. Vt autem
impleuit Ioannes cursum, dicebat: “Quem me existimatis esse? Non sum 15
ego; sed ecce uenit post me, cuius non sum dignus soluere corrigiam
calciamentorum suorum.” Viri fratres, filii generis Abrahe et qui inter
uos timent Deum, uobis uerbum salutis huius missum est. Qui enim
habitant Hierusalem et principes eorum, cum hunc ignorassent et uoces
prophetarum que omni sabato leguntur, iudicassent impleuerunt, et cum 20
nullam causam mortis inuenissent a Pilato postulauerunt ut ipsum
interimeret. Cum autem omnia consummassent que de eo scripta erant,
deposuerunt de ligno ac eum in monumento posuerunt. Deus autem
eum a mortuis suscitauit; qui per dies multos his apparuit qui simul cum
eo a Galilea in Hierusalem ascenderunt, qui sunt testes eius ad populum. 25
Et nos euangelizamus uobis eam que patribus nostris repromissio facta
est, quoniam hanc Deus adimpleuit filiis ipsorum, nobiscum resuscitasset
B204v Iesum, uelut et in psalmo secundo scriptum est: *Filius meus es tu; ego hodie
(203v)* genui te. Quod autem suscitauit ipsum a mortuis, non amplius reuersurus
in corruptionem, sic dixit quod *Dabo uobis sancta Dauid fidelia.* Ideo et in 30
alio psalmo dicit: *Non dabis ut sanctus tuus uideat corruptionem.* Dauid enim in
propria generatione cum administrasset uoluntati Dei, dormiuit et
A131r appositus est ad patres suos et uidit corruptionem; quem uero Deus

29 suscitauit... 30 in¹] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

8 regem] Rege B 17 filii] om. B 22 consummassent] consummasset AB 27 nobiscum
resuscitasset] i. r. A2 29 genui te] te genui AB tr. A2 | Quod] ex Quid corr. B1
suscitauit... 30 in¹] om. B

suscitauit, non uidit corruptionem. Notum ergo sit uobis, uiri fratres, quod per hunc uobis remissio peccatorum ab omnibus annuntiatur quibus non potuistis in lege Moysi iustificari. In hoc omnis qui credit iustificatur. Videte igitur ne uobis superueniat id quod dictum est in prophetis: *Videte, contemptores, et admiramini ac disperdemini, quia opus ego operor in diebus uestris cui non credetis si quis uobis enarrauerit.* Exeuntibus autem de synagoga Iudeis, eos rogabant ut alio sequenti sabato sibi uerba hec loquerentur. Cumque soluta esset synagoga, multi Iudeorum atque colentium Deum aduenarum Paulum et Barnabam secuti sunt, qui loquentes eis persuadebant ut in gratia Dei permanerent. Et sequenti sabato pene omnis ciuitas congregata est ut uerbum Dei audiret. Videntes autem Iudei turbas zelo repleti sunt et contradicebant his que a Paulo dicebantur, aduersantes et blasphemantes. Sed Paulus et Barnabas confidenter agentes dixerunt: ‘Vobis necessarium erat loqui primum uerbum Dei; quoniam uero repulistis ipsum et indignos uos uita eterna iudicastis, ecce conuertimur ad gentes. Sic enim precepit nobis dominus: *Posui te in lumen gentium, ut sis in salutem ad ultimum terre.* Audientes autem gentes gauise sunt et uerbum domini glorificabant, et crediderunt quicumque ad uitam eternam erant preordinati. Verbum uero domini deferebatur per totam regionem.’ Iudei autem mulieres religiosas et honestas ac primos ciuitatis contaminauerunt et persecutionem in Paulum atque in Barnabam excitauerunt et eos de finibus suis eiecerunt. Ipsi autem, puluere de pedibus suis in eos excusso, Ichonium peruenerunt. Discipuli uero gaudio et spiritu sancto replebantur.

B205r
(204r)

25 **14** Factum est autem Ichonii ut, dum ipsi simul in synagogam Iudeorum ingrederentur, sic loquerentur ut crederet Iudeorum et Grecorum copiosa multitudo. Qui uero increduli fuerunt Iudei suscitauerunt et ad iracundiam animas gentium aduersus fratres prouocauerunt. Multo igitur tempore demorati sunt, fiducialiter agentes in domino, testificante uerbo gratie sue, quod dabat ut signa et prodigia per manus suas fierent. Diuisa est autem multitudo ciuitatis: et quidam erant cum Iudeis, quidam uero cum apostolis. Vt autem factus est impetus Iudeorum et gentium cum principibus suis, ut iniuriis afficerent ac lapidarent eos, intelligentes in ciuitates Lycaonie, Lystran et Delben et totam in circuitu regionem aufugerunt, et ibi erant euangelizantes. Et

A131r

5 disperdemini] ex disperdimini corr. fort. A2 17 Posui...in¹] posuit ei AB

quidam uir Lystris infirmus pedibus sedebat, claudus ex utero matris sue,
 qui numquam ambulauerat. Hic audiuit Paulum loquentem; qui intuens
 in eum et uidens quod fidem haberet ut saluaretur, magna inquit uoce:
 B205v
 (204v) ‘Surge super pedes tuos rectus!’ Et exiliuit et ambulabat. Turbe autem
 que id uiderant quod fecerat Paulus, uocem suam eleuauerunt Lycaonice 5
 dicentes: ‘Dii similes facti hominibus ad nos descenderunt!’ Et Barnabam
 quidem Iouem, Paulum uero Mercurium uocabant, quoniam ipse dux
 sermonis erat. At sacerdos Iouis, qui erat ante ciuitatem eorum, tauros ac
 coronas ad ianuas attulit et cum turbis sacrificare uolebat. Quod cum
 apostoli Barnabas et Paulus audissent, uestimenta absciderunt et in 10
 turbam exilierunt clamantes ac dicentes: ‘Viri, quid hoc facitis? Et nos
 similiter passibiles ut uos sumus homines, euangelizantes ut uos ab his
 uanis ad Deum uiuentem conuertamini, qui fecit celum et terram et
 omnia que in eis sunt. Qui in preteritis generationibus omnes gentes
 dimisit ut in uias suas proficiscerentur. Atqui non sine testimonio 15
 semetipsum reliquit benefaciens, uobis celitus pluuias prebens et tempora
 fructifera, implens cibo ac letitia corda nostra.’ Et hec dicentes uix turbas
 sedauerunt ne eis sacrificarent. Superuenerunt ab Antiochia et Ichonio
 Iudei et persuasis turbis lapidauerunt Paulum atque extra urbem
 traxerunt ac ipsum mortuum esse putabant. Discipulis autem eum 20
 circumdantibus, surrexit ipse et intrauit in urbem. Et postera die cum
 Barnaba in Derbem profectus. Et euangelizantes ciuitati illi, cum multos
 docuissent, Lystram et Ichonium et Antiochiam reuersi sunt, animas
 discipulorum confortantes exhortantesque ut in fide permanerent, ac
 dicentes quod ‘Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum 25
 Dei.’ Cum uero eis presbyteros secundum ecclesias constituissent, et cum
 B206r
 (205r) ieiuniis orassent, ipsos domino commiserunt in quem crediderant. Et
 cum Pisidiam pertransissent in Pamphiliam uenerunt, et cum in Perge
 sermonem dixissent in Attaliam descenderunt. Et inde Antiochiam
 A132r uenerunt, unde gratie Dei traditi erant in opus quod impleuerant. Cum 30
 autem uenissent et ecclesiam congregassent, annuntiauerunt quecumque
 Deus cum eis fecerat et quod gentibus ostium fidei aperuisset. Ibi autem
 tempus non modicum cum discipulis commorati sunt.

10 absciderunt] *ex* sciderunt *corr.* A2 20 traxerunt] et postera die cum Bernaba in
 Derbem *praem.* B *exp.* B1

15 Et quidam de Iudea descendentes docebant fratres quod ‘Nisi circumcidamini secundum morem Moysi, non potestis saluari.’

- Facta igitur seditione ac questione non parua Paulo et Barnabe aduersus eos, statuerunt ut Paulus et Barnabas et quidam alii ex ipsis ad apostolos ac presbyteros in Hierusalem super hac inquisitione ascenderent. Qui igitur ab ecclesia premissi erant Phenicem et Samariam pertransibant conuersionem gentium enarrantes et faciebant gaudium magnum omnibus fratribus. Cum autem Hierosolimam uenissent, ab ecclesia et ab apostolis ac senioribus suscepti sunt, annuntiantes quanta Deus cum eis fecisset. Surrexerunt uero quidam de heresi phariseorum, qui crediderant dicentes quod oportet circumcidi eos ac precipere ut seruarent legem Moysi. Congregati sunt autem apostoli ac seniores ut de uerbo hoc uiderent. Cum autem magna conquisitio fieret, surrexit Petrus et ait: ‘Viri fratres, uos scitis quod a diebus antiquis Deus in uobis elegit per os meum ut gentes uerbum euangelii audirent et crederent; ac Deus, cordium conditor, testificatus est eis dans ipsis spiritum sanctum sicut et nobis, et nihil discreuit nos et eos cum fide corda eorum purificasset. Nunc igitur quid tentatis Deum ad imponendum iugum super ceruicem discipulorum quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam domini Iesu saluari credimus quemadmodum et illi.’ Tacuit autem omnis multitudo, et audiebant Barnabam ac Paulum narrantes quanta Deus signa atque prodigia per eos in gentibus fecisset. Postquam uero tacuerunt, respondit Iacobus dicens: ‘Viri fratres, audite me. Simon narrauit quemadmodum primum Deus considerauit ut ex gentibus populum in nomine suo assumeret, et huic consonant uerba prophetarum, sicut scriptum est: *Post hec reuertar et reedificabo tabernaculum Dauid, quod decedit, ac diruta sua reedificabo et dirigam ipsum, ut ceteri homines dominum requirant et omnes gentes super quas inuocatum est nomen meum, dicit dominus faciens hec. Nota a seculo sunt Deo omnia opera sua.* Idcirco ego iudico ne turbentur ii qui ex gentibus ad Deum conuertuntur, sed ut per epistolam admoneantur quod a contaminationibus idolorum atque fornicatione et suffocatione ac sanguine abstineant. Moyses enim a generationibus antiquis habet per ciuitates qui eum in synagogis predicent, ubi per omne sabbatum legitur.’ Tunc uisum est apostolis et senioribus cum tota ecclesia ut electi ex eis uiri Antiochiam cum Paulo et Barnaba mitterentur: Iudas qui cognominabatur Barsabas, et Siloas, uiri

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primarii inter fratres; cum manu eorum hec scriberent: ‘Apostoli ac
seniores et fratres his qui sunt Antiochie ac Syrie et Cilicie fratribus et
gentibus, salutem! Quoniam audiuimus quod quidam ex nobis exeuntes,
uos uerbis subuertentes turbauerunt animas uestras, dicentes ut
circumcideremini ac legem seruaretis, quibus non mandauimus, uisum 5
est nobis conuenientibus unanimiter ut electos uiros ad uos mitteremus
cum caris nostris Barnaba ac Paulo, hominibus qui animas suas pro
nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi tradiderunt. Misimus ergo Iudam et
Siloam, qui eadem uerbis nuntiabunt. Visum est enim spiritui sancto ac
nobis ut nihil amplius uobis oneris imposeremus quam hec necessaria: ut 10
ab immolationibus idolorum ac sanguine et suffocatione atque
fornicatione abstinenceis; a quibus uos custodientes bene agetis. Valete.’
Ipsi igitur dimissi Antiochiam uenerunt et, congregata multitudine,
tradiderunt epistolam. Cum uero legissent, in consolatione gauisi sunt. Et
Iudas et Siloas, cum ipsi prophete essent, plurimo sermone fratres 15
consolati sunt ac confirmauerunt. Facto uero aliquanto tempore, a
fratribus cum pace ad apostolos dimissi sunt. At uisum est Siloe ut ibi
remaneret. Iudas autem solus abiit Hierusalem. Verum Paulus et
Barnabas Antiochia demorabantur, cum aliis plurimis uerbum domini
docentes atque euangelizantes. Post uero aliquot dies ait Paulus Barnabe: 20
‘Reuertentes fratres nostros per omnes ciuitates uisitemus in quibus
uerbum domini annuntiauius, quomodo habeant.’ Barnabas autem
uolebat coassumere Ioannem, qui cognominabatur Marcus. Paulus uero
rogabat ut non coassumeret eum qui ab ipsis de Pamphilia recesserat et
ad opus cum eis non conuenerat. Facta est autem dissensio, ita ut ipsi 25
abiniuem separarentur et Barnabas assumpto Marco Cyprum nauigauit.
Paulus uero, electo Siloa, abiit traditus gratie Dei a fratribus.
Perambulabat autem Syriam ac Ciliciam conformans ecclesias ac
precipiens ut precepta apostolorum et seniorum custodirent. Peruenit
autem in Derben et Lystriam. 30

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29 custodirent] Here ends Acts 15 in the Vulgate.

1 primarii...2 et¹] *i. r. A2* | manu] anum B 5 mandauimus] *uid. corr. A2*
8 tradiderunt] traderentur B 9 qui] *ex quibus corr. B1* | uerbis] uobis B
11 immolationibus] imolatione B 20 Barnabe] *ex Bernabe corr. B1* 24 de] *om. A ins. A2*
27 electo] *om. B*

- 16 Et ecce discipulus quidam erat ibi nomine Timotheus, filius
cuiusdam mulieris uidue fidelis, patre autem gentili. De hoc
testificabantur qui in Lystris et Ichonio erant fratres. Hunc
uoluit Paulus ut secum proficisceretur, et assumens circumcidit eum
5 propter Iudeos qui in locis illis erant. Sciebant enim omnes quod pater
suus gentilis erat. Cum autem ciuitates pertransirent, tradebant eis ut
custodirent dogmata que decreta fuerant ab apostolis ac senioribus qui
Hierosolimis erant. Ecclesie uero confirmabantur fide et quotidie
numero abundabant. Pertranseuntes autem Phrigiam ac Galaticam
10 regionem, soluti sunt a spiritu sancto ut in Asia uerbum Dei loquerentur.
Cum uero in Asiam uenissent, tentabant in Bithiniam proficisci, et non
permisit eos spiritus. Cum uero Mediam pertransissent, Troadem
descenderunt. Et uisio per noctem apparuit Paulo. Vir quidam Macedo
erat stans ac deprecans eum et dicens: ‘Transi in Macedoniam et adiuua
15 nos!’ Vt autem uisionem uidit, statim quesiuimus ut in Macedoniam
proficisceremur, certi facti quod uocasset nos dominus ut eis
euangelizaremur. Nauigantes autem a Troade recto cursu Samotrachiam
uenimus et sequenti die Neapolim atque inde Philippis, que est prima
partis Macedonie ciuitas colonia. Eramus autem in hac urbe diebus
20 aliquot commorantes. Et die sabatorum extra urbem egressi sumus secus
fluuium, ubi oratio esse putabatur. Et cum sedissemus, mulieribus
loquebamur que conuenerant. Et quedam mulier nomine Lydia,
purpuraria ciuitatis Thiathicorum, colens Deum, audiuit, cuius cor
dominus aperuit ut intenderet his que a Paulo dicebantur. Vt autem
25 baptizata est ipsa et domus sua, deprecabatur dicens: ‘Si me fidelem
domino esse iudicatis, introite in domum meam ac manete’; et coegit
nos. Factum est autem ut dum nos ad orationem iremus, puella quedam
habens spiritum phitonem obuiaret nobis, que diuinans questum
magnum dominis suis prebebat. Ipsa Paulum ac Siloam subsecuta
30 clamabat dicens: ‘Isti homines serui Dei altissimi sunt, qui nobis uiam
salutis annuntiant.’ Hoc uero multis diebus faciebat. Dolens autem
Paulus et conuersus ait spiritui: ‘Precipio tibi in nomine Iesu Christi ut
exeas ab ea’; et exiuit eadem hora. Videntes uero domini sui quod
exiisset spes questus eorum, apprehendentes Paulum ac Siloam in
35 forum ad magistratus attraxerunt et offerentes eos magistratibus
dixerunt: ‘Hi homines ciuitatem nostram exturbant, cum sint Iudei, et
annuntient nobis mores quos nobis non licet suscipere neque facere,

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neque facere, cum Romani simus.’ Et concurrit turba aduersus eos, ac magistratus scissis uestibus suis iusserunt ut ipsi flagellarentur. Cum multas plagas eis intulissent, in carcerem miserunt, custodi carceris precipientes ut eos diligenter custodiret; qui cum tale preceptum recepisset, eos in interiorem carcerem misit et pedes suos astrinxit in ligno. Media autem nocte Paulus et Siloas adorantes Deum laudabant, audiebant uero eos qui uincti erant. At subito terremotus factus est magnus, ita ut fundamenta carceris mouerentur. Aperta sunt autem statim omnia ostia et omnium uincula soluta sunt. Expergefactus custos carceris et ianuas carceris apertas conspicatus, euaginato gladio seipsum interempturus erat, uinctos fugisse ratus. Clamabat autem Paulus uoce magna dicens: ‘Nihil feceris tibi mali. Omnes enim hic sumus.’ Postulatoque lumine saltibus introiuit et tremefactus procidit Paulo ac Siloe et eos extra produicens: ‘Quid me’, inquit, ‘domini, oportet facere ut saluer?’ Ipsi autem dixerunt: ‘Crede in dominum Iesum Christum et saluaberis tu et familia tua.’ Et locuti sunt ei uerbum domini et omnibus qui in domo sua erant. Et apprehendens eos in illa hora noctis lauit a plagis, et baptizatus est ipse et omnes sui confestim; et eos in domum suam adducens, apposuit mensam et exultauit cum omni domo sua credens Deo. Die autem facta, magistratus lictores miserunt dicentes: ‘Dimitte homines illos!’ Nuntiauit autem custos carceris uerba hec Paulo quod ‘Miserunt magistratus ut dimittamini. Nunc igitur exeuntes ite in pace.’ Paulus uero inquit eis: ‘Cum uerberassent nos publice indemnatos, homines Romanos, in carcerem miserunt; et nunc clam nos eiciunt? Non enim, sed ueniant ipsi et nos educant.’ Annuntiauere autem magistratibus lictores uerba hec. Timuerunt uero cum audissent quod Romani essent, et uenientes orauerunt eos et educentes rogabant ut de urbe egrederentur. Exeuntes uero de carcere ad Lydiam introierunt et, cum uidissent fratres, consolati sunt eos et abierunt.

17 Cum autem Amphipolim et Apolloniam perambulassent, Thessalonicam uenerunt. Ibi erat synagoga Iudeorum. Secundum consuetudinem Paulus introiuit ad eos et per sabata tria eis de scripturis disserebat, adaperiens et exponens quod Christum oportuit pati ac resurgere a mortuis, et quod ‘Hic est Iesus Christus

1 concurrit] cucurrit AB 4 custodiret] ex custodirent corr. A2 5 recepisset] -et i. r. A2 12 hic] om. B 22 dimittamini] dimittimini B 24 eiciunt] eitiunt B 27 essent] om. A ins. A2

- resurgere a mortuis, et quod ‘Hic est Iesus Christus quem ego annuntio uobis.’ Et quidam ex eis crediderunt et adiuncti sunt Paulo ac Siloe atque colentium et gentilium multitudo plurima ac mulierum primariarum non pauce. Zelantes autem Iudei increduli et malignos quosdam uiros de foro
- 5 assumentes turba facta ciuitatem concitauerunt, et assistentes domui Iasonis eos in populum producere querebant. Cum uero eos non inuenissent, Iasonem et quosdam fratres ad principes ciuitatis trahebant clamantes quod ‘Hi qui orbem terrarum concitant huc uenerunt, quos suscepit Iason; et hi omnes contra decreta Cesaris agunt, regem alium
- 10 dicentes esse, Iesum.’ Concitauerunt autem turbam et principes ciuitatis postquam hoc audierunt; et accepta satisfactione a Iasone et a ceteris, dimiserunt eos. Fratres autem confestim per noctem Paulum et Siloam in Beroam miserunt; qui cum uenissent, in synagogam Iudeorum introierunt. Hi autem erant nobiliores eis qui existebant Thessalonice.
- 15 Verbum Dei omni promptitudine susceperunt, scrutantes quotidie scripturas si hec sic se haberent. Multi igitur ex eis crediderunt et gentilium mulierum honestarum et uirorum non pauci. Vt autem cognouerunt qui Thessalonica Iudei erant quod et Beroe predicatum fuerat a Paulo uerbum Dei, illic uenerunt turbas commouentes. Statim
- 20 autem tunc dimiserunt Paulum fratres, ut ad mare proficisceretur. Siloas autem ac Timotheus ibi remanserunt. Qui uero Paulum, ducebant eum usque Athenas perduxerunt, et accepto mandato ad Siloam et ad Timotheum quod quam celerrime uenirent, profecti sunt. Cum autem Paulus eos expectaret, spiritus eius incitabatur in ipso considerante
- 25 ciuitatem idolatrie deditam. In synagoga uero cum Iudeis atque colentibus et in foro quotidie cum quibuscumque disputabat. Quidam autem Epicureorum ac Stoicorum philosophorum cum eo conferebant. Et quidam dicebant: ‘Quid uult hic uerborum seminator dicere?’, quidam uero: ‘Extraneorum demoniorum uidetur annuntiator esse’, quia Iesum
- 30 ac resurrectionem annuntiabat. Et apprehensum eum ad Ariopagum duxerunt dicentes: ‘Possumus intelligere que hec est noua que a te dicitur doctrina? Extranea enim quedam infers in auribus nostris. Volumus enim scire quidnam uelint hec esse.’ Athenienses autem omnes et aduene hospites ad nihil aliud uacabant quam ut dicerent uel audirent aliquod
- 35 nouum. Stans autem Paulus in medio Ariopagi: ‘Viri’, inquit,

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7 quosdam] uiros de foro *add. B exp. B1* 21 remanserunt] manserunt *B* | ducebant] *ex* dicebant *corr. B1* 27 ac] *om. B* 34 uacabant] uocabant *B*

‘Athenienses, per omnia quasi superstitiosos uos uideo. Preteriens enim et uidens simulacra uestra inueni et aram in qua scriptum erat: “Ignoto deo.” Quem ergo ignorantes colitis, hunc ego annuntio uobis, Deum, qui fecit mundum et omnia que in eo sunt. Hic, cum sit celi ac terre dominus, non manufactis templis habitat, nec manibus humanis curatur 5
indigens aliquo, cum ipse det uitam omnibus atque inspirationem per omnia; fecitque ex uno sanguine ut uniuersa hominum gens inhabitaret super omnem faciem terre, definiens statuta tempora et terminorum positionem habitationis sue, ut quererent dominum si forte palpent eum aut inueniant, quamuis non procul sit ab uno quoque uestrum. In ipso 10
enim uiuimus ac mouemur et sumus, sicut et quidam uestrorum poetarum dixerunt: “Ipsius enim genus sumus.” Genus ergo cum simus Dei, non debemus putare auro aut argento aut lapide, sculpture artis et cogitationis hominis, diuinum esse simile. Tempora ergo ignorantie despiciens Deus, nunc annuntiat omnibus hominibus ubique, ut 15
penitentiam agant, eo quod statuit diem in qua orbem terre iustificaturus esset in iustitia in uiro quo ordinauit, prebens fidem omnibus suscitans eum a mortuis.’ Cum autem quidam resurrectionem mortuorum audissent, profecto deridebant; quidam uero dicebant: ‘Audiemus te de hoc iterum.’ Ac sic Paulus exiuit de medio eorum. Quidam uero uiri 20
adheserunt ei ac crediderunt, in quibus et Dionisius Ariopagita et mulier quedam nomine Damaris et alii cum eis.

18 Post hec autem egressus Paulus ab Athenis uenit Corinthum. Et inueniens quendam Iudeum nomine Aquilam, genere Pontium, qui nuper uenerat ab Italia, et Priscillam uxorem 25
suam, quoniam preceperat Claudius ut omnes Iudei de Roma discederent, accessit ad eos et, quia eiusdem erant urbis, manebat apud eos atque operabatur; erant enim funifactorie artis. Disputabat autem in synagoga per omne sabbatum ac sua debat Iudeis et gentilibus. Vt autem uenerunt de Macedonia et Siloas et Timotheus, instabat spiritu Paulus 30
Iudeis Christum Iesum testificans. Contradicientibus autem ipsis ac blasphemantibus, postquam excussit uestimenta sua, ait eis: ‘Sanguis uester super capita uestra! Mundus ego. Ex nunc ad gentes uadam.’ Et transcendens inde intrauit in domum cuiusdam nomine Iusti, colentis

3 ergo] *ex ego corr. fort. A2* 6 inspirationem] *inspiratione B* 9 positionem] *positione B*
13 sculpture] *ex sculture corr. B1* 19 te...20 iterum] *te iterum de hoc AB tr. A2*
30 Iesum] *testificans praem. B exp. B1* 32 ego] *ex ego corr. B1* 33 Ex] *om. B*

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cuiusdam nomine Iusti, colentis Deum, cuius domus erat coniuncta synagoge. Crispus autem princeps synagoge cum tota domo sua domino credidit, et multi Corinthiorum credentes credebant ac baptizabantur. Dixit autem dominus noctu per uisionem Paulo: ‘Ne timeas, sed loquere
5 et ne taceas, quia ego sum tecum, et nemo apponetur tibi ut affligat te, quoniam populus est mihi multus in ciuitate ista.’ Sedit autem per annum et sex menses apud eos uerbum Dei docens. Galione autem proconsule Achaie, insurrexerunt unanimiter Iudei in Paulum et adduxerunt eum ad tribunal dicentes quod ‘Preter legem hic suadet hominibus ut Deum
10 adorent.’ Paulo uero os aperturo, ait Galio Iudeis: ‘Si quidem esset iniquum aliquod aut malum facinus quod, Iudei, secundum rationem utique uos sustinerem. Si autem questio est de uerbo ac de nominibus et lege uestra, uos ipsi uideritis. Iudex enim horum ego nolo esse.’ Et expulit a tribunali. Apprehendentes autem omnes gentiles principem
15 synagoge percutiebant eum ante tribunal; et nihil eorum Galioni cure erat. Paulus uero, cum adhuc dies multos sustinuisset, a fratribus abiens Syriam nauigauit, et cum eo Priscilla et Aquila, qui totonderat caput in Cenchris; habebat enim uotum. Deuenitque Ephesum, et illos ibi reliquit. Ipse autem ingressus in synagogam cum Iudeis disputabat. Rogantibus
20 autem eis ut ampliori tempore maneret secum, non consensit, sed abiens ait eis: ‘Oportet me omnino festiuitatem aduenientem facere Hierosolimis. Iterum autem uolente Deo ad uos reuertar.’ Ac ab Epheso profectus est; et Cesaream descendens ascendit et salutauit ecclesiam et descendit Antiochiam. Atque facto aliquanto temporis, perambulans per
25 ordinem Galaticam regionem ac Phrigiam profectus est, omnes discipulos confirmans. Iudeus uero quidam Apollo nomine, genere Alexandrinus, uir eloquens, deuenit Ephesum, in scripturis potens. Hic erat edoctus uiam domini et feruens spiritu loquebatur ac docebat diligenter ea que sunt Iesu, sciens solum baptisma Ioannis. Et hic cepit
30 fiducialiter agere in synagoga. Cum uero Aquila et Priscilla audissent eum, assumpserunt atque diligentius ei uiam exposuerunt. Cum autem uellet ire in Achaia, cohortati fratres scripserunt discipulis ut ipsum susciperent; qui cum uenisset, contulit multum his qui per gratiam crediderant. Vehementer enim Iudeos redargebat per scripturas Iesum
35 esse Christum publice ostendens.

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2 princeps] principes B 5 apponetur] apponitur B 7 eos] eo B 12 sustinerem] festinare praem. B corr. B1 14 principem] ex principes corr. B1 20 ampliori] ampliore B

19 Factum est autem cum Apollo esset Corinthi ut Paulus, peragratīs superioribus partibus, ueniret Ephesum et inueniret quosdam discipulos, et ait eis an spiritum sanctum accepissent cum credidissent. Ipsi autem dixerunt ei: 'Neque si spiritus sanctus est audiuius.' Aitque eis: 'In quo igitur baptizati estis?' Ipsi uero dixerunt: 5
B211v 'In Ioannis baptismo.' Dixit autem Paulus: 'Ioannes quidem baptizauit
(210v) baptismo penitentiae, populum dicens ut in eum crederent qui post se uenturus esset, hoc est in Christum Iesum.' Cum uero audissent, baptizati sunt in nomine domini Iesu. Et cum imposuisset eis manus Paulus, uenit spiritus sanctus super ipsos, et loquebantur linguis atque 10
prophetabant. Erant autem omnes uiri quasi duodecim. Ingressus uero in synagogam fiducialiter loquebatur per tres menses ac persuadens de regno Dei. Vt autem quidam indurauerunt et non crederent maledicentes uiam domini coram multitudine, discedens ab eis discipulos traduxit, quotidie disputans in schola Tyranni cuiusdam. Hoc autem factum est 15
per biennium, ita ut omnes qui habitabant in Asia audirent uerbum domini Iesu, Iudei atque gentiles. Virtutes autem quascumque faciebat Deus per manus Pauli, ita ut per languidos deferrentur a corpore suo sudaria aut semicintia, et recedebant ab eis languores, et spiritus maligni ab ipsis egrediebantur. Tentauerunt uero quidam et de circumuenientibus 20
Iudeis exorcistis ut nominaretur super eos qui spiritus malignos haberent, nomen domini Iesu dicentes: 'Adiuramus uos per Iesum quem Paulus predicat.' Erant autem quidam filii Sceue Iudei principis synagoge septem, qui hoc faciebant. Respondens uero spiritus malignus ait: 'Iesum cognosco et paulum scio. Vos autem qui estis?' Et insiliens in eos homo 25
A136r in quo erat malignus spiritus et dominatus ipsis inualuit aduersus eos, ita ut nudi ac uulnerati de domo illa effugerent. Hoc uero notum factum est omnibus Iudeis ac gentibus qui Ephesi habitabant, et cecidit timor super omnes ipsos, ac magnificabant nomen domini Iesu. Multique eorum qui 30
B212r crediderant ueniebant confitentes et annuntiantes gesta sua. Multi autem
(211r) eorum qui superflua egerant contulerunt libros, et coram omnibus combusserunt; et pretiis eorum computatis inuenerunt pecuniam denariorum quinquaginta milium. Ita fortiter crescebat uerbum domini et inualescebat. Vt autem hec impleta sunt, proposuit Paulus in spiritu ut Hierosolimam proficisceretur ubi Macedoniam atque Achaiam 35

15 Tyranni] tyramni *A1* 23 predicat] ex predicabat *corr. B1* 27 notum... est] factum est notum *B corr. B1*

pertransisset, dicens quod 'Postquam ibi fuero, oportet ut Romam uideam.' Cum uero duo ex ministrantibus sibi, Timotheum atque Erastum, in Macedoniam misisset, ipse remansit ad tempus in Asia. Facta est autem illo tempore turbatio non parua de uia domini. Demetrius

5 enim quidam nomine, argentarius, faciens edes argenteas Diane prebebat artificibus questum non modicum; quos ubi congregauit atque alios circa talia operarios ait: 'Viri, scitis quod ex hoc questu est nobis abundantia, et uidetis et auditis hoc non solum Ephesi, sed uniuerse quasi Asie Paulus iste suadens multam turbam auertit dicens quod non sunt dii qui

10 manibus fiunt. Non solum autem hec pars periclitabitur nobis in redargutiones ueniens, sed etiam magne dee Diane templum ad nihil reputabitur. Verum maiestas insuper sua destruenda est quam tota Asia et orbis terrarum ueneratur.' Cum autem hi qui aderant hec audissent, ira pleni clamauerunt dicentes: 'Magna Diana Ephesiorum!', et repleta est

15 ciuitas tota confusione, et impetum fecerunt unanimiter in theatrum, raptu Caio et Aristarco Macedonibus, Pauli comitibus. Paulo autem ad populum intrare uolente, non permiserunt ipsum discipuli. Quidam uero et de Asia principibus, amici sui, ad eum miserunt rogabantque ne seipsum in theatrum traderet. Alii nempe aliud quiddam clamabant; erat

20 enim ecclesia confusa, et plures nesciebant cuius gratia conuenissent. De turba uero premonuerunt Alexandrum, propellentibus eum Iudeis. Alexander autem, manu annuens, rationem populo reddere uolebat. Cum uero cognouisset quod Iudeus esset, uox una ex omnibus facta est quasi per horas duas clamantibus ipsis: 'Magna Diana Ephesiorum!' Et cum

25 scriba turbam sedasset: 'Viri', inquit, 'Ephesii, quis enim est homo qui Ephesiorum ciuitatem cultricem esse magne dee Diane Iouisque prolis nesciat? Cum ergo his contradici non possit, decens est uos sedatos esse ac nihil temerarium agere. Nam hos uiros neque sacrilegos neque deam uestram blasphemantes adduxistis. Si ergo Demetrius et qui cum eo sunt

30 artifices habent causam aduersus aliquem, conuentus forenses aguntur, ac proconsules sunt: se inuicem accusent. Si quid autem de aliis queritis, in legitima ecclesia absoluator. Etenim periclitamur ne de seditione hodierna arguamur, cum nulla causa existat de qua huius conuersionis rationem reddere ualeamus.' Et cum hec dixisset, ecclesiam dimisit.

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17 intrare] intrante et B 27 possit] ex posset *corr.* B1 29 blasphemantes] ex blasfemantes *corr.* B1 32 absoluator] ex absoluantur *corr.* B1 33 existat] ex existit *corr.* B1

20 Postquam autem cessauit tumultus, Paulus, conuocatis salutatisque discipulis, exiit ut in Macedoniam proficisceretur.

Cum autem partes illas transisset atque eos plurimo sermone exhortatus esset, in Greciam uenit; et cum ibi tres menses commoraretur, facte sunt ei insidie a Iudeis in Syriam nauigaturo, ita ut per Macedoniam reuertendi sententia fieret. Sopatros autem Berriensis eum usque in Asiam comitatus est; ex Thessalonicensibus uero Aristarcus, Secundus et Caius Derbeus atque Timotheus; Asiam autem ac Tichycus et Trophimus. Isti cum precessissent, nos Troade expectauerunt. Nos uero post dies Azymorum a Philippis nauigauimus atque in diebus quinque Troadem ad eos uenimus, ubi diebus septem demorati sumus. Vna autem sabatorum discipulis ut panem frangerent congregatis, Paulus, abiturus in crastinum, cum eis disputabat. Sermonem uero usque ad mediam noctem extendit. Multe autem lampades in cenaculo erant ubi congregati eramus. Adolescens autem quidam nomine Eutichus super fenestram sedens, somno profundo delatus, dum Paulus uehementer disputaret, a somno deductus de tertio cenaculo deorsum cecidit ac mortuus sublatus est. Descendens autem Paulus super eum cecidit ac complexus: ‘Ne turbemini’, inquit, ‘anima enim sua in eo est.’ Ascendens autem et pane fracto gustatoque satis usque ad lucem locutus est; ac sic abiit. Puerum uero uiuentem adduxerunt et immense consolati sunt. Nos autem in nauim ascendentes in Asson nauigauimus, Paulum suscepturi. Sic enim disposuerat ut per terram iter faceret. Cum autem nos in Asson inuenisset, eo assumpto, Mitilenem uenimus atque nauigantes sequenti die contra Chiam accessimus; alia autem die Samum applicuimus, et in Troylo commorati sequenti die Miletum uenimus. Paulus enim transnauigare proposuerat, ne qua commoratio ei fieret in Asia; nam festinabat si possibile sibi esset ut diem Pentecostem faceret Hierosolimis. A Mileto autem Ephesum mittens uocauit seniores ecclesie. Vt autem ad eum uenerunt, ait ipsis: ‘Vos scitis a prima die qua in Asiam ingressus sum, qualiter uobiscum per omne tempus fuerim, cum omni humilitate ac lacrimis et tentationibus que acciderunt mihi ex insidiis Iudeorum domino seruiens; quomodo nihil subtraxerim utilium quominus annuntiarem uobis ac uos publice per domos docerem,

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7 Secundus... 8 autem] The scribe of B skipped a line in A here.

2 in] *om.* A *ins.* A2 7 Secundus... 8 autem] *om.* B 33 Iudeorum] *ex Romanorum corr. fort.* A1

B213r

(212r)

A137r

B213v

(212v)

- testificans Iudeis ac gentilibus in Deum patientiam ac fidem in dominum nostrum Iesum. Et nunc ego alligatus spiritu proficiscor in Hierusalem, ignorans ea que mihi in illa uentura sunt, nisi quod spiritus sanctus per ciuitates testificatur dicens quod uincula ac tribulationes me manent. Sed
- 5 sermonem floccifacio nec animam meam pretiosiores meipso existimo, dummodo cursum meum cum gaudio consummam, ac ministerium a domino Iesu accepi ut euangelium gratie Dei testificarer. Et nunc ecce ego scio quod amplius uos omnes faciem meam non uideritis, per quos transiui regnum Dei predicans. Idcirco uobis hodierna die testificor quod
- 10 mundus ego sum a sanguine omnium. Non enim subterfugi quominus omne consilium Dei uobis annuntiarem. Vobis ergo ipsis attendite atque uniuerso gregi in quo uos spiritus sanctus episcopos ad regendum ecclesiam domini atque Dei posuit, quam per proprium sanguinem acquisiuit. Ego enim hoc scio, quod post recessum meum lupi moleste
- 15 aduersus uos intrabunt qui gregi non parcent, et ex uobisipsis uiri peruersa loquentes exurgent ut post se discipulos abstrahant. Propter quod uigilate memores quod per triennium non cessaui nocte dieque *A137v B214r* unumquemque admonens cum lacrimis. Et nunc uos, fratres, Deo ac *(213r)* uerbo gratie sue commendo, qui superedificare atque uobis in
- 20 sanctificatis omnibus potest hereditatem dare. Argentum autem uel aurum uel uestem nullius concupiui. Ipsi scitis quod et indigentis meis et eorum qui mecum sunt manus ipse ministrauerunt. Omnia ostendi uobis quia sic laborantes oportet suscipere infirmos, ac meminisse uerbi domini Iesu, quod dixit: “Beatum est magis dare quam accipere.” Et
- 25 cum hec dixisset, positis genibus suis cum omnibus ipsis orauit. Plurimus autem fletus factus est omnium, ac super collum Pauli procumbentes ipsum osculabantur maxime dolentes in uerbo quod dixerat, quod amplius faciem suam non essent uisuri, cum uero ad nauem premittebant.
- 30 **21** Cum autem factum esset ut abstracti ab eis recto cursu nauigaremus, Chium uenimus, ac sequenti die Rhodum et inde Peteam, deinde Mirtum; et cum nauem inuenissemus transfretantem in Pheniciam, ascendentes nauigauimus. Cum autem Cypro apparuissemus atque a sinistra reliquissemus, in Syriam
- 35 nauigauimus atque Tyrum uenimus. Ibi enim erat nauis expositura onus.

8 quos] ex quod *corr. B1* 11 ipsis] ipsi *AB* 15 uos] *om. B* 18 admonens] ut lacrimis *praem. A exp. A1* | Deo] *iter. B* 33 Pheniciam] nauigauimus *add. A exp. A1*

uenimus. Ibi enim erat nauis expositura onus. Et inuentis discipulis ibi
 septem diebus mansimus; qui Paulo per spiritum dicebant ne
 Hierosolimam ascenderet. Quando autem factum est ut dies
 expleuerimus, abeuntes processimus premittentibus nos omnibus cum
 uxoribus et liberis usque extra ciuitatem; et genibus in litore positis 5
 orauius, et cum inuicem salutauissemus in nauim ascendimus, illi uero
 ad propria redierunt. Nos autem nauigatione a Tyro expleta, Ptolomaida
 descendimus ac salutatis fratribus die una apud eos mansimus. Sequenti
 uero die profecti Cesaream uenimus atque domum Philippi euangeliste,
 qui erat unus ex septem, ingressi apud eum mansimus. Huic autem erant 10
 filie quatuor uirgines prophetantes. Nobis uero diebus plurimis
 commorantibus superuenit quidam a Iudea propheta nomine Agabus; et
 cum ad nos uenisset zonamque Pauli tulisset ac pedes et manus suas
 ligasset, hic inquit: 'Dicit spiritus sanctus: "Virum cuius est zona hec,
 Iudei in Hierusalem sic alligabunt atque in manus gentium tradent."' Vt 15
 autem hec audiuius nos et qui loci illius erant, rogabamus ne
 Hierosolimam ascenderet. Et respondit Paulus: 'Quid facitis flentes ac
 cor meum affligentes? Ego enim non solum alligari pro nomine domini
 Iesu, sed etiam in Hierusalem mori paratus sum.' Et cum ei non
 persuasissemus, quieuius dicentes: 'Fiat uoluntas Dei.' Post hos autem 20
 dies preparati Hierusalem ascendebamus. Quidam uero ex discipulis a
 Cesarea nobiscum ueniebant, Iasonem quendam Cyprium, antiquum
 discipulum, adducentes, apud quem hospitaremur. Et cum Hierosolimam
 uenissemus, fratres nos libenter susceperunt. Sequenti autem die Paulus
 nobiscum ad Iacobum introibat, omnesque affuerunt seniores. Et cum 25
 eos salutasset, per singula narrabat quecumque Deus per ministerium
 suum in gentibus fecisset. Cum uero ipsi audissent, Deum glorificabant,
 dixeruntque ei: 'Vides, frater, quot milia sunt inter Iudeos qui
 crediderunt, atque omnes legis emulatores existunt. Audierunt autem de
 te quod discessionem doces a Moyse, eos Iudeos qui sunt ex gentibus 30
 dicens quod ut ipsi filios suos nequaquam circumcidant, neque
 secundum consuetudinem ambulent. Quid ergo est? Omnino autem
 multitudo conueniet, audient enim quod ueneris. Hoc ergo fac quod tibi

B214v
 (213v)

A138r

B215r
 (214r)

1 enim] *ex uero corr. B1* 6 et] *ut AB* 22 Cyprium] *Cyprum AB corr. A2* 28 dixeruntque]
ex dixeruntque corr. fort. A1 29 crediderunt] *neque secundum consuetudinem ambulent*
add. B exp. B1 30 doces] *om. B* 33 conueniet] *conuenit B* | audient] *ex audiebant corr.*
fort. A1

dicimus. Sunt autem nobis uiri quatuor super se uotum habentes; hos assume ac te cum eis sanctifica, et impende in eis ita ut caput radant, et sciant omnes quod eorum que de te audient nihil est, sed consentis et ipse legem custodiens. De his uero qui ex gentibus crediderunt, nos per
5 epistolam significauimus iudicantes ut ipsi nihil tale seruent, nisi ut ab his que idolis immolantur ac sanguine et suffocato ac fornicatione caueant. Tunc Paulus, assumptis uiris, postera die cum eis purificatus in templum intrauit expletionem dierum purificationis annuntians, donec pro unoquoque eorum oblatio offerretur. Cum autem septem dies
10 consummarentur, hi qui ex Asia erant, Iudei ubi in templo ipsum uiderunt, omnem turbam confuderunt ac manus in eum iniecerunt clamantes: ‘Viri Israelite, adiuuate! Hic est homo qui aduersus populum ac legem et locum hunc omnes ubique docet. Insuper et gentiles in templum induxit ac sanctum istum locum polluit.’ Trophimum enim
15 Ephesinum in ciuitate cum ipso uiderant, quem existimauerunt quod Paulus introduxissent in templum. Commota est autem ciuitas tota, et factus est concursus populi, et apprehendentes Paulum extra templum trahebant, et statim clause sunt ianue. Eum autem occidere querentibus, ad tribunum cohortis fama ascendit quod tota Hierusalem confunditur,
20 qui militibus centurionibusque confestim assumptis ad eos accedit accurrit. Hi uero cum tribunum ac milites uidissent, Paulum percutere cessauerunt. Cum autem tribunus appropinquasset, eum apprehendit atque iussit ut duabus catenis alligaretur, et interrogabat quisnam esset et quid fecisset. Alii uero inter turbam aliud quiddam clamabant; et cum pre
25 tumultu certum cognoscere non posset, iussit ut ipse in castra duceretur. Cum autem uenisset ad gradus, accidit ut per uim turbe a militibus portaretur. Multitudo uero populi sequebatur clamans: ‘Tolle ipsum!’ Cum autem ducendus esset in castra, Paulus tribuno inquit: ‘Si licet mihi dicere ad te?’ Ipse autem: ‘Grece nosti? Nonne tu es Egyptius qui ante
30 hos dies tumultum concitasti ac quatuor milia uirorum sicariorum in desertum eduxisti?’ Dixit autem Paulus: ‘Ego homo sum quidem Iudeus Tharsensis Cilicie, non ignobilis ciuitatis ciuis. Rogo autem te ut me loqui populo permittas.’ Cum uero ipse permisisset, Paulus stans in gradibus annuit manu ad populum. Plurimo autem silentio facto, Hebrea lingua
35 locutus est dicens:

*A138v**B215v
(214v)*

21 accurrit] *ex* accurrit *corr. fort. A1* 22 cessauerunt] *cesseuerunt B* 28 Si licet] *Scilicet B*
29 ad] *ex a corr. A2*

22 ‘Viri fratres ac patres, audite me in hac presenti ad uos
defensione.’ Cum uero audissent quod Hebraea lingue ad eos
loqueretur, magis silentium prebuerunt. Et ait: ‘Ego quidem
sum Iudeus uir, natus in Tharso Cilicie, in ciuitate ista nutritus, secus
pedes Gamalielis eruditus secundum certitudinem paterne legis, emulator 5
existens Dei sicut omnes uos hodie. Qui hanc uiam usque ad mortem
persecutus sum, uiros ac mulieres alligans atque in custodiam tradens,
quemadmodum pontifex mihi testificatur et omnes senes; a quibus
susceptis epistolis Damascum ad fratres pergebam, ut inde uinctos in
Hierusalem adducerem ut punirentur. Factum est autem ut dum irem ac 10
Damasco appropinquarem, media die subito de celo lux copiosa
circumfulsit me, et decidens in terram audiui uocem de celo dicentem
mihi: ‘Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Durum est tibi contra stimulum
calcitrare. Ego autem respondi: “Quis es, domine?” Et ait mihi: “Ego
sum Iesus Nazarenus, quem tu persequeris.” Et qui mecum erant lucem 15
quidem uiderunt et perterrefacti sunt, uocem non audierunt eius qui
mecum loquebatur. Dixi autem: “Quid faciam, domine?” Dominus uero
inquit mihi: “Surgens uade Damascum, et ibi dicetur tibi de omnibus que
statutum est ut facias.” Cum autem pre claritate luminis illius non
uiderem, manu deductus a comitibus Damascum ueni. Ananias uero uir 20
quidam religiosus secundum legem testimonio ab omnibus Iudeis
probatum qui in Damasco habitant, ad me ueniens et astans dixit mihi:
“Saule, frater, respice!” Et eadem hora in eum respexi. Ipse autem:
“Deus”, inquit, “patrum nostrorum preordinauit te ut uoluntatem suam
cognosceres ac iustum uideres et uocem ex ore suo audires, quoniam ei 25
ad omnes homines testis eris eorum que uidisti atque audisti. Et nunc
quid moraris? Exurge ac baptizare et nomine domini inuocato peccata
abluere.” Factum est autem dum Hierusalem reuerterer atque in templo
orarem ut fierem in stupore mentis et uiderem ipsum dicentem mihi:
“Festina extra Hierusalem uelociter egredere, quoniam testimonium 30
tuum de me nequaquam recipient.” Et ego dixi: “Domine, ipsi sciunt
quod ego eram concludens in carcerem et eos per synagogas cedens qui
in te credebant; et cum sanguis Stephani martyris tui effunderetur, ego
astabam ac neci sue consentiebam et uestimenta eorum custodiebam qui
ipsum interficiebant.” Et dixit mihi: “Vade, quoniam ego ad gentes 35
procul mittam te.” Ipsum autem usque ad hunc sermonem audiebant et

B216r

(215r)

A139r

B216v

(215v)

- uocem suam extulerunt dicentes: ‘Tolle de terra talem! Non enim fas est ut ipse uiuat!’ Vociferantibus autem eis ac uestimenta sua proicientibus et puluerem in erem iacentibus, iussit tribunus ut ipse in castra duceretur dicens ut flagellis cederetur ac torqueretur, ut sciret quam ob causam sic
- 5 ei acclamarent. Vt autem eum loris astrinxerunt, Paulus astanti centurioni ait: ‘Si hominem Romanum et indemnatum uobis flagellare licet?’ Cum autem centurio audisset, ad tribunum accessit ac nuntiauit dicens: ‘Vide quid acturus sis? Homo enim iste Romanus est.’ Accendens uero tribunus ait ei: ‘Dic mihi si tu Romanus es?’ Ipse autem dixit: ‘Vtique.’ Et
- 10 respondit tribunus: ‘Ego multa summa hanc ciuilitatem consecutus sum.’ Paulus uero ait: ‘Ego autem et natus sum.’ Confestim autem recesserunt ab eo qui ipsum torturi erant. Tribunus quoque timuit postquam cognouit quod Romanus erat et quod ipsum ligauerat. Postera autem die diligenter scire uolens cur a Iudeis accusaretur, eum a uinculis soluit ac
- 15 iussit ut pontifices atque omne eorum concilium adueniret et Paulum producens inter ipsos statuit. At Paulus in concilium intendens:

A139v

- 23** ‘Viri’ inquit ‘fratres, ego omni conscientia bona ante Deum usque ad hanc diem conuersatus sum.’ Pontifex autem Ananias astantibus ei precepit ut os suum percuterent. Tunc Paulus ait
- 20 ei: ‘Percutiet te Deus, paries dealbate! Et tu sedes nunc me secundum legem et contra legem iudicans iubes ut percutiar?’ Qui uero astabant, dicebant: ‘Pontificem Dei maledicis?’ Scriptum est enim: *Principem populi tui non maledices*. Sciens autem Paulus quod una pars esset phariseorum, altera uero saduceorum, exclamauit in concilio: ‘Viri fratres, ego
- 25 phariseus sum, filius pharisei; de spe ac resurrectione mortuorum ego iudicor.’ Cum autem hec locutus esset, facta est dissensio inter phariseos ac saduceos, et diuisa est multitudo. Saducei enim dicunt non esse resurrectionem mortuorum neque angelum neque spiritum; pharisei uero utraque confitentur. Factus est autem clamor magnus, et quidam scribe
- 30 de parte phariseorum exurgentes pugnabant dicentes: ‘Nihil mali in isto homine inuenimus. Si autem spiritus locutus est ei aut angelus, ne Deo repugnemus.’ Et cum multa dissensio facta esset, tribunus, ne Paulus ab ipsis discerneretur, iussit ut cohors descenderet ac de medio eorum

B217r

(216r)

16 statuit] Here ends Acts 22 in the Vulgate.

3 puluerem] pueluerem B 11 Paulus...sum] om. B 13 ligauerat] -t i. r. A2

16 producens] -s i. r. fort. A2 26 esset] ex essem corr. B1

ipsum raperet atque ipsum in castra duceret. Sequenti autem nocte
 assistens ei dominus: ‘Confide’, inquit, ‘Paule. Sicut enim de me in
 Hierusalem testificatus es, sic oportet te et Rome testificari.’ Facta autem
 die, quidam ex Iudeis sese collegerunt et iurauerunt seipsos neque
 manducatuos neque bibituos usque quo Paulum occiderent. Erant 5
 autem plures quam quadraginta uiri qui hanc coniurationem fecerant; et
 ad pontifices ac seniores accesserunt dixeruntque: ‘Deuotione deuouimus
 nos nihil gustatuos usque quo Paulum interimamus. Nunc ergo uos
 B217v
 (216v) tribuno cum concilio notum facite ut cras eum ad nos adducat tamquam
 certius de ipso cognituri. Nos autem, priusquam ipse appropinquet, eum 10
 interimere parati sumus.’ Cum autem filius sororis Pauli audisset insidias,
 A140r accessit et in castra intrauit nuntiauitque Paulo. Paulus uero unum ex
 centurionibus aduocans: ‘Adolescentem’, inquit, ‘hunc adduc ad
 tribunum. Habet enim ei aliquid indicare.’ Assumens igitur eum ad
 tribunum adduxit et ait: ‘Vinctus Paulus aduocatum me rogauit ut hunc 15
 adolescentem habentem aliquid loqui tibi ad te adducerem.’
 Apprehendens autem tribunus manum suam secessit seorsum atque
 interrogauit: ‘Quid est quod habes indicare mihi?’ Dixit autem quod
 ‘Iudei conuenerunt ad rogandum te ut cras Paulum in concilium
 producat is quasi certius aliquid de eo interrogaturi. Tu ergo ne eis 20
 credideris; nam ex ipsis plures quam quadraginta uiri ei insidiantur qui se
 neque manducare neque bibere deuouerunt usque quo ipsum interficiant,
 et nunc parati sunt promissionem abs te expectantes.’ Tribunus igitur
 adolescentem dimisit precipiens ne cui loqueretur quod hec sibi
 manifestasset. Et conuocatis duobus quibusdam ex centurionibus: 25
 ‘Parate’, inquit, ‘milites ducentos ut usque Cesaream proficiscantur, et
 equites septuaginta et lancearios ducentos, a tertia hora noctis, ac
 iumenta preparate’, ut imponentes Paulum ad Felicem presidem eum
 saluent. Timebat enim ne Iudei forte eum raperent atque occiderent et
 ipse postea calumniam sustineret quasi pecuniam accepturus. Ac scripsit 30
 epistolam hoc exemplar continentem: ‘Claudius Lysias optimo presidi
 Felici: salutem. Virum hunc a Iudeis comprehensum atque ab eis
 interficiendum superueniens cum exercitu eripui, cognito quod Romanus
 est. Volens autem causam scire quam ei obieiebant in eo, concilium
 eorum duxi; quem inueni de questionibus legis sue accusatum ac nihil 35
 morte aut uinculis dignum crimen habentem. Relatis autem mihi insidiis

8 nihil] *om. A ins. A2* 24 sibi...25 manifestasset] *i. r. A2* 29 et] *ut AB* 36 autem] *om. B*

uiro a Iudeis machinandis, confestim misi ad te denuntians et accusatoribus, ut coram te aduersus eum dicerent. Vale.’ Milites ergo, secundum id quod sibi ordinatum fuerat Paulum assumentes, per noctem Antipatridem duxerunt. Postera autem die equitibus ut cum eo
 5 proficiscerentur dimissis in castra redierunt. Qui cum Cesaream uenissent atque presidi epistolam tradidissent, Paulum coram eo statuerunt. Cum autem preses legisset ac interrogasset de qua provincia esset et persuasus quod de Cilicia: ‘Audiam te’, inquit, ‘cum et accusatores tui uenerint’; iussitque ut is in pretorio Herodis custodiretur.

- 10 **24** Post quinque uero dies pontifex Ananias cum senioribus et
 oratore quodam Tartullio descendit, qui aduersus Paulum
 presidi apparuerunt. Eo autem citato Tartullius accusare cepit
 dicens: ‘Cum in multa pace pro te agamus, ac multa inter hanc gentem
 per tuam prouidentiam corrigantur, semper et ubique, optime dux, cum
 15 omni gratiarum actione suscipimus. Ne autem te pluribus obtundam oro
 ut nos pro tua probitate breuiter audias. Inuenimus hunc hominem
 pestiferum et seditiones omnibus Iudeis, qui sunt in toto terrarum orbe,
 concitantem, ac secte Nazareorum auctorem inuenimus, qui et templum
 polluere conatus est, quem apprehensum uolumus ut secundum legem
 20 nostram iudices. Lysias autem tribunus, cum ui magna superueniens de
 manibus nostris eripuit eum, iubens ut accusatores sui ad te uenirent, a
 quo ipse iudicans de his omnibus cognoscere poteris, de quibus nos
 ipsum accusamus.’ Iudei autem adiecerunt hoc ita se habere aientes.
 Paulus uero respondit, cum ei preses annuisset ut diceret: ‘Cum ex
 25 plurimis annis te iustum iudicem huic genti extitisse nossem, animosius
 causam meam agam, cum scire possis quod non plures quam duodecim
 dies sunt ex quo ad adorandum in Hierusalem ascendi, et neque in
 templo mecum aliquo disputantem aut conuentionem turbe facientem
 neque in synagogis neque per ciuitates inuenerunt, neque ea probare
 30 possunt de quibus nunc me accusant. Hoc autem tibi confiteor, quod
 secundum uiam, quam dicunt sectam, sic Deo patri inseruio credens
 omnibus, que in lege ac prophetis scripta sunt, in Deum spem habens
 quam et ipsi expectant futuram resurrectionem mortuorum, iustorum
 atque iniustorum. In hoc autem ipso studeo ut sine offendiculo ad Deum
 35 et ad homines semper conscientiam habeam. Per annos uero plures

A140v

B218v
(217v)

eleemosynas ac oblationes facturus in gentem meam ueni, in quibus me purificatum in templo, non cum turba neque cum tumultu; uenerunt quidam ex Asia Iudei quos coram te adesse et accusare oportebat si quid aduersus me haberent aut hi ipsi dicant quid iniurie, concilio illate, in me inuenerint, nisi de hac una uoce, qua clamaui stans inter ipsos, quia “De resurrectione mortuorum ego hodie a uobis iudicor!” Cum autem Felix hec audisset, eos distulit, certius sciens de uia ac dicens: ‘Cum Lysias tribunus aduenerit, inter uos discernam.’ Ac centurioni iussit ut Paulum seruarent atque requiem haberent, et ut neminem propriorum suorum ei ministrare ad eumque accedere prohiberent. Post aliquot autem dies accedens Felix cum Drusilla uxore sua, que erat Iudea, Paulum accersiu it audiuitque ipsum de fide que erat in Christo Iesu. Eo autem de iustitia ac continentia et de futuro iudicio disserente, terrefactus Felix respondit: ‘Impresentiarum proficiscere; oportunitate captata te accersiam’, simul ac sperans quod pecunie sibi a Paulo darentur ut ipsum dimitteret. Idcirco eum frequentius accersiens ei loquebatur. Biennio autem expleto, Felix successorem accepit Porcium Festum. Felix autem gratias Iudeis iniungere uolens Paulum uinctum reliquit.

25 Festus igitur cum in prouinciam uenisset, post triduum Hierosolimam a Cesarea ascendit. Pontifices autem atque primates Iudeorum ei aduersus Paulum apparuerunt, gratiam contra eum postulantes, ut in Hierosolimam transmitteret, tendentes insidias ut eum in uia interimerent. Festus igitur respondit ut Paulus in Cesarea seruaretur, se autem celeriter profecturum: ‘Qui ergo in uobis potentes sunt, simul descendant, ut si quid est in uiro hoc eum accusent.’ Demoratus autem inter eos dies non plures quam octo aut decem, Cesaream descendit et altera die sedit pro tribunali ac iussit ut Paulus adduceretur. Accedente autem eo, circumsteterunt Iudei qui ab Hierosolimis descenderant, multa ac grauia crimina aduersus Paulum afferentes, que ostendere non poterant. Cum ipse se neque in Iudeorum neque in templum neque in Cesarem quicquam peccasse defenderet, Festus igitur Iudeis prestare gratiam uolens, Paulo respondens ait: ‘Vis Hierosolimam ascendere atque ibi de his a me iudicari?’ Paulus autem ait: ‘Ad tribunal Cesaris constitutus sum, ubi me iudicari oportet. Iudeis iniuriatus non sum; tu melius nosti. Si enim

9 neminem] *i. r.* A2 16 accersiens] accesiens B 25 descendant] discedant B

- iniuriatus ac quicquam morte dignum perpetraui, mori nequaquam recuso. Si uero nihil est eorum de quibus hi me accusant, nemo eis me donare potest. Cesarem appello!’ Tunc Festus collocutus cum concilio respondit: ‘Cesarem appellasti; ad Cesarem ibis.’ Diebus autem aliquot
- 5 intercedentibus, Agrippa rex ac Beronice Cesaream accesserunt Festum salutatem. Vt autem ibi plures dies commorati sunt, Festus de Paulo regi indicauit dicens: ‘Vir quidam est derelictus uinctus a Felice, de quo cum Hierosolimis essem, pontifices ac seniores Iudeorum manifestauerunt
- 10 Romanis consuetudo donandi quemquam hominem in perditionem priusquam is qui accusatur presentes habeat accusatores ac de crimine locus defensionis accipiat. Cum ergo huc conuenissent, nulla dilatione facta sequenti die sedi pro tribunali uirum adduci iussi; de quo, cum accusatores stetissent, nullam causam deferebant eorum de quibus ego
- 15 suspicabar. Inquisitiones uero quasdam de propria superstitione aduersus eum habebant ac de quodam Iesu defuncto, quem Paulus uiuere affirmabat. Ego autem circa horum inquisitionem ambigens dicebam si Hierosolimam proficisci atque de his iudicari uellet. Paulo autem appellante ut Augusti cognitioni seruaretur, eum seruari iussi donec
- 20 ipsum ad Cesarem mitterem.’ Agrippas autem Festo ait: ‘Et ipse hominem audire uolebam.’ Ipse uero: ‘Cras’, inquit, ‘eum audies.’ Sequenti autem die, Agrippa ac Beronice cum multa ambitione accedentibus atque cum tribunis ut uiris potentibus ciuitatis in auditorium ingressis, iubente Festo paulus adductus est. Et ait Festus:
- 25 ‘Agrippa rex et omnes uiri qui nobiscum adestis, uidete hunc de quo omnis Iudeorum multitudo et Hierosolimis et hic me interpellauit, clamantes: “Non oportet eum amplius uiuere!” Ego uero ipsum nihil morte dignum perpetrasse defendi; hoc autem ipso ad Augustum appellante, ipsum mittere iudicaui. De quo, domino, aliquid certum
- 30 scribere non habeo; propter quod eum ad uos produxi ac maxime ad te, o rex Agrippa, ut, examinatione facta, aliquid scribere ualeam. Absurdum enim mihi uidetur ut uinctum mitterem atque eius causas non significarem.’

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26 Agrippas autem Paulo ait: ‘Tibi pro teipso loqui permittitur.’
Tunc Paulus, extenta manu, se defendebat: ‘De omnibus de
quibus a Iudeis accusor, rex Agrippa, puto me beatum cum
hodie coram te sim me defensurus, maxime cum omnia que apud Iudeos
sunt consuetudines inquisitionesque noueris; propter quod te deprecor ut 5
me patienter audias. Vitam quidem meam qualis a iuuentute fuerit in
gente mea a Hierosolimis, ab initio Iudei omnes nouerunt, cum me
superius precognouerint, si testificari uoluerint, quoniam secundum
certissimam religionis nostre sectam phariseus uixi. Et nunc in spe
A142r repromissionis que a Deo patribus facta est sto iudicandus, in quam 10
duodecim tribus nostre die noctuque assidue inseruientes sperant
deuenire; de qua spe, rex Agrippa, a Iudeis accusor. Quid incredibile ante
B220v (219v) uos iudicatur si Deus mortuos suscitabit? Ego quidem me ipsum
aduersus nomen Iesu Nazareni oporteret multa contraria operari
existimaueram; quod et Hierosolimis feci, ac multos sanctorum potestate 15
a pontificibus accepta in carceribus inclusi, et dum occiderentur,
sententiam detuli ac per omnes synagogas eos frequenter blasphemari
compellebam atque in eos abundanter insaniens usque ad exterarum
ciuitates persequabar. In quibus dum cum potestate ac permissione
pontificum Damascum irem, die media in uia, o rex, celitus super 20
splendorem solis circumfulsisse me lumen uidi et omnes qui mecum
proficiscebantur. Cum autem nos omnes in terram decidissemus, audiui
uocem mihi dicentem: “Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Durum est
tibi aduersus stimulum calcitrare.” Ego uero dixi: “Quis es, domine?”
Ipse autem ait: “Ego sum Iesus, quem tu persequeris. Sed exurge et sta 25
super pedes tuos. Ad hoc enim apparui tibi ut constituam te ministrum
ac testem eorum que uidisti, atque eorum quibus tibi apparebo, de
populo ac gentibus te eligens, ad quas ego te mittam ut oculos suos
aperias, ut a tenebris ad lucem et a potestate Satane ad Deum
conuertantur, ut ipsi remissionem peccatorum ac sortem inter 30
sanctificatos per fidem accipiant que est in me.” Vnde, o rex Agrippa,
celesti uisioni incredulus non fui, sed his qui erant Damasci primum
atque a Hierosolimis, et per omnem regionem Iudee ac gentibus
annuntiabam ut penitentiam agerent atque ad Deum conuerterentur
digna penitentiae opera agentes. Horum gratia Iudei in templo me 35

2 defendebat] *ex* defendebant *corr. fort.* A1 8 precognouerint] *ex* precognouerunt *corr. fort.*
A1 | uoluerint] *ex* uoluerunt *corr. fort.* A1 10 iudicandus] *ex* iudicio subiectus *corr.* A2
32 a] ab B

templo me comprehenderunt atque capere et interficere tentabant. Auxilio autem Dei adiutus usque in hanc diem sto paruo ac magno testificans, ac nihil extra dicens quam ea quecumque prophete futura esse dixerunt et Moyses, si passibilis Christus, si primus ex resurrectione mortuorum lumen annuntiaturus est populo ac gentibus.’ Cum autem hec pro defensione sua dixisset, magna uoce Festus ait: ‘Insanis, Paule; multe te littere ad insaniam conuertunt!’ Ipse autem inquit: ‘Non insanio, optime Feste, sed ueritatis ac temperantie uerba loquor. Scit enim de his rex, ad quem confidenter loquor. Latere enim eum nihil horum certus sum. Non enim hoc in angulis gestum est. Credis, rex Agrippa, prophetis? Scio quod credis.’ Agrippas uero ait Paulo: ‘In modico me Christianum fieri suades!’ Paulus autem inquit: ‘Orarem utique Deum et in modico et in multo non solum te, sed etiam omnes qui me hodie audiunt tales fieri qualis et ego, absque his uinculis, sum.’ Et cum ipse hec dixisset, exurrexit rex ac preses et Beronice et qui cum eis assidebant, et cum secessissent adinuicem loquebantur dicentes quod ‘Homo iste nihil morte aut uinculis dignum operatus est.’ Agrippas autem Festo inquit: ‘Homo iste dimitti poterat, nisi Cesarem appellasset.’

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20 **27** Vt autem nos in Italia nauigare iudicatum est, Paulum quosdamque alios uinctos centurioni nomine Iulio, cohortis auguste, tradiderunt. Nauem uero Attamitinam ut nauigarem us ascendentes, per loca Asie deducti sumus, Aristarco Macedonico Thessalonicensi nobiscum existente; et altera die Sydonem nauigauimus. Cum autem Iulius Paulum humane tractaret, permisit ut ad amicos proficisceretur et curam sui ageret. Et inde delati Cyprum subnauigauimus, quoniam uenti contrarii erant, et pelagus Cilicie ac Pamphylie nauigantes in Myram, que est Lycie, delati sumus. Et cum centurio ibi nauem Alexandrinam in Italiam nauigantem inuenisset, in eam nos posuit. Cum autem multis diebus tarde nauigarem us ac uix iuxta 30 Cnidon, non sinente nos uento, ueniremus Crete, iuxta Sulmonem nauigauimus, atque uix iuxta eam nauigantes in locum quendam uenimus qui uocatur Boniportus, iuxta quem erat ciuitas Lasca. Multo autem tempore intercedente, cum iam periculosa esset nauigatio, eo quod iciunium iam preterisset, Paulus consolabatur dicens eis: ‘Viri, uideo 35 quod cum iniuria ac multo damno non solum oneris ac nauis sed etiam

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5 autem] *om. B* 6 Festus] *Fastus B* 21 Attamitinam] *atramitinam B* 24 Paulum] *om. A i. m. A2* | ut] *ne B*

non solum oneris ac nauis sed etiam animarum nostrarum nauigaturi sumus.’ Centurio autem gubernatori ac nauclero magis credebat quam his que a Paulo dicebantur. Cum portus ad hiemandum ineptus esset, plures consilium inierunt ut exinde nauigarent, si quo modo profecti Pheniciam portum Crete ad Africam et ad Chorum respicientem hiemare possent. 5

A143r Austro autem aspirante, propositum se tenere existimantes, cum <de> Asson sustulissent, Cretam legebant. Non autem post multum uentus typhonicus, qui Euroclydon uocatur, se aduersus eam immisit. Cum autem arrepta esset nauis ac resistere non posset, uento dati ferebamur. Insulam autem quandam decurrentes, que uocatur Clauda, uix in scapha 10 contineri potuimus, qua sublata, adiutoriis succingentes nauim utebamur ac timentes ne in Sirtes inciderent, submisso uase, sic ferebantur. Valida autem nobis tempestate iactatis, sequenti die iactum fecerunt ac tertia die propriis manibus armamenta nauium proiecimus. Neque sole uero neque stellis per plures dies apparentibus, ac tempestate non exigua imminente, 15 restabat ut omnis salutis nostre spes auferretur. Vehementi autem fame existente, tunc Paulus in medio eorum stetit ac: ‘Oportebat quidem’, inquit, ‘o uiri, ut mihi obedissetis et ne a Creta nauigassetis, atque hanc iniuriam ac iacturam lucrati fuissetis, et impresentiarum uos hortor ut bono animo sitis. Nulla enim anime amissio erit ex uobis preter quam 20 nauis. Astitit enim mihi hac nocte angelus Dei cuius sum et cui inseruio, dicens: “Ne timeas, Paule. Cesari te oportet assistere, et ecce donauit tibi Deus omnes qui tecum nauigant.” Propter quod bono animo estote, uiri. Credo enim Deo quod sic erit quemadmodum dictum fuit mihi. In insulam autem quandam oportet nos incedere.’ Sed postquam 25 quadragesima die nox superuenerit, nobis in Adriam delatis, naute circa mediam noctem aliquam sibi regionem apparere suspicabantur. Ac bolidem submittentes uiginti passus inuenerunt, et parum inde separati ac bolide iterum submissa quindecim passus inuenerunt, et timentes ne aliquo modo in loca aspera incideremus, de puppi quatuor ancoris 30 proiectis diem fieri cupiebant. Nautis autem de naui fugere querentibus, cum scapham in mare misissent, occasione quasi a prora accepta ancoras extenturi. Paulus centurionibus ac militibus ait: ‘Nisi isti in naui manserint, uos saluari non potestis.’ Tunc milites funem scaphe absciderunt et eam excindere siuerunt. Quousque autem dies futura erat, 35 Paulus omnes hortabatur ut cibum sumerent dicentes: ‘Quartandecimam

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diem hodie expectantes ieiuni perseueratis nihil accipientes; propter quod uos rogo ut cibum suscipiatis. Hoc enim ad uestram salutem existit. Nullius namque uestrum pilus de capite cadet. Cum autem hec dixisset, assumpto pane coram omnibus Deo gratias egit et, cum fregisset, 5 manducare cepit. Omnes uero animosi facti et ipsi cibum sumpserunt. Eramus autem in naui anime omnes ducente septuaginta sex. Satiati uero cibo nauim alleuiabant triticum in mare iactantes. Cum autem dies factus esset, terram non agnoscebant. Sinum autem quendam litus habentem considerabant, in quem si possibile esset nauem implere consulebant. Et 10 cum anchoras sustulissent, se mari permittebant simul uincula gubernaculorum dimittentes atque, leuato artemone, secundum aure flatum ad litus tendebant. Cum uero in locum bithalassum incidissemus, nauim impegerunt; prora quidem fixa manebat immobilis, puppis uero a ui fluctuum soluebatur. Militum autem consilium fuit ut uinctos 15 occiderent, ne quis, cum enatasset, effugeret; centurio autem Paulum saluare uolens ipsos ab eo consilio prohibuit, iussitque eos qui natare possent ut sese proicientes ad terram primi exirent ac ceteri, quidam quidem in tabulis, quidam uero super ea que de naui essent; et sic factum est ut omnes ad terram saluarentur.

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20 **28** Et cum saluati essemus, tunc cognouimus quod Mitilene insula uocabatur. Barbari autem nobis non modicam humanitatem prebebant. Accensa enim pira propter imbrem qui imminebat et frigus nos omnes reficiebant. Verum cum Paulus multitudinem sarmentorum congregasset ac super ignem imposuisset, uipera ex 25 caliditate progressa manum suam inuasit. Vt autem barbari feram in manu sua pendentem uiderunt, adinuicem dicebant: 'Homo iste omnino homicida est, quem ex mari saluatum punitio cum uiuere non sinit.' Ipse autem, bestia in ignem excussa, nihil mali passus est. Ipsi autem eum tumefaciendum ac subito mortuum casurum existimabant. Ipsis autem 30 plurimum expectantibus ac nihil in eum absurdum factum uidentibus, commutati ipsum deum esse dicebant. In circumstantiis uero loci illius primatis insule nomine Poplii predia erant, qui nos per triduum suscipiens benigne exhibuit. Factum est autem ut pater Poplii febribus ac dysenteria uexatus iaceret, ad quem Paulus ingressus, cum orasset atque

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11 dimittentes] -entes *i. r. A2* 12 bithalassum] *ex bitalassum corr. A2* 17 terram] terra *i. r. A2* | ceteri] -i *i. r. A2* | quidam] -dam *i. r. A2* 18 quidem] -dem *i. r. A2* | quidam] -dam *i. r. A2* 33 autem] *om. A ins. A2*

Paulus ingressus, cum orasset atque ei manus imposuisset, sanauit ipsum. Hoc autem facto et reliqui in insula infirmitates habentes accedebant et curabantur; qui multis etiam honoribus nos honorauerunt et nauigantibus nobis ea imposuerunt que necessari erant. Post menses autem tres in naui Alexandrina nauigauimus, que in insula hiemauerat, 5 cui insigne Castorum aderat. Et cum Syracusas delati essemus, tres menses mansimus. Vnde circumlegentes Regium deuenimus. Ac post unum diem, austro flante, Puteolos accessimus, ubi inuentis fratribus rogati sumus ut apud eos septem dies maneremus; et sic Romam uenimus. Et inde cum fratres de nobis audissent, usque ad forum Appii 10 ac Tres Tabernas nobis occurrerunt; quos cum Paulus uidisset, Deo gratias agens cepit confidere. Quando autem Romam uenimus, centurio principi militum uinctos tradidit; Paulo autem permissum est ut cum custodiendo se milite apud semetipsum remaneret. Factum est autem post tres dies ut Paulus Iudeorum primos conuocaret; congregatis autem ipsis 15 dicebat eis: ‘Viri fratres, cum ego nihil contrarium populo aut paternis morbus fecerim, a Hierosolimis uinctus in manus Romanorum traditus sum, qui cum me examinassent dimittere uoluerunt, quia nulla mortis causa in me existerat. Iudeis autem contradicentibus, Cesarem appellare coactus sum, non quasi gentem meam habens aliquid accusare. Propter 20 hanc igitur causam uos rogavi ut uiderem atque alloquerer. Gratia igitur spei Israel catena circumdatus sum.’ Ipsi autem ei dixerunt: ‘Nos neque litteras a Iudea de te suscepimus, neque adueniens aliquis ex fratribus nuntiauit uel de te aliquid malum locutus est. Dignum autem putamus abs te audire que sentis. De secta uero hac notum est nobis quod ubique 25 contradicatur.’ Cum autem ei diem constituissent, plures in hospitio ad eum uenerunt, quibus testificans regnum Dei exponebat atque de Iesu ex lege Moysi ac prophetis a mane usque ad uesperum eis suadebat. Et quidam credebant his que dicebantur, quidam uero non credebant. Cum autem sibi inuicem inconcinni essent, discedebant, Paulo unum 30 sermonem dicentem quem ‘Spiritus sanctus per Esaia prophetam patribus nostris bene locutus est dicens: *Proficiscere ad populum istum et dic eis: Auditum audietis et non intelligetis, et uidentes uidebitis et non prospicientis. Incrassatum est enim cor populi huius, et auribus graniter audierunt, et oculos suos clausuerunt, ne quando uideant oculis et auribus audiant ac corde intelligant et conuertantur et sanem eos.* Notum ergo sit uobis quod gentibus missum est

- salutare Dei; et ipsi audient!’ Et cum hec dixisset, Iudei abierunt, habita inter eos plurima conquisitione. Mansit autem Paulus biennium totum propria mercede; atque omnes suscipiebat qui ad eum ingrediebantur, regnum Dei predicans, ea que erant de domino Iesu Christo cum omni
- 5 confidentia absque prohibitione docens.

James

- 1 Iacobus Dei ac domini nostri Iesu Christi seruus, duodecim
tribubus que sunt in dispersione: salutem. Omne gaudium
existimate, fratres mei, cum in tentationes varias incideritis,
10 scientes quod probatio fidei uestre patientiam operatur; patientia autem
opus perfectum habet, ut sitis perfecti atque integri, in nullo deficientes.
Si quis autem uestrum indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo, qui omnibus
simpliciter largitur et non improperat, atque dabitur ei. Postulet uero
infide nihil ambigens. Qui enim ambigit, similis est fluctui maris qui a
15 uento mouetur atque agitur. Non enim existimet homo ille quod
aliquid a domino accipiet. Vir duplex in omnibus uis suis inconstans est.
Frater uero humilis in exaltatione sua, diues autem in humilitate sua
glorietur, quoniam sicut flos herbe transibit. Sol enim cum ardore
exortus est et herbam arefecit, et flos eius decidit, atque decor uultus sui
20 deperit; ita et diues in itineribus suis marcescit. Beatus uir qui suffert
tentationem, quoniam, cum probatus fuerit, coronam uite accipiet, quam
dominus diligentibus repromisit. Nemo cum tentatur dicat quod a Deo
tentatur. Deus enim malorum intentator est. Ipse autem neminem tentat.
Vnusquisque uero abstractus atque allectus a propria concupiscentia
25 tentatur. Concupiscentia deinde, cum concupierit, peccatum parit;
peccatum autem, cum consummatum fuerit, mortem generat. Ne erretis,
fratres mei dilecti. Omnis donatio bona et omne donum perfectum
desursum est, descendens a patre luminum, apud quem non est
transmutatio nec uicissitudinis obumbratio. Voluntarie uerbo ueritatis
30 nos genuit, ut aliquod creaturarum suarum initium simus. Itaque, fratres
mei dilecti, sit omnis homo uelox ad audiendum, tardus ad loquendum,
tardus ad iram. Ira enim uiri iustitiam Dei non operatur. Propter quod
omnem immunditiam malitie abicientes insitum uerbum in mansuetudine

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insitum uerbum in mansuetudine suscipite, quod animas uestras saluare potest. Estote autem factores uerbi et non auditores tantum uosmetipsos fallentes. Quia si quis legis auditor ac non factor est, hic comparabitur uiro qui uultum natiuitatis sue in speculo considerat. Considerauit enim seipsum et abiit, et statim oblitus est qualis fuerit. Qui autem in lege perfecta perspexerit que est libertatis ac permanserit, hic non auditor obliuiosus factus est sed factor operis, hic beatus in opere suo erit. Si quis uero inter uos religiosus esse uidetur linguam suam non refrenans, sed cor suum seducens, huius religio uana est. Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et patrem hec est: uisitare pupillos ac uiduas in eorum tribulatione, et seipsum a mundo immaculatum custodire.

2 Fratres mei, ne in acceptione personarum fidem domini nostri Iesu Christi habeatis que est glorie. Etenim si uir in congregatione uestra introierit aureum anulum in ueste preclara habens, pauper uero in sordido uestimento introierit, atque in eum qui splendidum uestimentum portat intenderitis ac dicatis: ‘Tu sede hic bene’, atque pauperi dicatis: ‘Tu sta illic aut sub scabello pedum meorum sede’, nonne intra uosmetipsos iudicatis ac malignarum cogitationum iudices facti estis? Audite, fratres mei dilecti. Nonne Deus pauperes mundi et diuites in fide et heredes regni elegit, quod diligentibus se repromisit? Vos autem pauperem inhonorastis. Nonne diuites per potentiam uos opprimunt et ipsi ad iudicia uos trahunt? Nonne ipsi bonum nomen blasphemant, quod super uos inuocatum est? Si tamen legem regalem secundum scripturam perficitis: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum*, bene facitis. Sin autem personas accipitis, peccatum operamini, redarguti a lege tamquam transgressores. Quicumque enim totam legem seruauerit, in uno autem offendat, factus est omnium reus. Qui enim dixit: ‘Non mechaberis’, dixit et: ‘Non occides’. Si uero non mechaberis, occides autem, transgressor legis factus es. Sic loquimini, sic facite per libertatis legem ad iudicandum seruati. Iudicium enim sine misericordia ei qui misericordiam non fecit. Misericordia iudicium superexaltat. Que utilitas est, fratres mei, si quis se fidem habere dicat, opera autem non habeat? Numquid fides eum saluare poterit? Si uero frater aut soror nudi existant ac quotidiano alimento indigeant, aliquis autem ex uobis dicat ipsis: ‘Ite in pace, incalescite atque saturamini’, ipsis uero ea non dederitis que corpori necessaria sunt, que

uobis utilitas erit? Sic et fides, nisi opera habuerit, in semetipsa mortua est. Sed dicet quis: ‘Tu fidem habes, et ego opera habeo.’ Ex operibus tuis mihi fidem tuam ostende, et ego ex operibus meis tibi fidem meam ostendam. Tu credis quod unus est Deus? Bene facis; et demones
 5 credunt ac contremiscunt! Vis scire, o homo, quod fides sine operibus mortua est? Abraham pater noster nonne ex operibus iustificatus est cum Izach filium suum super altare obtulerit? Vides quod fides operibus suis cooperatur, ac fides ex operibus perfecta est, atque scriptura impleta est dicens: *Credidit Abraham Deo, atque ei ad iustitiam reputatum est*, ac amicus
 10 Dei appellatus est. Videtis ergo quod ex operibus homo et non tantummodo ex fide iustificatur. Similiter autem et Raab meretrix nonne ex operibus iustificata est cum nuntios susceperit ac per aliam uiam immiserit. Sicut enim corpus absque spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides absque operibus mortua est.

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15 **3** Ne multi magistri, fratres mei, efficiamini, scientes quod maius iudicium accipietis. In multis enim omnes offendimus. Si quis in uerbo non offendit, hic perfectus est uir, totum corpus potens compescere. Ecce in ora equorum frena immittimus ut ipsi nobis
 20 tante sint atque a uentis ualidis quatiantur, quocumque impetus dirigentis uoluerit a minimo gubernaculo traducuntur; sic et lingua modicum membrum est ac magna exaltat. Ecce modicus ignis magnam siluam incendit! Et lingua ignis est atque iniquitatis uniuersitas; sic lingua in membris nostris constituitur, que totum corpus maculat atque a gehenna
 25 inflammata rotam natiuitatis inflamat. Omnis namque natura bestiarum et uolucrum ac serpentum et maritimorum domatur atque a natura humana domata sunt. Linguam autem humanam nullus homo domare potest. Est enim inquietum malum, plenum ueneno mortiferum. In ipsa Deum ac patrem benedicimus, et in ipsa homines maledicimus, qui ad
 30 similitudinem Dei facti sunt; ex ipso ore benedictio maledictioque procedit. Non oportet, fratres mei, hec ita fieri. Numquid fons ex eodem foramine dulce amarumque emittit? Non potest, fratres mei, ficus oleas facere aut uitis ficus? Sic nullius fontis est salsam et dulcem aquam
 35 sua in mansuetudine sapientie ostendat. Si autem amaram emulationem ac contentionem in corde uestro habetis, ne aduersus ueritatem

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(225r)

A146r

gloriemini ac metimini. Non est ista sapientia desursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Vbi enim emulatio et contentio est, ibi inconstantia est atque omnis praua negotiatio. Que autem desursum est sapientia primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica modesta, suadibilis, bonis consentiens plena misericordia ac fructibus bonis, absque
 5
 B226v
 (225v) simulatione, iudicans. Fructus autem iustitie pacem facientibus pace seminatur.

4 Vnde bella ac prelia in uobis? Nonne hinc, ex uoluptatibus uestris, que membris uestris militant? Concupiscitis et non habetis; occiditis et emulamini et adipisci non potestis; pugnatis ac belligeratis et non
 10
 habetis, ex eo quod non postulatis. Petitis, et non accipitis quia male petitis, ut in uoluptatibus uestris erogetis. Adulteri atque adultere, nescitis quod amicitia mundi Deo inimica est? Quicumque ergo mundi amicus esse uoluerit, inimicus Dei constituitur. An putatis quod scriptura inaniter dicat: *Ad inuidiam concupiscit spiritus qui habitat in uobis?* Maiorem
 15
 autem gratiam largitur; propter quod dicit: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus uero gratiam prebet.* Obedite ergo Deo; resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a uobis. Appropinquate Deo, et appropinquabit uobis. Emundate manus, peccatores, et purificate corda, duplices animo. Affligimini ac lugite et flete. Risus uester in luctum et gaudium in merorem conuertatur. Coram
 20
 domino humiliamini, et exaltabit uos. Ne detrahatis alterutrum, fratres. Qui enim fratri detrahit fratremque iudicat, legi detrahit legemque iudicat. Si autem legem iudicas, non es factor legis, sed iudex. Vnus est enim legislator et iudex, qui saluare ac perdere potest. Tu quis es qui alterum iudicas? Agite nunc, dicentes: ‘Hodie atque cras in ciuitatem
 25
 istam proficiscimur atque ibi annum unum commorabimur et mercabimur ac lucrabimur’, qui nescitis quid sit uobis in crastinum! Qualis est enim uita uestra, quippe uapor est ad modicum parens, deinde exterminata; pro eo ut dicatis: ‘Si dominus uoluerit, uiuemus et hoc uel illud faciemus.’ Nunc autem in arrogantiis uestris gloriamini. Omnis
 30
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 (226r)
 A146v glorificatio talis magna est. Bonum ergo facere scienti ac non facienti, ei peccatum est.

1 ista] ita B 11 postulatis] ex postulastis corr. B1 18 Emundate] et mundate AB
 21 humiliamini] -ni om. A ins. fort. A1 30 illud] illuc B

- 5 Agite nunc, diuites, plorate in miseriis uestris, que uobis aduenient, ululantes. Diuitie uestre putrefacte sunt, et uestimenta uestra a tineis comesta sunt. Aurum et argentum uestrum eruginauit, atque erugo eorum uobis in testimonium erit et carnes uestras sicut ignis manducabit.
- 5 Thesaurizastis uobis iram in ultimis diebus. Ecce merces operariorum qui regiones uestras messuerunt, que fraudata est a uobis, clamat, et clamores eorum qui messuerunt in aures domini exercituum introierunt. In terra epulati estis et corda uestra in luxuriis annutristis in die occisionis. Condemnastis, occidistis iustum; non resistit uobis. Tolerate igitur,
- 10 fratres, usque ad aduentum domini. Ecce agricola pretiosum terre fructum expectat, tolerans in eum donec utique imbrem temporaneum ac serotinum accipiat. Tolerate et uos, ac confirmate corda uestra, quoniam aduentus domini appropinquauit. Ne ingemiscatis adinuicem, fratres, ut non iudicemini; ecce iudex ante ianuas astitit. Exemplum, fratres,
- 15 suscipite afflictionis et longanimitatis prophetarum, qui in nomine domini locuti sunt. Ecce beatificemus eos qui sustinuerunt. Patientiam Iob audistis et finem domini uidistis, quoniam misericors et miserator est. Ante omnia, fratres mei, ne iuretis, neque per celum neque per terram, neque per aliquod aliud iuramentum. Sit autem sermo uester ‘Ita’
- 20 ita, ‘Non’ non, ut non sub iudicio decidatis. Tristatur aliquis inter uos? Oret. Letatur aliquis? Psallat. Infirmatur aliquis in uobis? Seniores ecclesie aduocet et super eum orent, cum ipsum in nomine domini oleo unxerint. Et oratio fidei egrotantem saluabit, et dominus eum alleuiabit; et si peccatum fecerit remittetur ei. Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra
- 25 et orate inuicem ut sanemini. Multum ualet deprecatio iusti efficax. Helias homo erat similis nobis passibilis, et oratione orauit ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres et sex menses; ac rursus orauit, et celum dedit pluuiam, et terra fructus suos germinauit. Fratres, si quis inter uos a ueritate aberrauerit et quis eum conuerterit, cognoscat quod is
- 30 qui peccatorem ab errore uie sue conuerterit, animam a morte saluabit ac peccatorum multitudinem operiet.

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(226v)

6 et] *om. A ins. A2* 7 exercituum] *i. r. A2* 8 in²] *ut praem. A exp. fort. A1* | occisionis] *ex occasionis corr. B1* 9 resistit] *restitit AB* 12 ac] *om. A ins. A2* 14 astitit] *assistit AB* 25 *ut sanemini] et senemini B*

I Peter

A147r
B228r
(227r)

1 Petrus apostolus Iesu Christi electis aduenis dispersionis Ponti,
Galatie, Capadocie, Asie, Bithinie, secundum prescientiam Dei
patris, in sanctificatione spiritus, in obedientia ac aspersione
sanguinis Iesu Christi: gratia uobis et pax multiplicetur. Benedictus Deus 5
ac pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui secundum plurimam
misericordiam suam in spem uiuam per resurrectionem Iesu Christi a
mortuis, in hereditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam atque
immarcescibilem, conseruatam in celis nos regenerauit, qui in uirtute Dei
per fidem in salutem ad reuelationem in ultimo tempore paratam 10
custoditi estis. In quo modicum exultabitis nunc si opus est ut in uariis
tentationibus contristemini, ut probatio fidei uestre multo pretiosior sit
auro dissoluto, ac per ignem probato inueniatur in laudem et gloriam et
honorem in reuelatione Iesu Christi. Quem nescientes diligitis, in quem
nunc non uidentes, credentes autem, letitia inenarrabili et glorificata 15
exultabitis, finem fidei uestre salutem animarum uestrarum reportantes.
De qua salute prophete qui de futura in uobis gratia prophetauerunt
exquisierunt, atque scrutati sunt querentes quod uel quale tempus in eis
spiritus Christi manifestaret, eas que in Christo fuerant passiones
pronuntians, postea futuras; quibus reuelatum est quod non sibi ipsis, 20
uobis autem ministrabant ea que nunc uobis annuntiata sunt per eos qui
uobis in spiritu sancto de celis misso euangelizauerunt, in quo angeli
prospicere desiderant. Propter quod lumbos mentis uestre succincti,
sobrii ac perfecti, speratis in eam gratiam que uobis in reuelatione Iesu
Christi offertur. Quasi filii obedientie, non configurati prioribus 25
ignorantie uestre concupiscentiis, sed secundum eum qui uocauit uos
sanctum, ut et ipsi sancti in omni conuersatione efficiamini. Idcirco
scriptum est: *Sancti estote, quoniam ego sanctus sum*. Et si patrem inuocatis
eum qui sine acceptione personarum secundum uniuscuiusque opus
iudicat, in timore incolatus nostri in tempore conuersamini, scientes 30
quod non corruptilibus argento uel auro de uana uestra paterne
traditionis conuersatione redempti estis, sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni
immaculati et incontaminati Christi, precogniti quidem ante mundi
constitutionem, ultimis autem temporibus manifestati propter uos, qui
per ipsum in Deum creditis, qui eum suscitauit a mortuis et dedit ei 35
gloriam, ut fides uestra et spes esset in Deo. Animas uestras in obedientia

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A147v

ueritatis castificantes per spiritum in fraternitatis amore non ficto, ex puro corde inuicem diligite attente, renati non ex semine corruptibili sed incorruptibili per uerbum Dei uiui et permanentis in seculum; quia omnis caro quasi herba, et omnis gloria hominis quasi flos herbe. Exaruit herba,
 5 et flos suus decidit. Verbum autem domini manet in seculum. Hoc autem est uerbum quod in uos euangelizatum est. Omnem ergo malitiam et omnem dolum ac simulationes et inuidias omnesque detractones, quasi
 10 infantes modo geniti, deponentes, rationabile non dolosum lac concupiscite, ut in eo crescatis in salutem, si tamen gustatis quod dulcis est dominus.

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(228r)

2 Ad quem accedentes, lapidem quidem uiuum ab hominibus reprobatum, a Deo autem electum et honorificatum, et ipsi tamquam lapides uiui edificamini domus spiritualis ad offerendum sacerdotium sanctum spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum
 15 Christum. Propter quod continet scriptura: *Ecce pono in Syon lapidem summum angularem, electum, pretiosum; et qui crediderit in eum non confundetur.* Vobis igitur credentibus honor; incredulis autem lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli, et lapis
 20 offensionis et petra scandali; qui offendunt uerbo incredulis in quod et positi sunt. Vos autem estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis, ut uirtutes eius annuntietis qui uos de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum euocauit; qui aliquando non populus
 25 Dei, nunc autem populus Dei fuistis; qui aliquando non misericordiam consecuti, nunc autem misericordiam consecuti. Dilecti, obsecro tamquam aduenas ac peregrinos ut a carnalibus concupiscentiis abstinenceis, que aduersus animam militant; conuersationem uestram inter
 30 gentes bonam habentes, ut in quo uobis tamquam malefactoribus detrahant uos, ex bonis operibus considerantes in die uisitationis Deum glorificent. Subiecti estote omni humane creature propter Deum: siue regi uelut precellenti siue principibus tamquam ad uindictam
 malefactorum laudem uero bonorum ab eo missis; quoniam sic est uoluntas Dei, ut benefacientes imprudentium hominum ignorantiam obmutescere faciatis, quasi liberi, et non quasi uelamen habentes malitie

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6 est²] Here ends 1 Peter 1 in the Vulgate.

4 herba¹] *i. r. A2* | herbe] *i. r. A2* | herba²] *i. r. A2* 9 concupiscite] concupi- *i. r. A2*
 22 populus...23 non] *om. B* 24 autem] *om. B i. m. B1* 25 a¹] *om. A ins. A1* | aduersus]
ex aduersum corr. fort. A2

et non quasi uelamen habentes malitiae libertatem, sed sicut serui Dei. Omnes honorate, paternitatem diligite, Deum timete, regem ueneramini. Serui, dominis omni timore subiecti estote, non solum bonis atque equis, sed etiam iniquis. Hec est enim gratia, si propter conscientiam Dei sustinet quis dolores, iniuste patiens. Qualis enim est gloria, si peccantes et colaphis percussi sustinetis? <Sed si benefacientes et patientes sustinetis>, hec est gratia apud Deum. In hoc enim uocati estis, quia et Christus pro nobis passus est, nobis exemplum relinquens, ut uestigia sua sequamini: qui peccatum non fecit, nec inuentus est dolus in ore suo; qui cum obiurgaretur non obiurgabat, cum pateretur non comminabatur; iniuste autem iudicanti se prehebat. Qui peccata nostra ipse in corpore suo super lignum pertulit, ut peccatis mortui iustitiae uiuamus; cuius ipsius liuore sanati estis. Eratis enim sicut oues errantes, sed nunc ad pastorem atque animarum uestrarum episcopum conuersi estis.

3 Similiter et mulieres subdite sint propriis uiris, ut et si qui uerbo per mulierum conuersationem non credunt, sine uerbo liquefiant, sanctam conuersationem nostram in timore considerantes; quarum sit ornatus non exterius in reuolutione capillorum aut circumpositione aut aureorum uestimentorum indumento, sed qui est homo in cordis incorruptibilitate absconditus modesti ac quieti spiritus, qui est coram Deo locuples. Sic enim et mulieres aliquando sperantes in Deum subdite propriis uiris se ipsas exornabant, sicut Sara Abrahe obediebat eum dominum uocans; cuius fuistis filie benefacientes nullam perturbationem timentes. Viri similiter secundum scientiam quasi infirmiori uasculo muliebri cohabitantes tribuentes honorem, tamquam coheredibus gratie uite, ut orationes uestre non impediantur. Finis autem omnes unanimes, compatientes, fraternitatis amatores, misericordes, modesti, non malum pro malo nec maledictum pro maledicto reddentes, sed e contrario benedicentes, scientes quod in hoc uocati estis, ut hereditatis benedictionem possideatis. Qui enim uitam diligere diesque bonos uidere uult, a malo linguam suam coerceat, ac labia sua ne loquantur dolum; declinet autem a malo ac faciat bonum, inquirat pacem et assequatur eam. Quia oculi domini super iustos, et aures sue in deprecationem eorum. Vultus autem domini super facientes mala. Et quis est qui nos

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- affligat si boni similitores fueritis? Sed et si per iustitiam patimini, beati! Timorem autem eorum ne timeatis neque conturbemini; dominum autem Deum in cordibus uestris sanctificate, parati semper rationem reddere omnibus a uobis de ea que in uobis est spe rationem
- 5 poscentibus, sed cum modestia ac timore, conscientiam bonam habentes, ut in eo in quo uobis tamquam malefactoribus detrahunt, ii confunduntur qui uestram bonam in Christo conuersionem calumniantur. Melius est enim ut beneficientes, si uoluntas Dei uoluerit, quam ut malefacientes patiantur. Quia Christus semel pro peccatis
- 10 nostris, iustus pro iniustis, mortuus est, ut omnes, mortificatos quidem carne, uiuificatos autem spiritu, Deo offerret. In quo et his qui in carcere conclusi erant spiritibus perfectis predicauit, qui increduli aliquando fuerant, quando Dei presentiam in diebus Noe expectabant, cum fabricaretur arca, in qua pauci, hoc est octo anime, ab aqua saluate sunt.
- 15 Quod exemplum et nunc et uos saluat, baptisma, non carnis depositio sordium sed conscientie bone in Deum interrogatio, per resurrectionem Iesu Christi, qui est in dextera Dei, mortem deglutiens ut uite eterne heredes efficeremini, profectus in celum, subiectis sibi angelis et potestatibus ac uirtutibus.
- 20 **4** Christo igitur pro nobis in carne passo, et uos eadem cogitatione armemini, quoniam qui in carne passus est cessauit a peccatis, ut iam non hominem concupiscentiis, sed uoluntati Dei quod reliquum est in carne tunc uiuet temporis. Sufficit enim uobis preteritum tempus ad uoluntatem gentium consummandam, quod in luxuriis, in
- 25 concupiscentiis, ebrietatibus, comesationibus, potationibus atque illicitis idolorum cultibus ambulauerunt, in quibus nunc obstupescunt. In quo admirantur non concurrentibus uobis eandem luxurie confusionem, blasphemantes; qui reddent rationem ei qui uiuos ac mortuos iudicare paratus est. Propter hoc enim et mortuis euangelizatum est, ut iudicentur
- 30 quidem secundum homines in carne, uiuant autem secundum Deum in spiritu. Omnium uero finis appropinquauit. Estote igitur prudentes sobrii et uigilate in orationibus. Ante omnia autem mutuam inuicem caritatem continue habentes, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum; hospitales inuicem absque mutuis murmurationibus. Vnusquisque, sicut

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1 boni similitores] leonis imitatores *AB*
 25 comesationibus] commessionibus *B*

11 his] hic *AB*

17 est] cum *AB*

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accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administrantes sint sicut boni dispensatores multiformis gratie Dei. Si quis loquitur, quasi eloquia Dei. Si quis ministrat, tamquam ex uirtute quam prebet Deus, ut Deus in omnibus per Iesum Christum glorificetur: cui est gloria et imperium in secula. Amen. Dilecti, ne peregrinemini in feruore qui uobis ad 5 tentationem fiat, quasi peregrinum aliquod uobis contingat, sed passionibus Christi communicantes gaudete in reuelatione glorie. Spiritus super uos requiescet; secundum ipsos quidem blasphematur, secundum uos autem glorificatur. Nemo enim uestrum tamquam homicida aut fur aut malefactor aut alienorum appetitor patiat; si uero ut Christianus 10 non erubescat, Deus autem in hac parte glorificet. Quoniam tempus ut iudicium a domo Dei incipiat. Si autem primus a nobis, quis finis eorum qui euangelio Dei non credunt? Et si iustus uix saluabitur, peccator et impius ubi apparebunt? Itaque et hi qui secundum uoluntatem Dei patiuntur, animas suas in benefactis fidei creatori commendant. 15

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5 Seniores ergo qui inter uos sunt obsecro, et ipse senior ac testis passionum Christi, qui est glorie reuelande communicator: Pascite qui inter uos sunt in gregem Dei, non coacte sed uoluntarie prouidentes, non autem turpiter sed prompte, nec ut <dominantes> in cleris sed forma facti gregis. Et cum princeps pastorum apparuerit, 20 immarcescibilem coronam glorie percipietis. Similiter, adolescentes, subditi estote senioribus. Omnes enim inuicem humilitatem insinuate, quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei, ut uos in tempore uisitationis exaltet, omnem curam uestram in eum proicientes, quoniam sibi cura est de 25 uobis. Sobrii estote, uigilate; quoniam aduersarius uester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit querens quem deuoret. Cui resistite fortes in fide, scientes quod eadem passio fiet ei que in mundo est fraternitati uestre. Deus autem omnis gratie, qui in eternam gloriam suam in Christo Iesu uos uocauit, modicum passos ipse perficiet ac confirmabit et 30 solidabit et fundabit uos. Ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen. Per Siluanum fidelem fratrem uobis, ut arbitror, breuiter scripsi, obsecrans et contestans hanc esse ueram Dei gratiam; in qua statis. Salutat uos ecclesia que est in Babilone, et Marcus filius meus. Salutate inuicem in osculo caritatis. Pax uobis omnibus qui estis in Christo Iesu. 35

19 dominantes] *om. AB* 28 que] qui *B*
Amen.

II Peter

- 1 Simon Petrus seruus et apostolus Iesu Christi his qui coequalem
nobiscum in iustitia Dei nostri et saluatoris Iesu Christi fidem
sortiti sunt: gratia uobis et pax in cognitione Dei ac Iesu domini
5 nostri adimpleatur. Quomodo nobis omnia diuine uirtutis sue ad uitam
ac pietatem donata sunt per cognitionem eius qui uocauit nos per
gloriam et uirtutem, per quas pretiosa et maxima promissa nobis data
sunt, ut per hec diuine nature consortes efficiamini, corruptionem
concupiscentie que in mundo est confugientes; et hoc est ipsum curam
10 omnem subinferentes ministrare in fide uestra uirtutem, in uirtute autem
scientiam, in scientia uero continentiam, in continentia uero patientiam,
in patientia uero pietatem, in pietate uero pietatis amorem, in pietatis
autem amore caritatem. Hec enim, cum uobis supersint atque abundant,
uos non otiosos neque inutiles in cognitione domini nostri constituite;
15 cui enim hec non adsunt, cecus est oculos claudens, obliuionem
purgationis ueterum delictorum suorum accipiens. Quapropter, fratres,
magis studete ut uocationem atque electionem uestram certam faciatis.
Hec enim facientes non peccabitis aliquando. Sic enim uobis in eternum
domini nostri et saluatoris Iesu Christi regnum introitus ministrabitur.
20 Propter quod non negligam ut semper uos de his admoneam, et quidem
scientes et confirmatos in presenti ueritate. Iustum autem puto, quamdiu
sum in hoc tabernaculo, uos in commonitione excitare, sciens quod
depositio tabernaculi mei celeris est, sicut et dominus noster Iesus
Christus indicauit mihi. Studebo autem et semper ut post exitum meum
25 horum commemorationem faciatis. Non enim doctas fabulas secuti
domini nostri Iesu Christi uirtutem ac presentiam uobis notam fecimus,
sed speculatores magnitudinis illius facti. Accipiens enim a Deo patre
honorem ac gloriam, uoce ad eum tali a magnifica maiestate dilapsa: *Hic
est filius meus dilectus, in quem mihi complacui*. Et hanc uocem de celo delatam
30 nos audiuiimus, cum secum in monte sancto essemus. Ac firmiorem
propheticum sermonem habemus, cui attendentes benefacitis utpote
lucerne in obscuro loco lucenti, donec dies illucescat, ac lucifer in
cordibus uestris oriatur, hoc primum intelligentes quod omnis scripture
prophetia propria interpretatione non fit; non enim humana uoluntate

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A150r

umquam prophetia allata est, sed a spiritu sancto Dei homines delati locuti sunt.

2 Falsi uero prophete in populo fuerunt, sicut et falsi magistri inter uos erunt, qui sectas perditionis introducent, eum qui ipsos redemit dominum abnegantes, ac celerem sibi ipsis perditionem 5 superinduentes. Ac multi luxurias eorum sequuntur, per quas uia ueritatis blasphemabitur; et in auaritia fictis uerbis de uobis negotiabuntur. Quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat, et perditio eorum non dormitat. Si enim Deus angelis qui peccauerunt non pepercit, sed rudentibus inferni in tartarum detractos tradidit cruciandos cum in 10 iudicium reseruati essent; ac uetusto mundo non pepercit, sed octauum Noe iustitie preconem custodiuit cum diluuium impiorum mundo induxisset; et ciuitates Sodomorum ac Gomorreorum in cinerem redigens euersione condonasset, atque exemplum eorum posuit qui impie acturi sunt; ac iustum Loth afflictum a nephandorum in luxuria 15 euersione eripuit: aspectu enim et auditu iustus apud eos habitabat, qui de die in diem animam iustam iniquis operibus cruciabant. Nouit igitur Deus pios de tentationibus eripere, iniquos uero in die iudicii cruciandos reseruare, maxime uero eos qui post carnem in concupiscentiis immunditie ambulant dominationemque conuertunt. Audaces sibi 20 placentes sectas non metuunt blasphemantes, ubi, cum angeli uirtute ac potentia maiores sint, execrabile iudicium aduersus se non ferunt. Ii autem uelut irrationalia animalia effecti naturalia in captionem atque perniciem, in eis in quibus ignorant blasphemantes, in corruptione sua peribunt partientes mercedem iniustitie; uoluptatem existimantes in dies 25 delicias, coinquinati, maculati deliciis affluentes, in deceptionibus suis luxuriantes uobiscum, oculos habentes adulterii et incessabilis peccati plenos, animas instabiles allicientes, cor exercitatum auaritia habentes, maledictionis filii, uiam rectam dereliquerunt, secuti uiam Balaam aberrauerunt, qui mercedem iniquitatis amauit. Proprie uero iniquitatis 30 redargutionem habuit: subiugale mutum animal hominis uoce loquens prophete insipientiam prohibuit. Hi sunt fontes sine aqua, nebule tempestate exagitate, quibus caligo tenebrarum in seculo reseruata est. Superba enim uanitatis loquentes in desideriis carnis luxurie eos alliciunt,

B233r
(232r)

3 inter] gentes *add. B exp. B1* 13 condonasset] *ex condonasse corr. A2* 26 uobiscum] uolucrum *AB* 29 mercedem] reliquerunt *add. B exp. B1* 30 mutum] murum *B* 33 Superba] superbia *AB*

alliciunt, qui uere effugiunt qui in errore conuersati, libertatem eis promittentes, cum ipsi corruptionis serui sint; a quo enim quis superatus est huius et seruus est. Nam si coinquinationes mundi in cognitione domini et saluatoris Iesu Christi fugientes his rursus implicati superantur,
 5 facta sunt eis ultima peiora quam prima. Melius enim erat eis ut uiam iustitiae non cognouissent; et ubi cognouerunt ab eo conuerterentur quod ipsis in sancto mandato traditum fuerat. Contingit uero eis illud ueri prouerbi: *Canis reuersus ad proprium uomitum, et sus lota in uolutabro luti.*

A150v

B233v

(232v)

- 10 **3** Hanc iam, dilecti, secundam uobis epistolam scribo, in quibus sinceram mentem uestram in commonitione excito, ut uerborum a sanctis prophetis et ad mandata domini ac saluatoris per apostolos uestros predictorum memineritis; hoc primum scientes quod in ultimis diebus illusores secundum proprias concupiscentias suas aduenient, ambulantes ac dicentes: ‘Vbi est repromissio aduentus sui?’ A quo enim
 15 patres dormierunt, omnia ab initio creationis sic perseuerant. Hoc enim eos latet uolentes quod celi antiquitus erant et terra ex aqua ac per aquam uerbo Dei consistens, per que ille tunc mundus aqua inundatus periit. Celi uero, qui nunc sunt, et terra eodem modo repositi sunt, in diem iudicii ac perditionis impiorum hominum igni reseruati. Vnum autem hoc
 20 uos non lateat, dilecti, quoniam unus dies apud Deum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut unus dies. Dominus promissionem suam non tardat, sicut quidam tarditatem existimant, sed propter nos tolerat, aliquos perire nolens, sed omnes ad penitentiam reuerti. Dies autem domini sicut fur adueniet, in quo celi magno impetu transibunt, elementa uero calefacta
 25 dissoluentur, ac tecta que in ipsa sunt opera exurentur. Cum ergo hec omnia dissoluantur, quales in sanctis conuersationibus ac pietatibus uos esse oportet, expectantes atque in aduentum diei ipsius Dei festinantes, per quem celi ardentes dissoluentur et elementa calefacta liquefient. Nouos uero celos ac nouam terram secundum repromissionem suam
 30 expectamus, in quibus iustitia habitat. Idcirco, dilecti, hec expectantes studete ut immaculati et inuiolati ei in pace inueniamini et domini nostri Iesu Christi longanimitatem salutem existimate, quemadmodum et dilectus frater noster Paulus secundum datam sibi sapientiam scripsit uobis, ut et in omnibus epistolis in ipsis de his loquens, in quibus sunt

B234r

(233r)

17 inundatus] mundatus AB 23 nolens] uolens B | penitentiam] potentiam AB
 27 Dei] om. A ins. A2

quedam intellectu difficilia, que indocti atque instabiles sicut et ceteras scripturas ad propriam ipsorum perditionem deprauant. Vos igitur, dilecti, hec prescientes custodite ne insipientium errore traducti a proprio firmamento excidatis. Crescite uero in gratia et cognitione domini nostri ac saluatoris Iesu Christi. Ipsi gloria et nunc et in die eternitatis. Amen. 5

I John

A151r

1 Quod fuit ab initio, quod audiuius, quod oculis nostris uidimus, quod perspeximus et manus nostre contrectauerunt, de uerbo uite – ac uita manifestata sunt, et uidimus ac testificamur et annuntiamus uobis uitam eternam, que erat apud patrem et apparuit uobis – quod 10 uidimus et audiuius, annuntiamus uobis, ut et uos nobiscum societatem habeatis. Et societas uestra sit cum patre ac filio suo Iesu Christo. Et hec scribimus uobis ut gaudeatis et ut gaudium uestrum plenum sit. Et hec est annuntiatio, quam ab eo audiuius et annuntiamus uobis, quod Deus lux est et tenebre in eo non sunt ulle. Si dixerimus quod cum eo 15 societatem habemus et ambulemus in tenebris, mentimur et ueritatem non facimus. Si autem in luce ambulam, sicut ipse in luce est, societatem adinuicem habemus, et sanguis Iesu Christi filii sui ab omni peccato nos emundat. Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosipsos seducimus, et ueritas non est in nobis. Si peccata nostra 20 confitemur, fidelis ac iustus est, ut nobis peccata remittat et nos ab omni iniquitate emundet. Si dixerimus quod non peccauius, mendacem eum facimus, et uerbum eius non est in nobis.

B234v

(233v)

2 Filioli mei, hec scribo uobis ut non peccetis. Et si quis peccauerit, apud patrem Iesum Christum iustum aduocatum habemus; et ipse 25 est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris, non pro nostris autem tantum sed etiam pro peccatis totius mundi. Et in hoc scimus quod eum cognouimus: si mandata sua seruauerimus. Qui dicit: 'Noui eum', et mandata sua non obseruat, mendax est, et in hoc ueritas non est. Qui autem uerba sua obseruauerit, uere in hoc caritas Dei perfecta est. In hoc 30 scimus quod in eo sumus, si in eo consummimur. Qui dicit se in eo manere, debet, sicut ille ambulauit, et ipse ita ambulare. Fratres, non

3 insipientium] *ex* insipientiam *corr.* B1 10 uobis] ut et nos *add.* B *exp.* B1

11 annuntiamus] *ex* annuntiauius *corr.* B1 15 dixerimus] -m- *i. r. fort.* A1

- ille ambulauit, et ipse ita ambulare. Fratres, non mandatum nouum scribo uobis, sed mandatum uetus, quod ab initio habuistis: mandatum uetus uerbum est quod a principio audistis. Rursus mandatum nouum scribo uobis, quod et in ipso et in uobis uerum est, quia tenebre transierunt, et
- 5 uerum lumen iam lucet. Qui se in luce esse dicit et fratrem suum odit, usque modo in tenebris est. Qui diligit fratrem suum, in lumine manet, et scandalum in eo non est. Qui odit fratrem suum, in tenebris est et in tenebris ambulat, et nescit quo eat, quoniam tenebre oculos suos obcecauerunt. Scribo uobis, filioli, quoniam propter nomen suum uobis
- 10 peccata uestra remittuntur. Scribo uobis, patres, quia cognouistis eum qui ab initio est. Scribo uobis, adolescentes, quoniam uicistis malignum. Scribo uobis, pueri, quoniam cognouistis patrem. Scribo uobis, patres, quia cognouistis eum qui ab initio est. Scribo uobis, adolescentes, quoniam fortes estis, et uerbum Dei in uobis manet, et uicistis malignum.
- 15 Ne diligatis mundum neque ea que in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas patris in eo; quoniam omne quod est in mundo concupiscentia carnis est ac concupiscentia oculorum et superbia uite que non est ex patre, sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transibit et concupiscentia sua. Qui autem Dei uoluntatem facit, in eternum manet.
- 20 Filioli, ultima hora est. Et sicut audistis quod Antichristus uenit, nunc autem Antichristi multi facti sunt, unde scimus quod ultima hora est. Ex nobis prodierunt, sed ex nobis non erant. Si enim ex nobis fuissent, utique nobiscum permansissent, sed ut manifestentur quod non sunt omnes ex nobis. Et uos unctionem habetis a sancto et nostis omnia. Non
- 25 scripsi uobis quod non scitis ueritatem, sed quod sciretis eam, et quod omne mendacium ex ueritate non est. Quis est mendax nisi qui negat quod Iesus non est Christus? Hic est Antichristus, qui negat patrem et filium. Omnis qui negat filium, nec patrem habet; qui autem confitetur filium, et patrem habet. Vos quod ab initio audistis in uobis maneat; si in
- 30 uobis id quod audistis ab initio permanserit, et uos in patre filioque manebitis. Et hec est repromissio, quam ipse pollicitus est uobis: uitam eternam. Hoc uobis de his scripsi qui uos seducunt. Et unctio quam uos ab eo accepistis in uobis maneat, et non est uobis opus ut aliquis uos doceat; sed sicut unctio ipsa de omnibus uos docet, et uerum est et non

B235r

(234r)

A151v

B235v

(234v)

9 obcecauerunt] obcecauerunt B 10 remittuntur] remitt- *i. r.* A2 11 uicistis...14 quoniam] *om.* B 20 Filioli...est] et unde cognoscimus quod ultima hora est AB 29 maneat] *ex* manet *corr.* B1 32 de] *iter.* B

est mendacium, et, sicut docuit uos, in eo manete. Et nunc, filioli, manete in eo, ut, cum apparuerint, fiduciam habeamus et in aduentu suo ab eo non confundamur. Si scitis quod iustus est, scite quod omnis qui facit iustitiam ex ipso natus est.

A152r

3 Videte qualem caritatem dedit nobis pater, ut filii Dei nominemur, 5
et simus: propter hoc mundus uos non cognoscit, quia eum non
cognouit. Dilecti, nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid
erimus. Scimus autem quod, cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam
uidebimus eum sicuti est; et omnis qui hanc spem habet seipsum
sanctificat, sicut ille sanctus est. Omnis qui peccatum facit, certe 10
iniquitatem facit, et peccatum est iniquitas. Et scit quod ille apparuit ut
peccata uestra auferret, et peccatum in ipso non est. Omnis qui in eo
manet non peccat, et omnis qui peccat nec uidit nec nouit eum. Filioli,
nemo uos seducat. Qui facit iustitiam iustus est, sicut ille iustus est. Qui
facit peccatum ex diabolo est, quoniam ab initio diabolus peccat. In hoc 15
filius Dei apparuit, ut opera diaboli dissolueret. Omnis qui natus est ex
Deo peccatum non facit, quoniam semen suum in ipso manet; et non
potest peccare, quia ex Deo natus est. In hoc manifesti sunt filii Dei ac
filii diaboli: omnis qui iustitiam non facit non est ex Deo, et qui fratrem
suum non diligit. Quoniam hec est annuntiatio quam ab initio audistis, ut 20
inuicem diligatis. Non sicut Cain, qui ex maligno erat et fratrem suum
occidit. Et cuius gratia ipsum occidit? Quoniam opera sua maligna erant,
fratris autem sui iusta. Ne miremini, fratres mei, si mundus uos oderit.
Nos scimus quod de morte ad uitam transcendimus, quoniam diligimus
fratres. Qui non diligit fratrem, in morte manet. Omnis qui fratrem suum 25
odit homicida est, et scitis quod omnis qui homicida est uitam eternam in
se manentem non habet. In hoc Dei caritatem cognouimus, quoniam ille
animam suam pro nobis posuit; et nos pro fratribus animas ponere
debemus. Qui mundi substantiam habuerit ac fratrem suum indigentiam
habentem uiderit atque ab eo uiscera sua clauserit, quomodo caritas Dei 30
in eo manet? Filioli mei, nec uerbo nec lingua, sed opere ac ueritate
diligamus. In hoc cognoscimus quod ex ueritate sumus, et coram eo
cordibus nostris suademus, quoniam si cor nostrum nos reprehenderit,

B236r

(235r)

3 non] *iter. A exp. fort. A1* | scite] *ex scitote corr. fort. A2* **6** simus] sumus *B* **15** est] -t *i. r. fort. A1* **25** fratrem¹] suum odit homicida est *add. B exp. B1* **29** habuerit] *ex habet corr. B1* **31** nec¹] *ex ne corr. fort. A1*

Deus corde nostro maior est et cognoscit omnia. Dilecti, si cor nostrum nos non reprehenderit, fiduciam ad Deum habemus et quodcumque petierimus ab eo accipiemus, quoniam mandata sua seruauimus et *A152v B236v* quaecumque placita sunt coram eo facimus. Et hoc est mandatum suum, *(235v)*
 5 ut in nomine Iesu Christi filii sui credamus atque inuicem diligamus, sicut mandatum dedit. Et qui mandata sua seruat in eo manet, et ipse in eo. In hoc cognoscimus quod in nobis manet, ex spiritu quem nobis dedit.

4 Dilecti, non credatis omni spiritui, sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sunt, quoniam multi falsi prophete in mundum exierunt. In hoc
 10 spiritus Dei cognoscitur: omnis spiritus qui Iesum Christum in carne uenisse confitetur ex Deo est, et omnis spiritus qui Iesum Christum in carne uenisse non confitetur ex Deo non est. Et hic est ipsius Antichristi, quem audistis quod uenit, et nunc iam in mundo est. Vos ex Deo estis, filioli, et eos uicistis, quoniam maior est qui in uobis
 15 est quam qui est in mundo. Ipsi ex mundo sunt; ideo de mundo loquuntur, et mundus eos audit. Nos ex Deo sumus. Qui Deum nouit, nos audit; qui ex Deo non est nos non audit. Ex hoc spiritum ueritatis spiritumque erroris cognoscimus. Dilecti, diligamus inuicem, quoniam caritas ex Deo est, et omnis qui diligit ex Deo natus est, et cognoscit
 20 Deum. Qui non diligit, caritatem non habet nec Deum nouit, quoniam Deus caritas est. In hoc caritas Dei in nobis apparuit, quoniam Deus unigenitum suum filium misit in mundum, ut per eum uiueremus. In hoc caritas est, quod non Deum dilexerimus, sed quod ipse nos dilexit et filium suum pro peccatis nostris propitiatorem misit. Dilecti, si Deus sic
 25 nos dilexit, et nos inuicem diligere debemus. Deum nemo uidit umquam. Si diligamus inuicem, Deus in nobis manet, et caritas eius in nobis perfecta est. In hoc cognoscimus quod in eo manemus et ipse in nobis, quoniam de spiritu suo dedit nobis. Et nos uidimus ac testificamur quod pater misit filium saluatorem mundi. Quicumque confessus fuerit quod
 30 Iesus est Christus filius Dei, Deus in eo manet et ipse in Deo. Et nos cognouimus et credidimus ueritati quam Deus in nobis habet. Deus caritas est, et qui manet in caritate in Deo manet, et Deus in eo. In hoc nobiscum caritas perfecta est, ut in die iudicii fiduciam habeamus, quoniam sicut ille est, et nos sumus in hoc mundo. Timor non est in
 35 caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras emittit timorem, quoniam timor penam habet. Qui autem timet non est perfectus in caritate. Nos diligamus *A153r*

B237r
(236r)

A153r

non est perfectus in caritate. Nos diligamus ipsum, quoniam ipse primus dilexit nos. Si quis dixerit quod diligit Deum et fratrem suum oderit, mendax est. Qui enim non diligit fratrem suum, quem uidet, Deum, quem non uidet, quomodo potest diligere? Et hoc mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum et fratrem suum diligat.

5

5 Omnis qui credit quod Iesus est Christus, ex Deo natus est, et omnis qui diligit eum qui genuit, diligit eum qui genitus est ex eo.

B237v

(236v)

In hoc cognoscimus quod filios Dei diligimus, cum Deum diligamus et mandata sua seruemus. Hec est enim caritas Dei, ut mandata sua seruemus; et mandata sua onerosa non sunt, quoniam omne quod natum est ex Deo uincit mundum; et hec est uictoria que uincit mundum: fides nostra. Quis est qui uincit mundum, nisi qui credit quod Iesus est filius Dei? Hic est Iesus Christus, qui per aquam et sanguinem uenit; non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine. Et spiritus est ueritas qui testificatur quod spiritus est ueritas. Quia tres sunt qui in celo testificantur: pater, uerbum et spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt; et tres sunt qui in terra testificantur: Spiritus, aqua et sanguis. Si testimonium omnium accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est, quoniam hoc est testimonium Dei quod maius est, quod de filio suo testificatus est. Qui credit in filium Dei, in seipso testimonium habet. Qui non credit Deo, mendacem facit eum, quoniam non credit testimonio quod Deus de filio suo testificatus est. Et hoc est testimonium, quod Deus nobis eternam uitam dedit, et hec uita in filio suo est. Qui habet filium, habet uitam; et qui non habet filium Dei, uitam non habet. Hec scribo uobis quicumque in nomine Dei creditis ut sciatis quod uitam eternam habetis, et ut in nomine filii Dei credatis. Et hec est fiducia quam apud eum habemus, quod quicumque secundum uoluntatem suam petierimus, nos audiet. Et si scierimus quod nos audit quodcumque petierimus, scimus quod petitiones habemus quas ab eo postulamus. Si quis fratrem suum peccantem peccato non ad mortem uiderit, petat, et pro eo non ad mortem peccandi uitam dabit. Est peccatum ad mortem; non pro illo dico, ut quis roget. Omnis iniustitia peccati est, et est peccatum non ad mortem. Scimus quod omnis qui natus est ex Deo non peccat, sed qui genitus est ex Deo conseruat eum, et malignus non tangit eum. Scimus quod ex Deo sumus, et mundus totus in maligno positus est. Scimus autem quod filius Dei uenit, ac nobis intellectum dedit ut uerum

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B238r

(237r)

8 filios] *ex filius corr. B1* 15 Quia] quod B 18 Dei] *om. B*

uenit, ac nobis intellectum dedit ut uerum cognosceremus; et simus in uero filio suo, Iesu Christo. Hic est uerus Deus et uita eterna. Filioli, cauete ab idolis. Amen.

II John

- 5 Senior electe domine ac filiis suis, quos ego in ueritate diligo, et non ego
solus, sed etiam omnes qui ueritatem cognoscunt, propter ueritatem que
manet in uobis et nobiscum erit in eternum: sit uobiscum gratia,
misericordia, pax a Deo patre et a domino Iesu Christo, filio patris, in
ueritate et caritate. Gaudisus sum ualde quod inueni de filiis tuis
10 ambulantes in ueritate, sicut mandatum a patre accepimus. Et nunc rogo
te, domina, non tamquam mandatum nouum scribens tibi, sed id quod
ab initio habuimus, ut diligamus inuicem. Et hec est caritas, ut secundum
mandata sua ambulemus; hoc est mandatum, quemadmodum ab initio
audistis, ut in eo ambuletis. Quoniam multi seductores in mundum
15 intrauerunt, qui Iesum Christum in carne uenisse non confitentur; hic est
seductor atque Antichristus. Videte uosmetipsos ne ea perdatis que
operati estis, sed ut mercedem plenam suscipiatis. Omnis qui
transgreditur et in doctrina Christi non permanet, Deum non habet. Qui
autem permanet in doctrina Christi, hic et patrem et filium habet. Si quis
20 ad uos uenit et hanc doctrinam non afferat, ipsum in domum ne
suscipiatis atque ei salutem ne dicatis. Qui enim ei salutem dicit, malignis
operibus suis communicat. Ecce predixi uobis ut in die domini nostri
Iesu Christi non confundamini. Ideo multa uobis scribere habens per
cartam et atramentum nolui, sed spero ad uos uenire et os ad os loqui, ut
25 gaudium uestrum plenum sit. Salutant te filii sororis tue Electe. Gratia
tecum. Amen.

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(237v)

III John

Senior Caio dilecto, quem ego in ueritate diligo: Dilecte, de omnibus oro ut prospere incedas ac ualeas, quemadmodum prospere incedit anima tua. Gaudisus sum ualde uenientibus fratribus ac ueritati tue testificantibus, quemadmodum tu in ueritate ambulas. Maiorem his gratiam non habeo quam ut filios meos in ueritate ambulantes audiam. 5

A154r Dilecte, fideliter facis quodcumque in fratres ac peregrinos operaris, qui caritati tue coram ecclesia testificati sunt, quos benefaciens Deo digne deducis; pro nomine enim eius nihil a gentibus accipientes perfecti sunt. 10

B239r Nos ergo tales suscipere debemus, ut operadores ueritati efficiamini. 10

(238r) Scripsissem forsitan ecclesie; sed is qui inter fratres primatum gerere amat, Diotrophes, nos non recipit. Propter hoc, si uenero, opera sua que facit malignis uerbis garriens in nos commonebo; et quasi ista ei non sufficient, ipse etiam non suscipit fratres, et eos qui suscipere uolunt prohibet ac de ecclesia eicit. Dilecte, ne malum imiteris, sed quod bonum est. Qui benefacit ex Deo est; qui autem malefacit Deum non uidit. 15

Demetrio testimonium ab omnibus et ab ipsa ueritate redditur; et nos etiam testificamur et scimus quod testimonium nostrum uerax est. Multa habui scribere, et per atramentum ac calamum tibi scribere nolui. Spero autem confestim te uidere et os ad os loquemur. Pax tibi. Salutant te 20

amici. Saluta tu amicos nominatim.

Jude

Iudas Iesu Christi seruus, frater autem Iacobi, his qui sunt in Deo patre, sanctificatis et a Iesu Christo seruatis uocatisque: misericordia uobis et pax et caritas adimpleatur. Dilecti, omnem sollicitudinem faciens scribendi uobis de communi salute necesse habui uobis scribere, 25

B239v deprecans ut certetis pro ea fide que a sanctis semel tradita est. Subintrauerunt enim quidam homines qui olim in hoc iudicio prescripti sunt, impii, gratiam Dei nostri in luxuriam transferentes, et solum dominatorem Deum et dominum nostrum Iesum Christum abnegantes. 30

(238v) Commonere autem uos uolo, scientes hoc semel, quod dominus, cum

2 ueritate] uirtute *praem.* B *exp.* B1 13 commonebo] commouebo B 15 imiteris] mireris B 28 prescripti] perscripti B 29 solum] solu B 30 dominatorem] nominatorem AB

populum de terra Egypti saluasset, eos qui non crediderunt secundo perdidit, et angelos qui suum principatum non seruauerunt, sed proprium domicilium dereliquerunt, in iudicium magne diei uinculis eternis sub caligine reseruauit. Sicut Sodoma et Gomorra et que circa eas

5 ciuitates erant, simili cum eis modo ex fornicate ac post carnem alteram abeuntes, exemplum facte sunt, ignis eterni penam sustinentes. Similiter autem et hi exterminantes carnem quidem maculant, dominationem uero spernunt, gloriam autem blasphemant. Michael autem archangelus cum de Moysi corpore cum diabolo disputaret, non est ausus iudicium inferre

10 blasphemie, sed ait: 'Imperet tibi dominus!' Hi autem quecumque ignorant blasphemant, quecumque uero tamquam naturaliter animalia irrationabilia nouerunt, in his corrumpuntur. Ve eis, quoniam uiam Cain abierunt, et errore Balaam mercede effusi sunt, et in defensione Chore perierunt. Hi sunt in dilectionibus uestris macule conuiuantes intrepide,

15 seipsos pascentes, nubes sine aqua que a uentis circumferuntur, arbores autumnales infructuose bis mortue, eradicatæ, fructus siluestres maris confusiones suas dispumantes, sidera errantia, quibus caligo tenebrarum reseruata est. De his autem septimus ab Adam Enoch prophetauit dicens: 'Ecce uenit dominus in sanctis milibus suis ad faciendum

20 iudicium contra omnes et ad arguendum cunctos impios suos de omnibus operibus impietatis eorum quibus impie egerunt, ac de omnibus duris que peccatores impij aduersus eum locuti sunt.' Hi sunt murmuratores, querulosi, secundum concupiscentias suas ambulantes, et os eorum superba loquitu, personas emolumenti gratia admirantes. Vos

25 autem, dilecti, mementote uerborum ab apostolis domini nostri Iesu Christi predictorum, quia dicebant uobis quod 'In ultimo tempore erunt illusores, secundum desideria impietatum suarum ambulantes.' Hi sunt segregati animalem, spiritum non habentes. Vos autem, dilecti, sanctissima fide uestra uosmetipsos superedificantes, in spiritu sancto

30 orantes, uos autem in dilectione Dei seruate, misericordiam domini nostri Iesu Christi in uitam eternam expectantes. Et hos quidem arguite iudicatos, hos autem in timore saluate exinde rapientes, aliis autem miseremini in timore Dei, odientes eam que maculata est carnis tunicam. Ei autem qui sine peccato potest uos confirmare ac coram gloria sua

35 immaculatos in exultatione uos constituere, soli sapienti Deo saluatori

A154v

B240r
(239r)

3 diei] *ex deiei corr. B1* 14 conuiuantes] *communicantes praem. B exp. B1* 18 autem] *om. B*
26 dicebant] *dicebam AB* 32 aliis] *alii AB* 34 gloria] *ex gloriam corr. fort. A1*

nostro, gloria ac magnificentia imperium et potestas et nunc et in omnia secula. Amen.

Revelation

A155r

B240v

(239v)

1 Apocalypsis Iesu Christi, quam dedit ei Deus ut ea seruis suis
manifestaret que cito fieri oportuit, ac significauit, cum per 5
angelum suum Ioanni seruo suo misisset, qui de uerbo Dei et de
testimonio Iesu Christi quecumque uidit testificatus est. Beatus qui legit
et qui uerba prophetie audiunt et seruant quecumque in ea scripta sunt.
Tempus enim prope est. Ioannes septem ecclesiis que sunt in Asia: gratia 10
uobis et pax a Deo, qui est et qui erat et qui uenturus est, et a septem
spiritibus qui coram solio suo sunt, et a Iesu Christo, qui est testis fidelis,
primogenitus mortuorum ac princeps regum terre, qui dilexit nos atque a
peccatis nostris nos in sanguine suo lauit ac fecit nos regnum, et
sacerdotes Deo et patri suo, ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculorum.
Amen. Ecce uenit cum nubibus, et uidebit eum omnis oculus et qui eum 15
pupugerunt, et omnes tribus terre utique super eum plangent. Amen.
Ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis, dicit dominus, qui est et
qui erat et qui uenturus est, omnipotens. Ego Ioannes, frater uester et
particeps in tribulatione et regno et patientia in Christo Iesu, propter
uerbum Dei eram in insula que Pathmos appellatur, et propter 20
testimonium Iesu Christi. Die dominica fui in spiritu et audiui uocem
magnam post me tamquam tube dicentis: ‘Quod uides, scribe in libro et
mitte septem ecclesiis que sunt in Asia, Epheso, Smirne, Pergamo,
Thyatire et Sardis ac Philadelphie et Laodice.’ Et ibi conuerti me ut
uiderem uocem que mecum loquebatur; et conuersus uidi septem 25
candelabra aurea et in medio septem candelabrorum aureorum similem
filium hominis, uestitum podere ac zona aurea ad mamillas
circuncinctum; caput autem suum et capilli erant candidi tamquam lana
alba et tamquam nix, et oculi sui tamquam flamma ignis, et pedes sui
similes auricalco quasi in camino igniti, et uox sua tamquam uox 30
aquarum multarum, et habebat in dextera manu sua stellas septem, et ex
ore suo gladius ex utraque parte acutus exhibat, et aspectus suus lucebat
quasi lux in uirtute sua. Et quando ipsum uidi, cecidi ad pedes suos

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(240r)

A155v

11 solio] *ex throno corr. fort. A2* 27 mamillas] *ex mammillas corr. B1*

uidi, cecidi ad pedes suos tamquam mortuus; et posuit dexteram suam super me dicens: 'Ne timeas! Ego sum primus et ultimus, et sum uiuus et fui mortuus et ecce sum uiuens in secula seculorum. Amen. Et habeo clauēs mortis et inferni. Scribe ergo que uidisti et que sunt et que futura sunt. Post hec mysterium stellarum quas in dextera mea uidisti; et septem candelabra aurea hec sunt. Septem stelle angeli septem sunt septem ecclesiarum, et candelabra septem ecclesie septem sunt.

2 Angelo ecclesie que est Ephesi scribe: Hec dicit qui tenet septem
 10 stellas in dextera sua et ambulat in medio septem candelabrorum
 aureorum: Scio opera tua ac laborem tuum et patientiam tuam, et
 quod malos tolerare non potes, et tentasti eos qui sese apostolos esse
 dicunt et non sunt, et eos mendaces inuenisti; et patientiam habes et
 propter nomen meum tolerasti et non defecisti. Sed habeo aduersus te
 15 quod caritatem tuam primam reliquisti. Memento ergo unde excideris, et
 penitentiam age et prima opera fac. Si autem non, cito ad te ueniam et
 candelabrum tuum ex loco suo mouebo, nisi penitentiam egeris. Sed hoc
 habes, quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, que et ego odi. Qui habet aures,
 audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Vincenti dabo ei ut edat de ligno uite,
 quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et angelo ecclesie que est Smirne scribe:
 20 Hec dicit primus et ultimus, qui fuit mortuus et uiuit: Scio opera tua ac
 tribulationem et paupertatem – sed diues es – et blasphemaris ab his qui
 se Iudeos esse dicunt et non sunt, sed sunt synagoga Satane. Nihil horum
 timeas que passurus es. Ecce ergo diabolus ex uobis aliquos in carcerem
 missurus est ut tentemini, et habebitis tribulationem diebus decem. Esto
 25 fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam uite. Qui habet aurem,
 audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Qui uicerit a morte secunda non
 ledetur. Et angelo ecclesie que est Pergami scribe: Hec dicit qui habet
 gladium ex utraque parte acutum: Scio opera tua et ubi habitas, ubi sedes
 est Satane, et tenes nomen meum et non negasti fidem meam in diebus
 30 quibus Antipas, testis meus fidelis, qui apud uos, ubi Satanas habitat,
 occisus est. Sed habeo aduersus te pauca, quia habes ibi tenentes
 doctrinam Balaam, qui docebat ut Balaam coram filiis Israel scandalum
 mitteret ac sacrificia idolorum comederet fornicareturque; sic habes et tu
 tenentes doctrinam Nicolaitarum similiter. Penitentiam ergo age. Si
 35 autem non, cito ad te ueniam et cum eis in gladio oris mei pugnabo. Qui

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B242r
 (241r)

A156r

habet aurem, audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Vincenti dabo ei manna absconditum et dabo ipsi calculum candidum, et in calculo nomen meum scriptum, quod nemo nouit nisi qui accipit. Et angelo ecclesie que est Thyatire scribe: Hec dicit filius Dei, qui habet oculos suos tamquam flammam ignis, et pedes sui similes sunt auricalco: Scio opera tua et caritatem ac fidem et ministerium et patientiam tuam et opera tua ultima plura quam prima. Sed habeo aduersus te, quia dimittis uxorem tuam Izabel, que esse dicit propheta, et docet ac seruos meos ad fornicandum atque ad manducandum sacrificia idolorum seducit. Et dedi ei tempus ut peniteret, et non uult penitere a fornicatione sua. Ecce mitto eam in lectum et qui cum ea mechantur in tribulatione magna erunt, nisi ab operibus eius penitentiam egerint. Et filios ipsius in morte interficiam, et omnes ecclesie scient quod ego sum qui scrutor renes et corda et dabo eis unicuique secundum opera uestra. Vobis autem dico ceteris, qui Thiatire estis, quicumque doctrinam non habent et qui profunda satane non cognouerunt, quemadmodum dicunt, non mittam super uos aliud pondus, nisi id quod habetis tenete quousque ueniam. Et qui uicerit opera mea usque in finem et custodierit, dabo ei potestatem super gentem, et reget eam in uirga ferrea, tamquam uasa terrea confringentur, sicut et ego accepi a patre meo, et dabo ei stellam matutinam. Qui habet aurem, audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis.

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(241v)

3 Et angelo ecclesie que est in Sardis scribe: Hec dicit qui habet septem spiritus et septem stellas: Scio opera tua, quod nomen habes ut uiuas, et mortuus es. Effice ut uigilias et confirma cetera que abiecturus eras. Non enim coram Deo meo inuenio opera tua; memento ergo qualiter acceperis et penitentiam age. Si enim non uigilaueris, ueniam ad te tamquam fur, et nescies qua hora ad te ueniam. Sed pauca habes nomina in Sardis, que uestimenta tua non coinquinauerunt et in albis mecum ambulabunt, quoniam digni sunt. Qui uicerit, sic uestimentis albis uestietur, et non delebo nomen suum de libro uite, et confitebor nomen suum coram patre meo et coram angelis suis. Qui habet aurem, audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Et angelo ecclesie que est Philadelphie scribe: Hec dicit sanctus et uerus qui habet clauem Daud, qui aperit et nemo claudet eam nisi qui aperuerit, et nemo aperiet: Scio opera tua – ecce dedi ostium apertum, quod nemo potest claudere ipsum – quia paruam habes uirtutem, et librum meum seruasti

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paruam habes uirtutem, et librum meum seruasti et nomen meum non negasti. Ecce do tibi de synagoga Satane eos qui se Iudeos esse dicunt et non sunt, sed mentiuntur; ecce faciam eos ut ueniant et coram pedibus tuis adorabunt et scient quod dilexi te. Quia uerbum patientie mee
 5 seruasti, et ego ab hora tentationis te seruabo, que in totum terrarum orbem uentura est ad tentandum eos qui habitant in terra. Veniam cito; tene quod habes, ut nemo coronam tuam accipiat. Qui uicerit, faciam eum columnam in templo Dei mei, et foras non egredietur amplius, et scribam super eum nomen Dei mei et nomen ciuitatis Dei mei, noue
 10 Hierusalem, que de celo Dei mei descendit, et nomen nouum. Qui habet aures, audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Et angelo ecclesie que est Laodicie scribe: Hec dicit amen, testis fidelis et uerax, principium fidei Dei: Scio opera tua, quod neque frigidus neque calidus es. Vtinam frigidus aut sic calidus esses! Sed quoniam tepidus es et neque calidus
 15 neque frigidus, de ore meo te euomam. Quia dicis: “Diues sum et locupletatus et nullius egeo”, et nescis quod tu es miser et miserabilis et pauper et cecus ac nudus, consulo tibi ut a me aurum emas ignitum ex igne, ut diteris et uestimenta alba ut induaris, et non manifestetur confusio nuditatis tue, et collyrium ut oculos tuos inungas et uideas. Ego
 20 eos quos non amo redarguo et erudio. Emulare ergo et penitentiam age. Ecce sto ad ostium et pulso; si quis uocem meam audierit et ostium aperuerit, ad eum ingrediar et cenabo cum eo et ipse mecum. Qui uicerit, dabo ei ut sedeat mecum in solio meo, sicut et ego uici et sedi cum patre meo in solio suo. Qui habet aurem, audiat quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis.’

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(242r)

25 **4** Post hec uidi: et ecce ostium apertum in celo, et uox prima quam audiui tamquam tube que mecum loquebatur ac dicebat: ‘Ascende huc, et ostendam tibi que post hec fieri oportet.’ Ac statim fui in spiritu: et ecce sedes posita erat in celo, et supra sedem sedens, et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis iaspidis et sardii, et iris erat in circuitu
 30 sedis, similiter uisio smaragdina. In circuitu sedis et super sedilia uiginti quatuor seniores sedentes uestimentis albis circumamictos, et in capitibus suis coronas aureas. Et de sede procedebant fulgura et uoces ac tonitrua; et septem lampades ignis ardentes coram sede sua, que sunt septem spiritus Dei, et coram sede mare uitreum simile crystallo. Et in circuitu
 35 sedis quatuor animalia, plena oculis ante et retro: et animal primum

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(242v)

4 dilexi] -i om. A ins. fort. A1 8 foras] uid. corr. A1 9 mei²] om. B i. m. B1 25 ostium] ex hostium corr. B1

animalia, plena oculis ante et retro: et animal primum simile leoni et secundum animal simile uitulo et tertium animal habebat faciem hominis et quartum simile aquile uolanti. Ac quatuor animalia unumquodque senas in circuitu alas habebat, et intus plena erant oculis; et requiem non habebant die noctuque dicentia: ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus Deus 5 omnipotens, qui est et qui erat et qui uenturus est!’ Et cum animalia sedenti super solium, uiuenti in secula seculorum, gloriam et honorem ac benedictionem darent, uiginti quatuor seniores coram sedente super solium procidebant atque uiuentem in secula seculorum adorabant et coronas suas coram solio mittebant dicentes: ‘Dignus es, domine ac 10 Deus noster, accipere gloriam et honorem et potestatem, quoniam tu omnia creasti, et propter uoluntatem tuam erant et creata fuerant.’

5 Et uidi in dextera sedentis per solium librum scriptum intus et foris, septem sigillis sigillatum. Et uidi angelum fortem cum uoce magna predicantem: ‘Quis dignus est aperire librum ac soluere 15 sigilla sua?’ Et nemo in celo sursum neque in terra deorsum aperire librum neque ipsum respicere poterat. Et ego multum flebam, quoniam nemo inuentus est dignus ut librum aperiret atque ipsum respiceret. Et unus de senioribus dicit mihi: ‘Ne fleas; ecce uicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix Daud, et aperit librum ac septem sigilla sua.’ Et uidi in medio solii ac 20 quatuor animalium et in medio seniorum agnum stantem tamquam occisum, cornua habentem septem et oculos septem, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi in omnem terram. Et uenit et accipit dextera sedentis in solio librum. Et cum librum accepisset, quatuor animalia ac uiginti quatuor seniores coram agno prociderunt, singuli citharas ac phialas 25 aureas habentes plenas odoramentorum que sunt orationes sanctorum. Et canticum nouum cantabant dicentes: ‘Dignus es accipere librum et accipere sigilla, quoniam occisus fuisti et nos in sanguine tuo redemisti ex omni tribu ac lingua et populo ac natione et nosmetipsos acquisisti Deo nostro reges et sacerdotes, et regnabunt super terram.’ Et uidi et audiui 30 quasi uocem angelorum multorum in circuitu solii et animalium ac seniorum, et erat numerus eorum decies milia milium ac mille milium dicentium uoce magna: ‘Dignus est agnus ut accipiat potentiam et diuitias et sapientiam ac fortitudinem et honorem et gloriam atque

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(243r)

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2 habebat] simile *præm.* B *exp.* B1 4 senas...circuitu] in circuitu senas AB *corr. fort.* A2
5 Deus] *om.* B 8 coram] eis *add.* B *exp.* B1 9 procidebant] procedebant B 24 accepisset]
accepissem AB

ac fortitudinem et honorem et gloriam atque benedictionem.’ Et omnem creaturam que in celo est et subtus terram et super mare et quecumque in eis sunt, omnes audiui dicentes sedenti in solio et agno: ‘Benedictio et honor et gloria et potestas in secula seculorum. Amen. Et quatuor animalia dicentia: ‘Amen’; et uiginti quatuor seniores in facies suas

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- 6 Et uidi quod aperuisset agnus unum de septem sigillis, et audiui unum de quatuor animalibus dicens tamquam uocem tonitruui: ‘Veni et uide.’ Ecce equus albus; et qui sedebat super eum arcum
- 10 habebat, et data est ei corona, et exiuit uinctus et ut uinceret. Et cum aperuisset sigillum secundum, audiui secundum animal dicens: ‘Veni et uide.’ Et exiuit alius equus rufus; et ei qui sedebat super ipsum datum est ut pacem de terra sumeret et ut inuicem se interficerent, et datus est ei gladius magnus. Et cum aperuisset sigillum tertium, audiui tertium animal
- 15 dicens: ‘Veni et uide.’ Et ecce equus niger; et qui sedebat super eum habebat stateram in manu sua. Et audiui uocem in medio quatuor animalium dicentem: ‘Bilibris tritici denario, et tres bilibris ordeï denario; et uinum et oleum ne leseris.’ Et cum aperuisset sigillum quartum, audiui quartum animal dicens: ‘Veni et uide.’ Et ecce equus pallidus; et qui
- 20 sedebat super ipsum, nomen ei Mors, et infernus eum sequebatur, et data est ei potestas super quatuor partes terre ut interficiat in gladio et in fame et in morte atque in bestiis terre. Et cum aperuisset sigillum quintum, uidi subtus altare animas interfectorum propter uerbum Dei et propter testimonium magni quod habebant. Et clamabant uoce magna dicentes:
- 25 ‘Vsque quo, dominus sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et non uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui habitant in terra? Et data est eis unicuique stola alba, et dictum est ipsis ut per annum adhuc requiescerent, donec complerentur conserui sui fratres sui et qui interficiendi sunt sicut et ipsi. Et uidi, cum aperuisset sigillum sextum, et terremotus magnus factus, et
- 30 sol niger effectus est tamquam saccus cilicinus, et luna tota facta est quasi sanguis, et stelle celi in terram ceciderunt, sicut ficus emittit grossos suos quando a uento magno excutitur, et celum recessit sicut liber inuolutus, et omnis mons et insula de locis suis moti sunt. Et reges terre et principes et tribuni ac diuites et fortes et omnis seruus et liber seipsos in

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(244r)

2 subtus terram] super terram B 12 datum] ex datus *corr. fort.* A1 28 sui²] tui AB | ipsi] dixi AB 30 cilicinus] caliginis B 32 quando] quanto B

speluncis et in petris montium absconderunt; et dicunt montibus et petris: ‘Cadite super nos et abscondite nos a facie sedentis in solio et ab ira agni, quoniam uenit dies magnus ire sue.’

7 Post hec uidi quatuor angelos super quatuor angulos terre stantes
ac quatuor uentos tenentes, ne flaret uentus super terram neque 5
super mare neque in ullam arborem. Et uidi alium angelum
ascendentem ab ortu solis, signum Dei uiui habentem, et clamabat uoce
magna quatuor angelis quibus datum erat ut terre et mari nocerent
dicens: ‘Ne noceatis terre neque mari neque arboribus, quoadusque 10
seruos Dei nostri in frontibus suis signauerimus.’ Et audiui numerum
signatorum, centum quadraginta quatuor milia signatorum, ex omni tribu
filiorum Israel. Ex tribu Iuda duodecim milia signati, ex tribu Ruben
duodecim milia, ex tribu Gad duodecim milia, ex tribu Aser duodecim
B245v milia, ex tribu Neptalim duodecim milia, ex tribu Manases duodecim
(244v) milia, ex tribu Simeon duodecim milia, ex tribu Leui duodecim milia, ex 15
tribu Isachar duodecim milia, ex tribu Zabulon duodecim milia, ex tribu
Ioseph duodecim milia, ex tribu Benjamin duodecim milia signati. Post
hec uidi: et ecce turba multa, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omni
A158v gente et tribubus ac populis et linguis stantes coram solio et coram agno,
amicti stolis albis, et palme in manibus suis; et clamabant omnes angeli in 20
circuitu solii ac seniorum et quatuor animalium, et coram solio in facies
suas prociderunt et adorauerunt dicentes: ‘Amen! Benedictio et claritas et
sapientia et gratiarum actio, honor et uirtus et fortitudo Deo nostro in
secula seculorum. Amen.’ Et respondit unus de senioribus dicens mihi:
‘Hi qui sunt stolis albis amicti, quinam sunt et unde uenerunt?’ Et dixi ei: 25
‘Domine mi, tu scis.’ Et ait mihi: ‘Hi sunt qui ex tribulatione magna
uenerunt et stolas suas lauerunt atque in sanguine agni dealbauerunt.
Idcirco sunt coram solio Dei et die noctuque in templo suo ei inseruiunt,
et qui sedet in solio habitat super eos, nec amplius esurient nec amplius
sitient, et non cadet super eos sol neque ullus estus, quoniam agnus qui 30
in medio solii est reget et ducet eos ad uite fontes aquarum, et Deus

1 absconderunt] ascenderunt AB corr. A2 2 abscondite] ex ascondite corr. fort. A2
6 ullam] nullam AB 8 quibus] i. r. A2 10 signauerimus] -mus i. r. A2 19 amicti] amictis
AB

omnem animam ab oculis suis absterget.’ Et cum aperuisset septimum sigillum, factum est silentium in celo quasi dimidia hora.

8 Et uidi septem angelos, qui coram Deo stabant, et date sunt eis
 5 septem tube. Et alius angelus uenit et stetit super altare habens
 aureum turibulum, et data sunt eis incensa multa, ut daret de
 orationibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum, quod est coram
 solio. Et ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus sanctorum de manu
 angeli coram Deo. Et accepit angelus turibulum et impleuit ipsum igne
 altaris et misit in terram; et facta sunt tonitrua et uoces ac fulgura et
 10 terremotus. Et angeli qui septem tubas habebant, se preparauerunt ut
 tubicinarentur. Et primus angelus tubicinatus est. Et facta est grando et
 ignis commixta in sanguine, et missum est in terram: et tertia pars terre
 combusta est, et tertia pars arborum concremata est, et omne fenum
 15 uiride combustum est. Et secundus angelus tubicinatus est. Et tamquam
 mons magnus ardens missus est in mare: et facta est tertia pars maris
 sanguis, et mortua est tertia pars creaturarum que in mari animas
 habebant, et tertia pars nauium interiit. Et tertius angelus tubicinatus est.
 Et stella magna ardens tamquam facula de celo cecidit et cecidit in
 20 tertiam partem fluminum atque in fontes aquarum. Et nomen stelle
 dicitur *Apsinthos*. Et facta est tertia pars aquarum in apsinthium, et multi
 hominum ex aquis mortui sunt, quia amaricauerunt. Et quartus angelus
 tubicinatus est. Et percussa est tertia pars solis et tertia lune ac tertia
 stellarum, ita ut tertia pars earum obscuraretur et tertia pars in eis non
 25 luceret et dies ac nox similiter. Et uidi et audiui aquilam unam per
 medium celum uolantem ac dicentem uoce magna: ‘Ve, ue, ue
 habitantibus in terra!’, et ex reliquis tribus uocibus tube trium angelorum

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(245r)

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qui tubicinaturi erant.

9 Et quintus angelus tubicinatus est. Et uidi stellam de celo cecidisse
 in terram, et data est ei clauis putei abyssi. Et ascendit fumus ex
 30 puteo sicut fumus camini ardentis, et obscuratus est sol et aer ex
 fumo putei. Et ex fumo locuste in terra exierunt, et data est eis potestas,
 ut ~~ut possent euadere uocibus terrae. Et dixerunt, eis suis nomen qui~~

1 absterget] Here ends Revelation 7 in the Vulgate.

12 tertia] terra *praem. B exp. B1* | et³] omne fenum *add. B exp. B1* 18 tertiam] terram

praem. B exp. B1 19 Apsinthos] ex apsinthos *corr. fort. A1* 29 fumo] -um- *i. r. fort. A1*

30 fumo] -um- *i. r. fort. A1*

lederent neue omne uiride neue omnem arborem, nisi homines qui in
 frontibus suis sigillum Dei non habent. Et datum est eis ne ipsos
 occiderent, sed ut mensibus quinque cruciarentur; et cruciatus eorum ut
 cruciatus scorpionis, cum hominem percutit. Et in diebus illis querent
 homines mortem et non inuenient eam, et concupiscent mori, et mors 5
 fugiet ab eis. Et similitudines locustarum similes equis paratis ad prelium,
 et super capita eorum sicut corone auree, et facies eorum tamquam facies
 hominum, et habebant capillos sicut capillos mulierum, et dentes eorum
 tamquam dentes leonum erant, et thoraces sicut thoraces ferreos
 habebant, et uox alarum suarum uelut uox curruum multorum equorum 10
 in prelium currentium. Et caudas similes scorpionibus et aculeos
 habebant, et aculei in caudis suis et potestatem habebant ut mensibus
 quinque hominibus nocerent. Et inter se angelum abyssi regem
 habebant, nomen ei Hebraice *Abbadon*, Grece autem nomen habebat
Appolyon, et Latine nomen habet 'Exterminans'. Ve unum abiit; ecce 15
 adhuc ue duo ueniunt. Post hec et sextus angelus tubicinatus est: Et
 audiui uocem unam ex quatuor cornibus altaris aurei, quod est coram
 Deo, dicentis sexto angelo, qui habebat tubam: 'Solue quatuor angelos
 qui in flumine magno Euphrate sunt.' Et soluti sunt quatuor angeli qui 20
 inter horam et diem et mensem atque annum parati erant ut tertiam
 partem hominum occiderent. Et numerus equestrium exercituum uigies
 milies dena milia; audiui numerum eorum. Et sic uidi equos in uisione et
 qui super eos sedebant, thoraces igneas et hyacinthinas ac sulphureas
 habentes, et capita equorum tamquam capita leonum erant, et ignis ac
 sulphur et fumus de oribus suis procedebant. Et ab his tribus plagis ab 25
 igne fumo ac sulphure que ex oribus suis procedebant tertia pars
 hominum occisa est. Potestas enim equorum in ore et in caudis eorum
 erat, caude namque sue similes erant serpentibus capita habentibus, et
 cum ipsis nocent. Ac ceteri homines, qui ab his plagis non sunt occisi, a
 nequioribus facinoribus suis penitentiam non egerunt, ut demonia aurea 30
 et argentea et erea ac lapidea et lignea non adorarent, que nec uidere
 neque audire neque ambulare possunt, et ab homicidiis suis neque a
 ueneficiis neque a fornicationibus neque a furtis suis penitentiam
 egerunt.

B247r
 (246r)
 A159v

9 thoraces¹] *ex toraces corr. B1* 18 tubam] *turbam B* 22 milies] *ex milia corr. B1*
 27 occisa] *-i- i. r. fort. A2*

- 10 Et uidi alium angelum fortem de celo descendentem nube amictum, et iris in capite suo, et facies eius quasi sol, et pedes sui tamquam columnne ignis erant, et in manu sua libellum apertum habebat. Et pedem suum dexterum super mare, sinistrum autem
- 5 super terram posuit, et uoce magna sicut leo rugiens clamauit. Et cum clamasset, septem tonitrua uoces suas locuta sunt, et cum septem tonitrua uoces suas locuta fuissent, ego scripturus eram; et audiui uocem de celo dicentem: ‘Signa que locuta sunt septem tonitrua, et ne ea scribas.’ Et angelus quem uidi super mare et super terram stantem,
- 10 manum suam dexteram ad celum eleuauit, et iurauit per uiuentem in secula seculorum, qui creauit celum et ea que in ipso sunt, et terram et ea que in ipsa sunt, et mare et ea que in eo sunt, quoniam tempus non amplius erit sed in diebus uocis septimi angeli, cum tubicinaturus erit, mysterium Dei perficietur, sicut per seruos suos prophetas euangelizauit.
- 15 Et uox quam audiui de celo mecum loquebatur ac dicebat: ‘Vide et accipe libellum in manu angeli super mare et super terram stantis. Et abii ad angelum dicens ei ut daret mihi libellum. Et ait mihi: ‘Accipe et deuora ipsum; et uentrem tuum amaricari faciet, sed in ore tuo erit dulce tamquam mel.’ Et accepi librum de manu angeli et deuorau i ipsum, et
- 20 erat in ore meo tamquam mel dulce; et postquam comedi ipsum, amaricatus est uenter meus. Et dicunt mihi: ‘Oportet te iterum prophetare populis ac gentibus et linguis atque regibus multis.’

B247v
(246v)

A160r

- 11 Et datus est mihi calamus similis uirge dicens: ‘Surge ac metire templum Dei et altare, et adorantes in eo et atrium quod est
- 25 extra templum eice foras et ipsum non metieris, quoniam datum est gentibus, et ciuitatem sanctam quadraginta duobus mensibus calcabunt. Et dabo duobus testibus meis, et prophetabunt diebus mille ducentis sexaginta saccis circumamicti.’ Hi sunt duo oliue et duo candelabra qui coram domino terre astant. Et si quis ipsos ledere
- 30 uoluerit, sic eum occidi oportet. Hi claudendi celum potestatem habent ne imber diebus prophetie sue pluatur, et in aquis potestatem habent conuertendi eas in sanguinem ac percutiendi terram omni plaga quotienscumque uoluerint. Et cum testimonium suum perfecerint, bestia que de abyso ascendet eis bellum inferet et eos uincet, atque ipsos
- 35 interficiet. Et cadauera eorum in platea magne ciuitatis, que uocatur spiritualiter Sodoma et Egyptus, iacebunt, ubi et dominus eorum

B248r
(247r)

iacebunt, ubi et dominus eorum crucifixus est; et de populis ac tribubus
 et linguis atque gentibus per tres dies cadauera sua uidebunt, et poni in
 monumento cadauera sua non permittentur. Et terram inhabitantes in
 ipsis gaudebunt et letabuntur et inuicem munera dabunt, quoniam hi duo
 prophete eos circuiuerunt qui super terram inhabitabant. Et post tres
 5 dies cum dimidio spiritus uite a Deo intrabit in eos, et super pedes suos
 steterunt; et timor magnus super eos cecidit qui ipsos uiderunt. Et uocem
 magnam de celo audierunt dicentem eis: ‘Ascendite huc’; et in nube in
 celum ascenderunt et inimici eorum uiderunt eos. In illa die factus est
 10 terremotus magnus, et una pars ciuitatis cecidit, et occisa sunt in
 terremotu nomina hominum septem milia, et reliqui territi euaserunt et
 Deo celi gloriam dederunt. Et ue secundum abiit, et ecce ue tertium cito
 ueniet. Et septimus angelus tubicinatus est, et facte sunt uoces magne in
 celo dicentes: ‘Factum est regnum mundi domini nostri et Christi sui, et
 15 in secula seculorum regnabit.’ Et uiginti quatuor seniores, qui coram
 solio Dei erant ac super solia sua sedebant, in facies suas ceciderunt et
 Deum adorauerunt dicentes: ‘Gratias agimus tibi, domine Deus
 omnipotens, qui es et qui eras et qui uenturus es, quod uirtutem tuam
 magnam assumpsisti et regnasti. Et irate sunt gentes, et uenit ira tua, et
 20 tempus mortuorum ut iudicentur, et ne merces seruis tuis prophetis ac
 sanctis et nomen tuum timentibus, paruus et magnis, tribuatur, et ut
 exterminentur hi qui terram corruerunt.’

A160v

B248v

(247v)

12 Et apertum est templum Dei in celo, et uisa est arca testamenti
 Dei in templo suo; et facta sunt fulgura et uoces ac terremotus
 et grando magna. Et signum ingens apparuit in celo: mulier
 25 circumamicta sole, et luna sub pedibus suis, et in capite suo corona
 stellarum duodecim, et in utero habens clamabat parturiens et
 torquebatur ut pareret. Et uisum est aliud signum in celo: et ecce draco
 magnus rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem, et in capitibus suis
 septem diademata, et cauda sua tertiam partem stellarum celi trahebat et
 30 eas in terram misit. Et draco stabat coram muliere que paritura erat ut,
 cum peperisset, filium suum deuoraret. Et peperit filium masculum, qui
 et in uirga ferrea omnes gentes rectorus erat; et raptus est filius eius ad

25 magna] Here ends Revelation 11 in the Vulgate.

3 sua] uidebunt *add. B exp. B1* 9 uiderunt] *ex uidebunt corr. B1* 13 tubicinatus] -tus *i. r.*
 A2 | est] *i. r. A2* 18 es¹] *ex est corr. A2B1* | eras] -s *i. r. A2* | et²...es²] *om. A i. m.*
 A2 | es²] *ex est corr. B1* 21 sanctis] exterminentur *add. B exp. B1*

gentes recturus erat; et raptus est filius eius ad Deum et ad solium suum. Et mulier in solitudinem fugit ubi locum habebat ibi a Deo paratum, ut illic mille ducentis sexaginta diebus eam alant. Et factum est prelium ingens in celo: Michael et angeli sui cum dracone pugnabant, et draco

5 pugnauit et angeli sui et non preualuerunt, neque locus inuentus est ei adhuc in celo. Et draco magnus, serpens antiquus, qui uocatur diabolus et Satanas, qui totum terrarum orbem seducit, in terram proiectus est, et angeli sui cum eo missi sunt. Et audiui uocem magnam in celo dicentem: ‘Modo facta est salus et uirtus et regnum Dei nostri et potestas Christi

10 sui, qui proiectus est fratrum nostrorum accusator, qui eos coram Deo nostro die noctuque accusabat. Et ipsi propter sanguinem agni et propter uerbum testimonii eorum uicerunt eum; et usque ad mortem animas suas non dilexerunt. Propter hoc letamini, celi et qui in eis habitatis. Ve terre ac mari, quoniam ad uos diabolus ascendit habens furorem magnum,

15 sciens quod modicum tempus habet.’ Et postquam uidit draco quod in terram proiectus esset, mulierem que peperit masculum persecutus est. Et date sunt mulieri ale due aquile magne, ut in desertum in locum suum uolaret, ubi ad tempus ac tempora et dimidium temporis ibi facie serpentis alitur. Et serpens ex ore suo post mulierem aquam tamquam

20 flumen misit, ut eam a flumine trahi faceret. Et terra mulierem adiuuit, et os suum aperuit et flumen absorbit quod draco de ore suo misit. Et iratus est draco in mulierem et abiit ut aduersus ceteros de semine suo prelium faceret, qui Dei mandata seruant atque Iesu testimonium habent. Et stetit super arenam maris.

B249r
(248r)

A161r

25 **13** Et uidi bestiam de mari ascendentem cornua decem ac capita septem habentem, et super cornua sua decem diademata, et super capita sua nomina blasphemie. Et bestia quam uidi erat similis pardo, et pedes sui sicut pedes ursi, et os suum sicut os leonis. Et dedit ei draco uirtutem suam et solium suum ac potestatem magnam. Et

30 uidi unum de capitibus suis quasi occisum in mortem, et plaga mortis sue curata est. Et tota terra post bestiam admirata est, et adorauerunt draconem, qui bestie potestatem dedit, bestiamque adorauerunt dicentes: ‘Quis similis bestie? Quis aduersus eam pugnare potest?’ Et datum est ipsi os loquens magna et blasphemias; data est ei per quadraginta duos

35 menses potestas belligerandi. Et os suum ad Deum in blasphemiam

B249v
(248v)

17 in²] *om. B* 20 adiuuit] adiuit *AB* 32 Quis] Qui *B*

belligerandi. Et os suum ad Deum in blasphemiam aperuit, ut nomen
 suum blasphemaret et tabernaculum suum, et eos qui in celo habitant. Et
 data est ei potestas belligerandi aduersus sanctos ac uincendi eos, et data
 est potestas in omnem tribum et populum ac linguam et gentem. Et
 adorabunt eum omnes qui habitant in terra, quoniam nomina non sunt
 scripta in libro uite agni, qui a constitutione mundi occisus est. Si quis
 habet aurem, audiat: Si quis in captiuitatem duxerit, in captiuitatem uadet;
 si quis in gladio occiderit, oportet eum in gladio occidi. Hic est patientia
 et fides sanctorum. Et uidi aliam bestiam de terra ascendentem, et cornua
 duo similia agno habebat, et sicut draco loquebatur. Et potestatem prime
 bestie omnem coram eo faciebat. Et fecit ut terra et omnes in ea
 habitantes bestiam primam adorarent, cuius curata est plaga mortis sue.
 Et fecit signa magna, ita ut ignis de celo in terram coram hominibus
 descenderet. Et seducit habitantes in terra propter signa que data sunt ei
 ut faceret coram bestia, dicens habitantibus in terra ut faciant imaginem
 bestie, quod habeat plagam gladii et uixit a gladio. Et datum est ei ut
 spiritum imagini bestie traderet, et ut imago bestie loquatur et faciat ut
 quicumque non adorauerint imaginem bestie occidantur. Et faciet ut
 omnes parui et magni et diuites et pauperes et liberi ac serui in manu
 dextera eorum aut in frontibus suis caracterem habeant. Qui habet
 intellectum, numerum bestie computet; numerus enim hominis est:
 numerus eius sexcenti sexaginta sex.

A161v
B250r
(249r)

14 Et uidi: et ecce agnus supra montem Syon stabat, et cum eo
 centum quadraginta quatuor milia, habentes nomen suum et
 nomen patris sui scriptum in frontibus suis. Et audiui uocem de
 celo tamquam uocem aquarum multarum et tamquam uocem tonitru
 magni, et uox quam audiui erat sicut citharedorum in citharis suis
 citharizantium. Et canticum nouum coram solio et coram quatuor
 animalibus ac senioribus cantabant, et nemo canticum discere poterat,
 nisi centum quadraginta milia qui de terra empti sunt. Hi sunt qui cum
 mulieribus non sunt coinquinati, uirgines enim sunt. Isti sunt qui agnum
 sequuntur quocumque ierit. Hi empti sunt ex omnibus primitie Deo et
 agno; et in ore eorum mendacium non est inuentum: immaculati enim
 sunt. Et uidi angelum per medium celi uolantem, eternum euangelium

1 blasphemiam] *ex blasphemias corr. B1* 4 potestas] *ei pruem. B* | linguam] *ex linguas*
corr. B1 6 qui] *om. B* 18 faciet] *faciat B* 27 sicut] *om. B* 30 Hi...sunt³] *ex omnibus*
primitie Deo et agno AB

- angelum per medium celi uolantem, eternum euangelium habentem, ut
 sedentibus super terram ac tribum et linguam et populum euangelizaret,
 uoce magna dicens: ‘Timete dominum et date ei gloriam, quia uenit hora
 iudicii sui, et adorare ipsum, qui fecit celum ac terram et mare et omnia
 5 que in eis sunt et fontes aquarum.’ Et alius secundus angelus cum secutus
 est dicens: ‘Cecidit Babilon magna, que a uino furoris fornicationis
 potauit omnes gentes!’ Alius angelus tertius secutus est eos magna uoce
 dicens: ‘Si quis bestiam et imaginem suam adorauerit et in fronte sua aut
 in manu sua caracterem acceperit, et ipse de uino furoris Dei bibet, quod
 10 mixtum est mero in calice ire sue, uino ac sulphure coram sanctis angelis
 et coram agno cruciabitur. Et fumus tormentorum suorum in secula
 seculorum ascendit, et qui bestiam et imaginem suam adorauerunt
 requiem die noctuque non habent, et si quis caracterem nominis sui
 habet.’ Hic patientia sanctorum est, qui mandata Dei in fide Iesu seruant.
 15 Et audiui uocem de celo dicentem: ‘Scribe: Beati mortui qui in domino
 moriuntur amodo’, dicit, ‘ita ut a laboribus suis requiescant; opera enim
 sua eos sequuntur.’ Et uidi: et ecce nubes candida, et supra nubem
 sedentem filium hominis, in capite suo coronam auream et in manu sua
 falcem acutam habentem. Et alius angelus de templo exiuit uoce magna
 20 clamans ei qui super nubem sedebat: ‘Mitte falcem tuam et mete, quia
 uenit metendi hora, quoniam messis terre aruit.’ Et misit qui super
 nubem sedebat falcem suam in terram, et messa est terra. Et alius angelus
 de templo exiuit, et ipse falcem acutam habens. Et alius angelus de altari
 exiuit, qui potestatem super ignem et aquam habebat, et clamore magno
 25 ei qui habebat falcem acutam clamauit dicens: ‘Mitte falcem acutam et
 uindemia botros uinee terre, quoniam creuit uua terre.’ Et misit angelus
 falcem suam in terra et uineam terre uindemiauit et in torcular furorem
 Dei magnum immisit. Et extra ciuitatem calcatum est torcular, et sanguis
 per stadia mille sexcenta usque ad frenos equorum de torculari exiuit.

B250v
(249v)

A162r

B251r
(250r)

- 30 **15** Et uidi aliud signum in celo magnum ac mirabile: angelos
 septem plagas septem ultimas habentes, quia in ipsis furor Dei
 consumatus est. Et uidi tamquam mare uitreum igne mixtum, et
 eos qui uicerant bestiam et imaginem suam et numerum nominis sui
 supra mare uitreum stantis, et citharas Dei habentes, et canticum Moysi
 35 serui Dei cantantes et canticum agni dicentes: ‘Magna et mirabilia sunt
 opera tua, domine Deus omnipotens. Iuste et uere sunt uie tue, rex

20 Mitte ... 22 sedebat] *om. B* | mete] -c- *i. r. fort. A1* 21 metendi] -c- *i. r. fort. A1*

domine Deus omnipotens. Iuste et uere sunt uie tue, rex gentium; quis non timebit te, domine, et nomen tuum glorificabit? Quia solus sanctus, quoniam omnes gentes uenient et adorabunt coram te, quia iudicia tua manifesta sunt.' Post hec uidi: et apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii in celo, et exierunt septem angeli de templo septem plagas habentes, qui lino mundo uestiti et zonis aureis circa pectora sua precincti erant. Et unum de quatuor animalibus dedit septem angelis septem phialas plenas furoris Dei uiuentis in secula seculorum. Et impletum est templum fumo a gloria Dei et a uirtute sua, et nemo in templum introire poterat, donec septem plage angelorum consumerentur.

A162v

16 Et audiui uocem magnam de celo dicentem: 'Ite et effundite septem phialas furoris Dei in terram.' Et abiit primus et phialam suam in terram effudit; et factum est ulcus malum ac malignum in homines qui characterem bestie habebant, et in eos qui bestiam et imaginem suam adorabant. Et secundus angelus phialam suam in mare effudit; et factus est sanguis tamquam mortui, et omnis anima in mari mortua est. Et tertius phialam suam in flumina et in fontes aquarum effudit; et facti sunt sanguis. Et audiui angelum quartum dicentem: 'Iustus es, domine, qui es et qui eras, sanctus, quia hec iudicasti, quoniam sanguinem sanctorum ac prophetarum effuderunt, et sanguinem eis dedisti ad bibendum. Digni enim sunt.' Et audiui alterum dicentem: 'Vtique, domine Deus omnipotens, uera et iusta iudicia tua.' Et quartus angelus phialam suam in solem effudit; et datum est ei ut estu ignem afficeret. Et homines estu magno estuauerunt et homines nomen Dei super plagas istas potestatem habentis blasphemauerunt, et penitentiam non egerunt, ut ei gloriam non preberent. Et quintus super sedem bestie phialam suam effudit; et regnum suum tenebrosum factum est, et linguas suas pre dolore commanducauerunt ac pre doloribus et ulceribus suis Deum celi blasphemauerunt et ex operibus suis penitentiam non egerunt. Et sextus angelus in flumen magnum Euphratem phialam suam effudit; et aquam fluminis eius siccauit, ut uia regibus ab ortu solis prepararetur. Et uidi de ore draconis atque de ore bestie et de ore falsi prophete tres spiritus immundi exhibant uelut rane. Sunt enim spiritus demoniorum signa facientes que reges totius terrarum orbis precedunt ut ad prelium

B251v
(250v)

21 ad bibendum] ex bibere corr. A2B 26 habentis] ex habentes corr. B1 31 effudit] -t i. r. fort. A1

- facientes que reges totius terrarum orbis precedunt ut ad prelium diei illius magne Dei omnipotentis ipsos congregarent. Ecce uenit sicut fur; beatus qui uigilat et custodit uestimenta sua, ne nudus ambulet et turpitudinem suam uideant. Et in locum qui Hebraice uocatur *Macedoneos* congregauit. Et septimus angelus phialam suam in era effudit; et uox magna de templo celi et de solio Dei exiuit dicens: ‘Factum est!’ Confestim fuerunt fulgura ac tonitrua et uoces et terremotus magnus, qualis non fuit ex quo homines super terram fuerunt et talis terremotus sic magnus. Et fracta est ciuitas magna in tres partes, et ciuitates gentium ceciderunt. Et Babilon magna coram Deo commemorata est ut calicem uini indignationis ire sue ei preberet. Et omnis insula fugit, et montes non sunt inuenti. Et grando magna sicut talentum in homines de celo descendit; et homines ob plagam grandinis blasphemauerunt, quoniam magna fuit plaga ipsa uehementer.
- 15 **17** Et uenit unus de septem angelis qui septem plagas habebant, et locutus est mecum dicens: ‘Veni, ostendam tibi damnationem meretricis magne, que super aquas multas sedet, cum qua reges terre fornicati sunt, et qui terram inhabitant ex uino fornicationis sue inebriati sunt.’ Et abstulit me in desertum spiritus. Et uidi mulierem super bestiam coccineam nominibus blasphemie plenam sedentem, et capita septem et cornua decem habentem. Et mulier purpura et coccino circumamicta erat, auro ac lapide pretioso et margaritis inaurata, in manu sua calicem aureum abominationibus et immunditia fornicationis terre habens, et in fronte sua scriptum mysterium: ‘Babilon magna, fornicationum atque abominationum terre mater.’ Et uidi mulierem sanguinem sanctorum ex sanguine martyrum Iesu ebriam. Et miratus sum admiratione magna cum ipsam uidissem, et ait mihi angelus: ‘Quare miratus es? Ego dicam tibi sacramentum mulieris et bestie que eam portat et capita septem et cornua decem habet. Bestia quam uidisti fuit et non est, et de abyssu ascensura est et in interitum abitura, et mirabuntur qui terram inhabitant quorum nomina in libro uite a constitutione mundi non sunt scripta, et uident quod bestia erat et non est. Et hic est intellectus eorum qui sapientiam habent. Septem capita montes septem sunt ubi mulier super eos sedet, et capita septem reges septem sunt: quinque ceciderunt, unus est, alius nondum uenit et, cum uenerit, oportet

B252r
(251r)

A163r

B252v
(251v)

9 fracta] ex facta *corr. fort.* A2 13 quoniam] quonia B 15 habebant] habebat AB
25 abominationum ... mater] abominationum mater terre AB *tr.* A2

est, alius nondum uenit et, cum uenerit, oportet ipsum breue tempus manere. Et bestia que erat et non est et ipsa octaua est et ex septem est et in interitum uadit; et decem cornua que uidisti decem reges sunt, qui regnum nondum acceperunt, sed potestatem tamquam reges per unam horam cum bestia accipient. Isti unum consilium habent ac uirtutem et potestatem suam bestie tradunt. Hi cum agno pugnabunt, et agnus uincet eos, quoniam dominus dominorum est et rex regum, et qui cum eo sunt uocati et lecti ac fideles sunt.’ Et ait mihi: ‘Aque quas uidisti, ubi meretrix sedet, populi et turbe sunt atque gentes et lingue. Et decem cornua que uidisti et bestiam, hi odient fornicariam et desolatam ipsam et nudam facient, et carnes suas manducabunt et ipsam igne concremabunt; Deus enim in corda sua dedit ut sententiam suam ac sententiam unam facerent et regnum suum bestie traderent, donec uerba Dei consummentur. Et mulier quam uidisti est ciuitas magna, que super reges terre regnum habet.’

18 Post hec uidi alium angelum de celo descendentem, potestatem magnam habentem, et terra gloria sua illuminata est. Et clamauit uoce ualida dicens: ‘Cecidit Babilon magna et facta est habitatio demoniorum et custodia omnis spiritus immundi et custodia omnis auis immunde, quoniam de uino furoris fornicationis sue omnes gentes biberunt, atque reges terre cum eo fornicati sunt, et mercatores terre de uirtute diuinarum suarum ditati sunt.’ Et audiui aliam uocem de celo dicentem: ‘Exite de ea, populus meus, et ne communicetis cum delictis suis et de plagis suis ne accipiat, quoniam peccata sua usque ad celum peruenerunt, et Deus omnes eorum iniustitias commemorauit eis. Reddite ei, sicut et ipsa tradidit nobis, et duplicate duplicia sicut et ipsa et secundum opera sua; in poculo suo quo miscuit, miscete ei duplum. Quantum glorificauit se et in deliciis suis, tantum date ei tormentum et luctum, quoniam in corde suo dicit quod “Sum uelut regina et uidua non sum et luctum non uidebo.” Idcirco in una die plage sue, mors, luctus et fames uenient, et igne comburetur, quoniam fortis est dominus Deus, qui iudicauit eam.’ Et flebunt et reges terre super ipsam se plangent, qui cum ea fornicati sunt et in deliciis fuerunt, cum fumum incendii sui uiderint, a longe stantes ob timorem tormenti sui, dicentes: ‘Ve, ue, ciuitas magna, Babilon, ciuitas fortis, quia una hora uenit ad iudicium tuum!’ Et

- mercatores terre super eam flebunt ac lugebunt, quoniam merces suas nemo emet nec amplius merces auri et argenti ac lapidis pretiosi et margarite et byssi et purpure et serice et coccini, et omne lignum thymum et omnia uasa eburnea et cuncta uasa ex ligno pretioso et ere ac
- 5 ferro et marmore, et cinnamomum et amomum et odoramentorum et unguentorum et thus et oleum et uinum et similia et triticum et oues et iumenta et equorum ac redarum et animas hominum. Et poma concupiscentie anime tue abs te abierunt, et cuncta pinguia ac preclara ad te perierunt, et non amplius harum rerum mercatores ea reperient qui ab
- 10 ea ditati sunt. Ob timorem tormentorum suorum a longe stabunt, flentes ac lugentes et dicentes: ‘Ve ciuitas magna, bysso et purpura et cocco circumamicta et auro ac lapide pretioso et margarita deaurata est, quoniam una hora tante diuitie destitute sunt.’ Et omnis gubernator et omnis qui nauigat in locum, et naute et quicumque in mari operantur,
- 15 longe steterunt et clamauerunt fumum in celis suum respicientes ac dicentes: ‘Que similis est ciuitas ipsi magne?’ Et puluerem super capita sua miserunt et clamauerunt flentes ac lugentes et dicentes: ‘Ve, ue, ciuitas magna, in qua omnes qui naues in mari habebant de pretiis suis ditati sunt, quoniam una hora deserta est! Letare super eam, celum, et
- 20 sancti apostoli et prophete, quoniam Deus iudicium uestrum ex ea iudicauit!’ Et unus angelus fortis lapidem uelut molem magnam extulit et in mare misit dicens: ‘Sic impetu Babilon ciuitas magna mittetur et non amplius inuenietur. Et uox citharedorum et musicorum ac tibicinum atque tubicinum in te amplius non audietur, et uox mole in te amplius
- 25 non audietur, et lux candelabri in te amplius non lucebit, et uox sponsi ac sponse in te amplius non audietur, quia mercatores tui erant principes terre, quoniam in ueneficiis tuis omnes gentes seducte sunt, et in eo sanguis prophetarum ac sanctorum et omnium interfectorum in terra inuenti sunt.’
- 30 **19** Post hec audiui quasi uocem magnam turbe multe in celo dicentem: ‘Alleluia! Salus, uirtus et gloria Deo nostro, quoniam uera et iusta sunt iudicia sua; quia iudicauit meretricem magnam, que in fornicatione sua terram corripit, et de manibus suis sanguinem seruorum suorum uindicauit!’ Et iterum dixerunt: ‘Alleluia! Et
- 35 fumus eius ascendit in secula seculorum!’ Et uiginti quatuor seniores et

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(253r)

3 coccini] cocci B 5 ferro] ferreo B 16 magne] in qua omnes qui naues in mari habebant de pretiis suis ditati sunt *add. B exp. B1* 24 audietur] auditur B 31 uirtus] et *praem. B*

A164v in secula seculorum!’ Et uiginti quatuor seniores et quatuor animalia
 prociderunt, et Deum, qui sedet super solium, adorauerunt dicentes:
 ‘Amen. Alleluia.’ Et uox de solio exiuit dicens: ‘Laudate Deum nostrum,
 omnes serui sui, et qui timetis eum, parui et magni.’ Et audiui quasi
 uocem turbe multe et sicut uocem aquarum multarum et tamquam 5
 uocem tonitruum magnorum dicentium: ‘Alleluia, quoniam regnauit
 dominus, Deus noster omnipotens. Gaudeamus et exulemus et demus
 gloriam ei, quoniam uenerunt nuptie agni, et uxor sua preparauit se. Et
 datum est ei ut bissino preclaro candido uestiatur. Bissinum enim
 iustificationes sunt sanctorum.’ Et dicit mihi: ‘Scribe: Beati qui ad cenam 10
 nuptiarum agni uocati sunt!’ Et ait mihi: ‘Hec uerba Dei uera sunt.’ Et
 coram pedibus suis procidi ut eum adorarem, et: ‘Vide’, inquit mihi, ‘ne
 feceris; conseruus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum testimonium Iesu
 habentium; Deum adora. Testimonium enim Iesu est spiritus prophetie.’
B254v Et uidi celum apertum: et ecce equus albus; et qui super eum sedebat, 15
(253v) fidelis et uerax uocabatur, et cum iustitia iudicat et pugnat. Oculi autem
 sui flamma ignis, et in capite suo diademata multa, habens nomina
 scripta et nomen scriptum quod nemo nouit nisi ipse, et uestitus erat
 ueste purpurea sanguine tincta, et nomen suum ‘Verbum Dei’ uocabatur.
 Et exercitus qui erat in celo in equis albis, bissino albo mundo uestiti, 20
 sequebantur. Et de ore suo gladius utraque parte acutus procedebat ut in
 ipso gentes percuteret, et ipse eas in uirga ferrea regeret; et ipse torcular
 furoris ire Dei omnipotentis calcet. Et in uestimento et in femore suo
 scriptum habet: ‘rex regum et dominus dominorum’. Et uidi angelum
 stantem in sole, et uoce magna clamauit dicens omnibus auiibus que per 25
 medium celi uolabant: ‘Venite et ad cenam Dei magni congregamini, ut
 carnes regum et carnes tribunorum et carnes fortium et carnes equorum
 et sedentium in ipsis et carnes omnium liberorum et seruorum et
 paruorum ac magnorum manducetis.’ Et uidi bestiam et reges terre et
 exercitus suos congregatos ad belligerandum cum eo qui in equo sedebat, 30
 et cum exercitu suo. Et apprehensa est bestia et cum ea falsus propheta,
 qui signa coram ipsa fecerat quibus eos seduxit qui caracterem bestie
 acceperant et qui imaginem suam adorauerunt; uiui in stagnum ignis
 ardentis in sulphure mixti sunt. Et ceteri in gladio sedentis super equum
A165r

23 femore...24 scriptum] furore suo spiritum AB 24 dominus] dominantium *add. B exp.*
B1 27 carnes³] *c- i. r. fort. A1* 29 manducetis] *om. AB* 31 ea] *eo B* 34 sedentis]
 sedentes AB

occisi sunt, qui gladius de ore suo procedit, et omnes aues ex carnibus suis saturate sunt.

- 20 Et uidi angelum de celo descendentem, clauem abyssi et
catenam magnam in manu sua habentem. Et draconem,
5 serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus et Satanas, totum
terrarum orbem seducens, aprehendit et eum per mille annos ligauit, et
ipsum in abyssum misit et clausit et signauit super ipsum, ut gentes
amplius non decipiat donec mille anni perficiantur; post hec oportet ut
ipse per modicum tempus soluatur. Et uidi solia, et sedebant super ea, et
10 iudicium datum est eis <et> animas decollatorum ut testimonium Iesu et
ob uerbum Dei, et qui bestiam et imaginem suam non adorabant et
caracterem in frontibus aut super manus suas non acceperunt; et
uixerunt et cum Christo mille annis regnauerunt. Ceteri mortuorum non
uixerunt, donec mille anni consummarentur; hec est resurrectio prima.
15 Beatus et sanctus est qui in prima resurrectione partem habet. In his
secunda mors potestatem non habet, sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi
et post hec mille annis regnabunt. Et post mille annos Satanas de carcere
suo soluetur, et exhibit ut seducat gentes que sunt super quatuor angulos
terre, Gog et Magog, ut eos in prelium congregent quorum numerus
20 ipsorum est sicut arena maris. Et super latitudinem terre ascenderunt et
castra sanctorum ciuitatemque delectam circuiuerunt. Ignis a Deo
descendit de celo eosque deuorauit; et diabolus ipsos seducebat et in
lacum ignis ac sulphuris missus est, ubi et bestia et falsus propheta die ac
nocte in secula seculorum excruciabuntur. Et uidi solium magnum
25 candidum et super ipsum sedentem, a cuius facie fugit et terra et celum,
et locus non est inuentus eis. Et uidi mortuos, paruos et magnos, coram
solio stantes; et librum aperuerunt. Et alius liber apertus est, qui est uite;
et iudicati sunt mortui ex his que secundum opera sua in libris scripta
erant. Et mare mortuos dedit qui in eo erant, et mors atque infernus
30 mortuos dederunt qui in ipsis erant; et iudicati sunt singuli secundum
opera sua. Et mors et infernus in lacum ignis missi sunt.

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10 et¹] *om. AB* 18 seducat] *secludat A secludet B* 24 et] *iter. B* 25 ipsum] *solium praem.*
B 28 mare] *iudicati sunt praem. B exp. B1*

A165v **21** Et qui non est inuentus in libro uite scriptus, in lacum ignis
 missus est. Et uidi celum nouum et terram nouam. Primum
 enim celum et prima terra abierunt, et mare non est amplius. Et
 ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem nouam de celo descendentem a Deo,
 paratam sicut sponsam uiro suo ornatam, uidi. Et uocem magnam de 5
 celo audiui dicentem: 'Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus! Et cum
 eis habitabit, et ipse populus suus erunt, et ipse Deus cum eis erit, et
 omnem lacrimam ab oculis suis absterget ab eis, et mors non erit
 amplius, neque luctus neque clamor neque labor erit amplius, quoniam
 prima abierunt. Dixit qui in solio sedebat: 'Ecce noua facio omnia.' Et 10
 ait: 'Scribe: Hec uerba fidelia ac ueracia Dei sunt.' Et dixit mihi: 'Factum
 est. Ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis. Ego sitienti ei de
 fonte aque gratis dabo. Qui uicerit, hec ei dabo, et ero ei Deus, et ipse
 erit mihi filius. Timidis autem et incredulis et peccatoribus et execratis et
 homicidis et fornicatoribus et ueneficis et idolatris et cunctis mendacibus, 15
 pars eorum erit in lacu ardente igne ac sulphure, quod est mors secunda.'
 Et uenit unus de septem angelis phialas septem ultimis septem plagas
 habentibus, et locutus est mecum dicens: 'Veni, mulierem sponsam agni
 ostendam tibi.' Et me in spiritum in montem magnum et altum extulit et
 ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem de celo descendentem, gloriam Dei 20
 habentem, mihi ostendit; et lumen suum simile lapidi pretioso, tamquam
 lapidi iaspidi, crystallino; et murum magnum et altum portas duodecim
 habentem, et in portis angelos duodecim et nomina superscripta habebat,
 que sunt nomina duodecim tribuum Israel. Ab oriente porte tres, ab
 occidente porte tres, ab aquilone porte tres et ab austro porte tres; et 25
 murus ciuitatis habens duodecim fundamenta, et in ipsis duodecim
 nomina duodecim apostolorum agni. Et qui mecum loquebatur
 mensuram harundineam auream habebat, ut ciuitatem ac portas suas et
 murum metiretur. Et ciuitas quadrangularis sita est, et longitudo sua tanta
 quanta et latitudo. Et ciuitatem per stadia duodecim milia harundine 30
 mensus est. Longitudo ac latitudo et altitudo sua equales sunt, et murus
 suus secundum mensuram hominis, que est angeli, centum quadraginta

2 est] Here ends Revelation 21 in the Vulgate.

2 et] *ex ac corr. fort. A1* 7 erit] *-r- i. r. fort. A1 om. B* | omnem] mors non erit amplius
 neque luctus neque clamor neque labor erit amplius quoniam prima abierunt *praem. B exp.*
B1 10 fidelia] sunt *add. B exp. B1* 11 Ego sum] *om. AB* 18 agni] magni *AB* 24 ab] et
praem. B | occidente] *ex austro corr. B1* 27 agni] magni *AB*

secundum mensuram hominis, que est angeli, centum quadraginta quatuor cubitorum. Et erat structura muri sui iaspidis, et ipsa ciuitas aurum mundum simile uitro mundo. Fundamenta muri ciuitatis omni lapide pretioso ornata. Fundamentum primum iaspis, secundum
 5 sapphirus, tertium calcedonius, quartum smaragdus, quintum sardonyx, sextum sardius, septimum chrysolithus, octauum berillus, nonum topazius, decimum chrysoprassus, undecimum hyacinthus, duodecimum amethystus. Et duodecim porte duodecim margarite sunt per singulas, et unaqueque porta erat ex una margarita. Et platee ciuitatis aurum
 10 mundum tamquam uitrum perlucidum. Et in ea templum non uidi: dominus enim Deus omnipotens templum erat ipsius, et agnus. Et ciuitas neque sole neque luna egebat ut lucerent. Ipsa enim gloria Dei eam illuminabat et candelabrum suum erat agnus. Et gentes in lumine suo ambulabant, et reges terre ei gloriam et honorem gentium in eam
 15 afferent; et porte sue per diem non claudentur, nox enim non erit ibi; et gloriam et honorem gentium in eam afferent, ut ingrediamur. Nec in eam aliquid commune aut quod faciat abominatione et mendacium intrabit, nisi qui scripti sunt in libro uite et agni.

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22 Et fluuium aque uite splendidum ceu crystallum, de solio Dei et
 20 agni procedentem, in medio platee sue ostendit mihi. Et de flumine hinc inde lignum uite faciens fructus duodecim, secundum unumquemque mensem unumquemque fructum reddentes, et folia ligni ad curam gentium. Et omnis maledictio non erit amplius, et solium Dei et agni in ipsa erunt et serui sui seruiant ei et faciem suam et
 25 nomen suum in frontibus suis uidebunt. Et nox non erit et candelabro et lumine non egebunt, quoniam dominus Deus eos illuminabit, atque in secula seculorum regnabunt. Et ait mihi: ‘Hec fidelia uerba ac ueracia sunt, et dominus, Deus spirituum prophetarum, angelum suum misit ut seruis suis ostenderet que cito fieri oportet. Et ecce uenio celeriter.
 30 Beatus qui seruat uerba prophetie libri huius.’ Et ego Ioannes, qui hec audiui et uidi. Et postquam audiui, procidi ut coram pedibus angeli adorarem qui mihi hec ostenderat. Et ait mihi: ‘Vide ne feceris; conseruus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum prophetarum qui uerba libri huius

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1 angeli] ex angelis *corr. fort. A1* 4 iaspis] -s i. r. *fort. A1* 12 eam] illam B 13 lumine] nomine AB 15 erit] erat B 17 abominatione] abhominacione *fort. A2* 20 Et] ut AB 21 unumquemque...22 mensem] mensem unumquemque AB *corr. A2* 24 sui] ex eius *corr. fort. A2*

A166v fratrum tuorum prophetarum qui uerba libri huius seruant; Deum adora.
 Et ait mihi: 'Ne uerba prophetie libri huius signaueris. Tempus enim
 prope est. Qui nocet, noceat adhuc, et qui sordidus est, sordescat adhuc,
 et qui iustus est, iustitiam operetur adhuc, et qui sanctus est, sanctificetur
 adhuc. Et ecce uenio cito, et merces mea mecum est, ut reddam 5
 unicuique qualiter opus suum erit. Ego sum Alpha et Omega, primus et
 ultimus, principium et finis. Beati qui in sanguine agni stolas suas lauant,
 ut sit potestas sua in ligno uite, ac per portas in ciuitatem sanctam
 ingrediantur. Foris canes ac uenefici et fornicatores et homicide atque
 idolatre et omnis qui amat et facit mendacium! Ego Iesus angelum meum 10
 misi ut hec uobis in ecclesiis testificaretur. Ego sum radix et genus
 Dauid, stella splendida et matutina.' Et spiritus et sponsa dicunt: 'Veni!'
 Et qui audit, dicat: 'Veni!' Et qui sitit, ueniat; et qui uult, aquam uite
 gratis accipiat. Testificor omnibus uerba prophetie libri huius
 audientibus. Si quis ad hec apposuerit, Deus super eum plagas in hoc 15
 libro scriptas apponet. Et si quis de uerbo prophetie libri huius
 diminuerit, Deus de ligno uite et de ciuitate sancta, atque de his que in
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(256v) libro isto scripta sunt, partem suam auferet. Dicit qui hec testificatur:
 'Vtique, uenio cito.' Amen. Vtique ueni, domine Iesu Christe! Gratia
 domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis. Amen. 20